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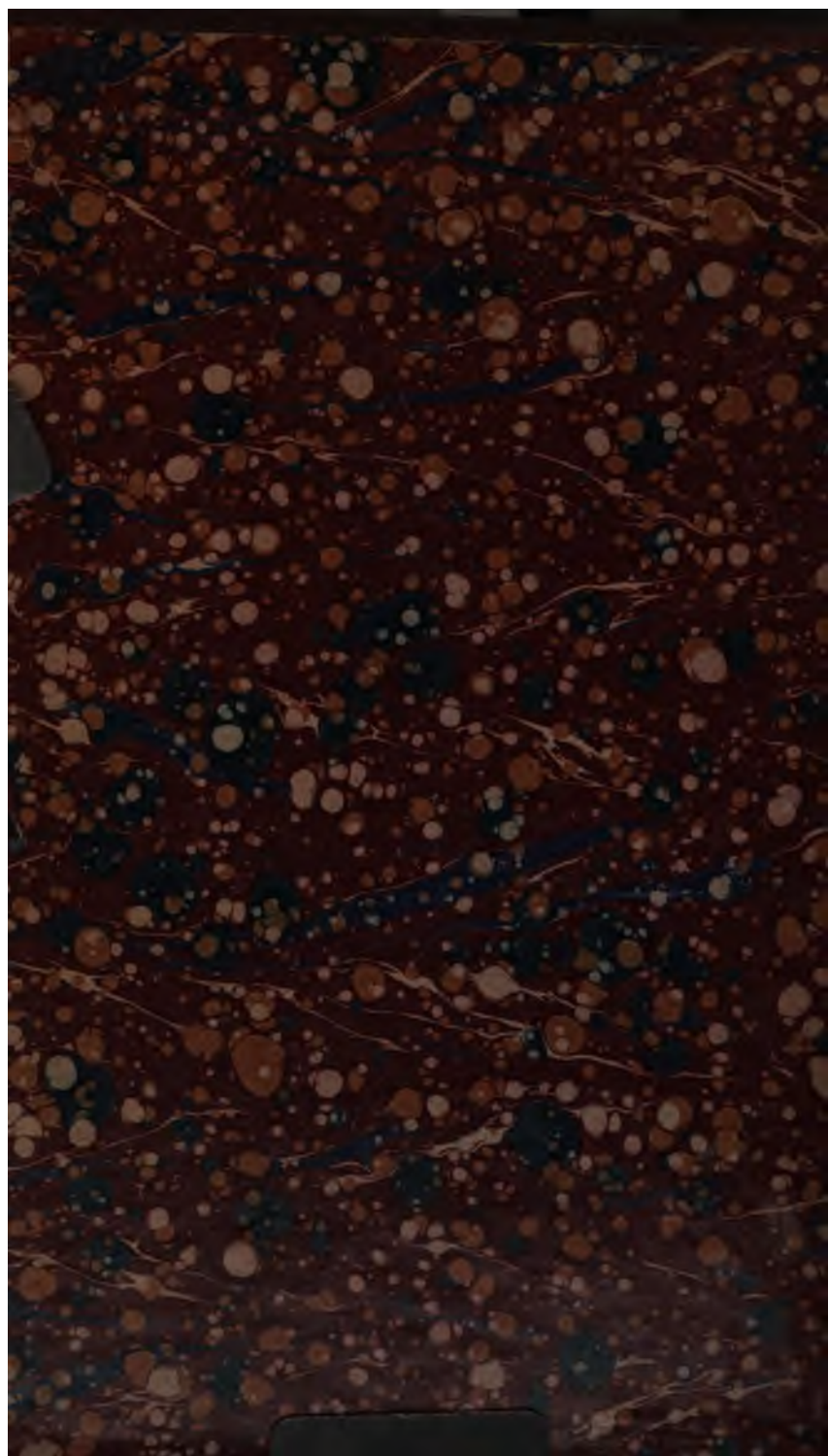
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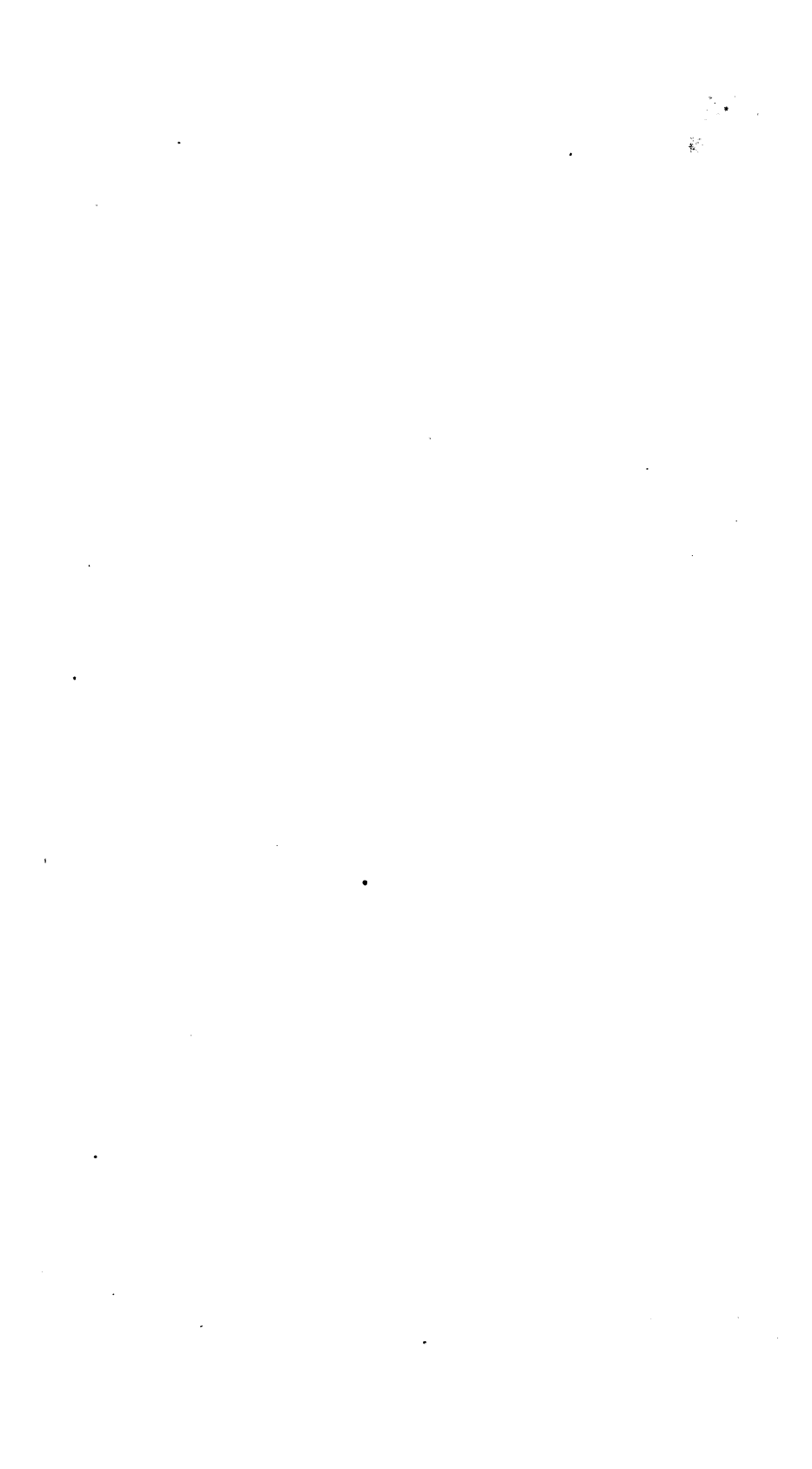




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THE  
ANNUAL REGISTER  
OR A VIEW OF THE  
HISTORY,  
POLITICS,  
AND  
LITERATURE  
For the YEAR 1794.



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1799.



## P R E F A C E.

THE present Volume, we hope, will be regarded by our Readers as an additional proof of industry, and punctuality in the fulfilment of our engagements to bring up this progressive Work to the latest years, with as much expedition as is consistent with those principles which in both its spirit and style, we wish it to be uniformly governed.—It is not an easy matter to compress that multiplicity of striking events which accompanies the commencement of a great and important æra in the history of the world, nearly within the accustomed bounds of our preceding volumes, agreeably to the maxims explained in a former preface.

The narrative which, by means of private communications, as well as various, and some of these very recent publications, we have been enabled to give of the war in La Vendée, during 1793 and 1794, will, we doubt not, greatly interest every class of our readers. On every subject we have been careful to investigate the truth; and candid, unbiassed, and determined in representing and recording it. If, notwithstanding that care and this disposition, we have involuntarily



## P R E F A C E.

fallen into any mistake, we are willing and desirous to correct it, and repair any injury to truth, if any such mistake or such injury shall be pointed out to our conviction, in our subsequent volumes.

The affairs of Poland, our readers will observe, are occasionally mentioned, both in our history of other European nations, and in the debates in the British parliament. To have given an account sufficiently copious of these affairs, interesting and instructive, even beyond the usual tenor of the present times, so fruitful in novelty, would have rendered the present greatly disproportioned to the other divisions of this Work. In our next volume we shall resume the history of Poland, and deduce it from the period of the new constitution in 1791, through the second partition of that kingdom in 1793, to its final dismemberment and partition in 1795, when it ceased to exist as an independent nation.— So interesting a tragedy will be exhibited more properly, and with greater advantage in continuity, than if it were interrupted by intervals of time, and detailed in different volumes.

THE  
ANNUAL REGISTER,  
For the YEAR 1794.

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THE  
HISTORY  
OF  
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CHAP. I.

*Discontentment of the Power and Situation of France by the Coalesced Powers at the Commencement of the War. Their mutual Suspicion. Their Presumption on their first Successes. Close of the Campaign in 1793 unfavourable to them in the Netherlands and on the Rhine. Activity of the French in preparing for the next Campaign. Numbers and Resolution of their Armies. Abilities of their ruling Men. Prodigious Preparations of the French for the Campaign of 1794. Willingness with which they submit to Burthens in Support of their Cause. Their military List double in that of the Coalesced Powers. The Promotion and Military Talents of Jourdain, Hache, and Pichegru. Aptitude and Patience of the common People in France in the enduring of Hardships. Violence and Impetuosity of the French in Action. Bravery and Discipline of the Austrian Armies. Enthusiasm and Perseverance of the French Soldiers in attacking their Enemies. Colonel Mack sent by the Imperial Court to concert Measures for the ensuing Campaign with the British Ministry. Project of the French relating to the Netherlands discovered and frustrated. Hopes of the Republican Administration in consequence of the Rivalship subsisting between the Houses of Austria and Brandenburg. The Duke of Brunswick discontented at the Manner of conducting the War. His Resignation of the Command of the Prussian Armies. Pernicious Effects resulting to the Confederacy from the mutual Jealousies of Austria and Brandenburg. Advantages arising to the French from that Cause. French and Prussian Commissioners meet at Frankfort, on the Pretence of sending an Exchange of Prisoners. Suspensions of the Public on this Occasion. Policy of the Prussian Ministry in its Conduct with the Members of the Confederacy.*  
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*Ideas of the People of England respecting the Views of Prussia. The King of Prussia declares his Resolution to recede from the Confederacy against France, and assigns his Reasons for taking this Step. He withdraws his Troops from the Confederates. Endeavours of the Emperor to procure the Accession of the Empire to the Designs of the Coalition against France, and to obtain Supplies from the Diet. He proposes the Raising of the People in a Mass; but is opposed by the Prussian Deputy-Prejudice to the Cause of the Confederacy from these Disagreements. Subsidiary Treaty concluded between Great Britain and Prussia. Discontents produced thereby among great Numbers of the People in England. Their Suspicions of the good Faith both of the Austrian and Prussian Ministers. Movements of the French Armies in the Netherlands. Condition of the Austrian Forces, and those of the other Confederates. A Council of War held by the Allies. Plan of the ensuing Campaign proposed by the Austrian Ministry. Produces an Abertation, which ends in a Determination of the Emperor to command the Confederate Army in Person. He repairs to Brussels, and is inaugurated as Sovereign of the Austrian Netherlands. He assumes the Command of the Allied Army. The French attacked and defeated near Landrecy. Siege of that Town undertaken. The French attack the Troops of the Hereditary Prince of Orange, and are repulsed. They obtain some Advantages over General Alvinzky, but are forced to retire. They are attacked by the Duke of York, and obliged to retreat to Cambria. The Duke attacked by the French, but compels them to retire with Loss. They are repulsed at the same Time by Prince Cobourg. General Pichegru attacks General Clairfaut, defeats him, and takes Menin and Courtrai. Landrecy surrenders to the Allies. General Jourdain invades the Duchy of Luxembourg, and defeats the Austrian General Beaulieu. The Duke of York attacked by the French near Tournai. The French repulsed. They force General Clairfaut to abandon Courtrai with great Loss. They are defeated by General Kaunitz near Mons. The Allies attack the French in the Neighbourhood of Lille, and gain some Advantages. The French attack the Allies, and obtain a complete Victory. Principal Causes of their Successes. Great Defeat of the French, who are driven back as far as Lille. Again defeated with great Loss by General Kaunitz. Bouillon taken by the Austrians, under General Beaulieu, who defeats a large Body of French. He is compelled by General Jourdain to retire towards Namur. The French defeated with great Slaughter by the Hereditary Prince of Orange, and forced to withdraw from Charleroy. The Siege of Charleroy resumed. Battle of Fleurus, wherein the Allies are entirely defeated, and lose great Numbers. Debilitated State of their Army. Charleroy surrenders to the French. Tpres besieged by General Moreau, who gains a great Victory over Clairfaut, and takes that Town. Consequences of these two Events. Bruges submits to the French. The Duke of York moves towards Oudenard. Tournai surrenders to the French. Oudenard taken.*

**W**HEN the coalition of European potentates against France first took place, the majority of politicians were of opinion, that in the state of disunion and reciprocal mistrust wherein the French nation was so deeply involved, it would prove unable to resist the efforts that were prepared to overwhelm it. Some of the powers in the confederacy had formerly appeared competent to make head against that potent monarchy, unassisted by the others, and relying solely on their single strength. In its most flourishing and formidable condition, its neighbours when not disunited, had successfully opposed its ambitious designs, and reduced it to the utmost distress. Reflecting on these facts, they

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they naturally inferred, that having triumphed over this powerful enemy in the days of his greatest force and union, they might reasonably presume on his inability to oppose them, while distracted by internal feuds, and seemingly rent to pieces by the rancours and animosities that characterized the parties dividing the nation, which had extinguished all sentiments of humanity, and rendered them inexorably bent on their mutual destruction. But while the coalesced powers eagerly contemplated the divisions and distractions of the French nation, they lost sight of those seeds of mistrust and suspicion that were profoundly sown among themselves. The plan to reduce France to its own limits, was attended with collateral views, that necessarily tended to promote jealousies of each other amongst its enemies; and to break the bonds of the alliance they had formed to prevent the dangers apprehended from the aggrandizement of France. This spirit of reciprocal suspicion did not however manifest itself to any extent during the first campaign in Flanders in the year 1793. The warmth with which hostilities were at the commencement prosecuted against a people that avowed themselves the enemies to all Kings, kept alive the determination to co-operate vigorously against them. But the successes of the allies on their first entering into action, the repeated defeats of the French armies, and the reduction of some of their strongest towns, induced the coalesced powers to imagine that the completion of their designs would not meet with great difficulties. Hence they overlooked the necessity of acting with the firmest and

most indissoluble concord. Instead of remaining in that compactness of strength which had procured them their first advantages, they thought themselves able to divide their operations. Thus, by separating their force, they rendered it ineffectual for the great and principal purpose they primarily proposed, and lost the only opportunity of accomplishing it which they could reasonably expect.

The close of the campaign of 1793 in the low countries, left the French armies in possession of so many advantages, that the most expert in military affairs, were convinced that they would retain their superiority in the campaign that was approaching. This opinion was corroborated by their successes on the Rhine, and on the other frontiers of France, and above all by the total suppression of the various insurrections against the republican government in so many provinces of that country. The diligence and activity with which that government pursued its measures, the vigour which animated the officers and soldiers of its numerous armies, the abilities of the many commanders that were continually starting up to notice, the indefatigable exertions of all men employed in the public service, struck their enemies with astonishment. However inimical to the principles that actuated the French, their most determined adversaries could not forbear admiring the courage and capacity of those who were at the head of that nation. The opening of the campaign in the year 1794 plainly shewed how resolutely the French were bent, not only to preserve the advantages they had gained, but to carry them to the

utmost extent their arms would enable them. The approaching year seemed pregnant with events that would decide the fate of France, and eventually that of all Europe. Nor did the generality scruple to predict, that, however adverse fortune had proved to the allied powers, they were still doomed to greater calamities. The prodigious efforts of the French government evinced how strongly they were persuaded, that, on the issue of this campaign the confirmation or the destruction of the Republic would entirely depend. In order to secure a system which they considered as superior to all others, and to which their attachment increased in proportion to the endeavours of their enemies to destroy it, they loaded the nation with every species of burthen and hardship for its preservation.

The military list exhibited by France to the eyes of Europe for the year 1794, was such as to occasion the most serious alarm to the coalition. The whole strength they had been able to collect for a contest in which they were so deeply concerned, and the decision of which was so quickly approaching, did not exceed 360,000 men; while the troops sent into the field by France alone, more than doubled that number. But France relied as much, if not more, on the temper of the men that composed its armies. Tutored by those who raised them, and no less by those who were employed to teach them military discipline in the maxims of republicanism, so violently predominant in France, they took up arms with far other views and ideas than those that actuated the soldiers of the combined

powers. Obedience to the will and orders of their rulers was the sole motive that actuated these; whereas the French soldiers went to battle, some of them, animated with the deadliest sentiments of revenge against men whom they looked upon as the base instruments of tyranny and oppression; others, by the hope of rising in the army, and acquiring both fame and fortune; and all of them by a desire of maintaining the military reputation of Frenchmen.

Delivered from those anxieties which had arisen from the intestine commotions, which had proved so difficult to be suppressed, the republican administration was now at liberty to exert the whole strength of France in those quarters where its successes would prove most decisive. These were the low countries, and those lying towards the Rhine. The former appearing the more important scene of action, it was chiefly there that the French proposed to make the greatest efforts. The flower of the German and British armies being stationed in that country, with the double view of protecting it from the invasion of France, and converting it into the principal place of arms, from whence, to annoy the French, it became the chief object of these to frustrate both those designs, and especially the latter. The preceding campaign in those parts had terminated by a general action that had covered the French troops with particular glory. They had defeated in the battle of Maubeuge, that lasted two entire days, the most illustrious commander in the allied armies, Prince Cobourg, who had taken so advantageous a position,

son, that he seemed persuaded the French would find it impossible to attack him with success. The reputation they obtained by vanquishing the Prince in a pitched battle, the first he had lost during the campaign, added a lustre to their arms, and inspired a confidence in their officers which never after abandoned them.

Jourdain, the General who commanded the French on that day, had now attained a degree of celebrity, which rendered him the principal favourite of the soldiery. It was he who had first turned the tide of success in favour of France at Dunkirk. Had it not been for his conduct and courage on that occasion, the French Republic must have been reduced to the most serious distress. The abilities he had displayed, induced the government to entrust him with the command of the army on the Rhine, where the fortune of war, notwithstanding some very brilliant successes, had not proved so extensively advantageous as in the Belgic provinces. The impetuous activity that marked the progress of the war on the part of France, was the principal cause of its success. The French were continually forming and executing the boldest enterprises; and, tho' frequently foiled, still returned to the charge; and through their invincible perseverance, seldom failed to succeed. Besides General Jourdain, two other men began at this time to attract the public in a most conspicuous manner: the celebrated Pichegru, and the no less famous Hoche. Through their skill and valour, that experienced warrior, General Wurmser, had been successively defeated; and the efforts of the Austrians and Prussians

to penetrate into France, had been completely frustrated.

In addition to the military talents of their commanders, a circumstance operated to the advantage of the French, of which it seems their enemies were not sufficiently aware. Though natives of a country less exposed to the rigours of winter than either Germany or the low countries, the commonalty in France had long been used to a course of living that qualified them to endure almost every species of hardship. From the high price of fuel, they were particularly inured to the bearing of cold; and, from their general poverty, were satisfied with very moderate supplies of food. These two qualifications combining with the enthusiasm infused by the principles they had so warmly espoused, rendered them capable of enduring the greatest hardships attendant on a military life, and fitted them for the most arduous undertakings that could be proposed by the many enterprising and daring leaders with which their armies now abounded.

In the depth of that rigorous winter which was felt throughout all Europe, from the close of 1793 to the end of the ensuing February, the French troops began to act in a variety of places in the Netherlands. Their operations were not of an important nature, and were chiefly calculated to keep them in action, and to fatigue their enemies: nor were they attended with much success. Their first onsets in the various skirmishes wherein they were continually engaged, were usually so violent and impetuous as to bear down all resistance: but the issue of the contest was frequently no less unfavourable to them, than the beginning

beginning had been advantageous. The fact was, that notwithstanding the disasters which had befallen the allies in the latter part of the foregoing campaign, their armies still consisted of veteran troops, whom it was not easy to put to the rout. Flushed with the many victories they had gained over the Turks in the late Hungarian wars, they could not bring themselves to look on the raw levies that composed the French armies, as men equal to themselves in martial prowess; and encountered them with a consciousness of superiority that was at first justified by repeated successes. Nor was it till the French had acquired a considerable degree of experience, at the expence of some bloody defeats, that they gradually became able to face their antagonists. Still, however, the German soldiery were under so excellent a discipline, that the uncommon fury with which the French attacked them, was far from always proving successful. The steadiness of the imperial troops was commonly an equal match for the impetuous valour of the republican soldiers. Till the immense slaughter continually made of both parties had compelled them to renew the numbers they had lost by fresh recruits, the advantages of soldiership continued to be nearly divided. This accounts for the alternate successes that attended the contending armies, until the latter periods of the present campaign. As soon however as the greater part of the veteran troops in the Austrian army had fallen in the reiterated scenes of destruction that marked the progress of this dreadful campaign, the levies of men that became necessary to supply the places of those who had

been slain, filled the combined forces with men very inadequate to the task of encountering an enemy noways unequal to them in military qualifications, and greatly above them in that spirit which is produced by national attachment, enlivened by hostile invasion, to the ardour of enthusiasm.

In the mean time, the preparations against them were carried on with a vigour and solicitude that strongly denoted how formidable they were esteemed, and what efforts were thought necessary to repel the attacks they were meditating. To this end the celebrated Colonel Mack, a soldier of fortune, who had raised himself to notice and preferment merely by his courage and merit, was selected by the Austrian ministry to concert with the British government a plan for the subsequent operations in the Netherlands; where, it was well known, the French had it in contemplation to achieve a project of the first magnitude, and which, in case of success, would wholly disconcert the measures now taken by the confederacy. This project was, to collect an immense body out of their numerous armies; to consist of the best and most expert troops in their service. This body was to be divided into five separate corps. The two first, each of great strength, were appointed to force their way, one into the territory of Namur, the other into that of Liege; in both of which, the latter especially, a great majority of the inhabitants were friendly to their cause. Sanguine expectations were formed of both these expeditions; the success of which would have thrown the confederate armies into  
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the most violent disorder, and by separating them from each other, would have broken their co-operation. During these operations, another no less powerful division was to assail that part of the combined armies that was posted in the neighbourhood of Tournay, in order to prevent it from moving to the succour of the countries invaded. In addition to these divers attacks, the strong towns of Valenciennes, Condé and Quesnoy, that had in the preceding year fallen into the hands of the allies, were each to be blockaded by a force sufficient to cut off all assistance, and to carry on a regular siege at the moment when the other parts of the general plan were under execution. This plan was certainly no less judicious than resolute: but while it was on the point of commencing, an officer of some note in the French service, and who, from his situation, was privy to the design, renounced from some disgust the republican party, and withdrew to the allies; to whom he disclosed the schemes that were forming against them. A discovery of this nature having of course put them on their guard, the whole design was at once frustrated, and wholly abandoned,—to the great concern and indignation of the republican ministry, who had, at a heavy expence and trouble, made such preparations and arrangements for the bold enterprize in agitation, as would in their persuasion have completely ensured its success.

This unexpected disappointment did not, however, occasion the least relaxation in the other measures they had taken, to open the present campaign with as much brilliancy as they had closed the former.

Their two fortunate Generals, Jourdain and Pichegru, were now placed at the head of that prodigious mass of military force which was marching from every province in France to the Netherlands, and through the immensity of which the republican administration proposed, and doubted not to be fully able to crush the much less formidable strength of the coalition. A variety of considerations combined at this time to fill the French with hopes, and their enemies with apprehension. The ancient and deep rooted rivalry between the houses of Brandenburg and Austria was beginning to re-appear, and to threaten the most fatal consequences to the coalesced powers. This rivalry and its necessary concomitants, disunion and jealousy, were so strongly expressed in the conduct of the courts of Vienna and Berlin, that the Duke of Brunswick, who had acquitted himself with so much honour in the service of the latter, thought it incumbent on him to resign the command of its armies, sooner than remain a spectator of the evils which he foresaw must inevitably flow from the want of unanimity between those two powers. The letter which he addressed on this occasion to the Prussian monarch, clearly shews how deeply he was convinced that, from this cause, the most calamitous effects would ensue to the whole confederacy; and that he entertained no sort of hope that the great designs it had held forth to Europe could ever possibly succeed.

The opinion and the resignation of his command, by a Prince of the exalted character of the Duke of Brunswick, was an epocha in the



history of this unfortunate war that will be long remembered. It threw a damp on the minds of all those who were friends to the first promulgated principles of the coalition; which went apparently no farther than to restrain the inordinate ambition of those who conducted the affairs of France, and to keep that restless and long dreaded nation within its ancient limits, agreeably to the wise plan of the Emperor Leopold\*. The Duke of Brunswick's resignation took place on the 6th of January 1794.

From the jealous behaviour of these two courts, it was evident that, as they were the two ruling powers of Germany, the subaltern princes and states of the empire would side respectively with Prussia or Austria, accordingly as they might happen to be inclined to the cause of the one or the other, from motives of interest; or might find themselves under the necessity of supporting it, from the danger of refusing their concurrence in its measures. Such being the relative situation of the Emperor and the King of Prussia, the French government was now considered as permanently established, and in no danger of being overturned by external force. The only perils it had henceforward to apprehend, were such as might arise from those internal convulsions, the seeds of which still lay too deep to be eradicated by any power but that of time. In this state of superior strength, it was not surprizing that the Convention and the authorities constituted in France by its decrees, should assume a stile of speaking and of acting full of confidence in

its exertions, and of defiance to all the hostile powers surrounding it. They well knew that a disjunction of Prussia from the confederacy against them, would weaken it to such a degree, as to reduce it to a mere phantom of what it had been at its primitive formation. That enemy, which of all others France was principally solicitous to humble, would, by the secession of Prussia from the coalition, lose at once all the benefits it had proposed to reap through that profusion of treasure it had lavished with so unsparing a hand, in order to fix this fickle and wavering power in the common interest of the alliance against France. Could the republican administration succeed in detaching him from Great Britain and Austria, the resentment and suspicion accruing from such a dereliction, and breach of faith, would banish all confidence in him ever after, and obviate all future reunion between these three courts.

As these sentiments were justly founded, they were acted upon with all that solicitude and celerity, which characterized the conduct of the republican government. Every circumstance denoting a cessation of real enmity between France and the Prussian monarch, began at this time to be noticed by the political world. So early as the month of February, a friendly communication took place between them. The ostensible motive was a reciprocal exchange of French and Prussian prisoners. On this pretext, commissioners from the King and the republic were appointed to meet at Franckfort on the Maine. The French commissaries made an entry

into that city which had much more the appearance of a solemn embassy than of a meeting of commissioners appointed to settle an exchange of prisoners. They entered Frankfurt in a sort of triumph, riding in one of the most superb state-coaches that had been used on solemn occasions by the late unfortunate Lewis. The carriage had been stripped of every symbol of royalty, and instead of a crown, was now decorated with the cap of liberty and other revolutionary ornaments. The commissaries were attended by a suite perfectly corresponding with the character of ambassadors; and their reception and treatment was grand and splendid to a degree, that evidently shewed they came on a most welcome errand, of far greater importance than that which was pretended.

The public were under no deception as to the real object of this brilliant mission of French commissioners; and their suspicions were amply confirmed by the character of the person employed on the part of the Prussian court. He was no less a person than General Kalkreuth; a man deeply in the confidence of his Sovereign. The conferences between him and the French commissioners were held in the profoundest secrecy. This alone pointed out their importance, and proved at the same time, that they could not relate to a subject requiring so little secrecy as a mere exchange of prisoners: a transaction always carried on in the most open manner, and demanding no manner of concealment.

This method of treating together on what was represented as so unimportant a matter, convinced the world that the objects under the consideration of the negotiating

parties, were of the highest consequence, and proved no less that they were unfavourable to those from whom their purport was so carefully concealed. It was now universally conjectured, on the surest grounds, that Prussia meant to withdraw itself from the confederacy, and that France was willing to purchase a secession so beneficial to it, on the most advantageous terms to the seceder. The court of Berlin acted on this occasion with its characteristic policy. Before it ventured to declare its intentions to abandon the coalition, it formally applied to the diet of the empire for a part of the expences it would incur for the defence of Germany. In this particular, however, the little confidence reposed in that court, operated to a refusal of its demands; and it must have submitted to the loss of its pecuniary claims, had it not employed intrigues of a more effectual nature.

The discerning part of the British nation were by this time convinced, that however fair the Prussian ministry might think it prudent to carry it towards Great Britain, no dependence could be placed on the sincerity of its co-operation with the confederacy. Whatever indeed its original allegations had been for taking up arms against France, and however well-pleased the King to act the first part in so splendid a confederation, it was well understood throughout Europe, that a partition of the French monarchy was in reality the ultimate view of the Prussian cabinet, and that it promised itself an ample share of the spoil. When it became evident that a subjugation of France was impracticable, the court of Berlin deemed it most consistent with its interest

interest to renounce its enmity to France, and to seek in due time a reconciliation with a power, by prosecuting hostilities against which, it could not derive any advantage.

Still, however, the expences that court had incurred in the two preceding years, was too serious an object to be relinquished without making every effort to procure a compensation. In default of the Germanic diet, Great Britain appeared the only quarter left to which an address for pecuniary aid could be preferred with any expectation of success. The readiness of the British ministry to concur in all designs inimical to the French republic, opened a likely prospect to the Prussian ministry of compassing its aim, provided it could convince the government of this country that without its assistance Prussia was become unable to remain any longer a member of the coalition. In the mean time the Prussian monarch, in order to enforce the necessity of complying with his request, openly declared to the Princes of Germany engaged in the confederacy, that he found himself under the necessity of seceding from it. The motives he alleged for giving up the contest, were peculiarly remarkable. He represented the French nation as unconquerable: its resources were exhausted, and the spirit and numbers of its people were become irresistible: their enthusiasm overwhelmed all opposition, and the propagation of their principles rendered them indefatigable in framing and executing every enterprize conducive to that purpose. Such an enemy was not to be combated with ordinary resources. He had voluntarily undergone the most

enormous expenditure while he was able to bear it; but his means were now totally exhausted, and he could not in justice to his subjects, load them with burthens that must wholly oppress and ruin them, without promoting the ends for which the coalition had been formed.

This declaration was accompanied with severe strictures on the proposal made by the court of Vienna to arm the peasantry of the frontiers of Germany towards France, as a measure replete with a variety of evil consequences, and wholly inadequate to the end proposed. The French were in such force, so thoroughly disciplined, and provided with so tremendous an artillery, that no sudden rising of an unskilful and raw peasantry, totally unprepared for such a measure, could be competent to meet so formidable a foe as the French. Nor did he omit to insinuate the obvious danger of trusting arms to a multitude, among whom the principles of the enemy might be spread with so much facility and speed, as shortly to convert them into friends and coadjutors of the French. Previously to this declaration, which was made to the diet in the month of March, the King of Prussia had ordered General Molendorf, who had succeeded the Duke of Brunswick in the command of his army, to withdraw the Prussian forces from the territory of Mentz, and to station them at Cologne. He formally signified this order to Prince Cobourg, Commander in Chief of the imperial army in the Netherlands.

While the Prussian monarch was occupied in these measures, the Emperor was no less busily employed in

In the warmest endeavours to induce the diet to espouse the quarrel against France with the utmost energy. His ministry perceived in that body a tardiness, or rather indeed averfeness, to co-operate in the views of the coalition. This disposition proceeded from a conviction of the inefficacy of all the measures proposed against the French, and that it were wiser to leave the settlement of that mighty people to themselves, than to provoke them to enmity against their neighbours by hostilities that only tended to convert them into a nation of soldiers, and to render them regardless of all other objects but those of carrying war and destruction into every country around. These sentiments, which were those of that immense majority of individuals which was desirous of peace, were very unacceptable to the Austrian ministry. Undiscouraged by the disasters of the preceding campaign, it still cherished the hope of being able by fresh exertions to repair the losses they had sustained, and, if not to add new territories to their dominions, still to recover those which they had lost. For this end the imperial envoy to the diet, had in the month of February delivered a note to that assembly, wherein the necessity was urged of recurring to every means of putting the frontiers of Germany in a condition to repel the expected invasion on the part of France. The propriety of embodying the people, and causing them to rise in a mass, was vehemently insisted on; the finances of Austria were stated to have been lavished in support of the empire; and that it was incumbent on the Germanic princes and states to come forward on this

critical occasion, with every exertion they could make for the honour and preservation of their country.

The envoy expatiated on the zeal displayed by the Emperor in his endeavours to protect the empire from the contagion of French principles, and to repress the spirit of anarchy and irreligion with which it was threatened by the revolutionary rage that had perverted the sentiments of that people, and rendered them the declared enemies of all the established governments in Europe. To stop the progress of an enemy that evidently aimed at their total subversion, extraordinary measures were indispensable, and it behoved the diet warmly to concur in levying the supplies prescribed by the Germanic constitution in cases of emergency, such as the present. To this purpose it would be requisite to call on the princes and states for a triple proportion of their usual contingent, in virtue of the regulation enacted during the last century, in a case similar to the present, when the Turkish armies had overrun all Hungary; and Vienna, after sustaining a long siege, was on the point of falling into their hands. Notwithstanding the vehemence with which the imperial envoy enlarged on those various topics, he did not make that impression upon the diet which he had proposed. His speech was not altogether so conciliatory as the occasion seemed to require; in some parts of it reproaches of negligence in contributing their proportions of the general supply, were levelled at some of the members, and accompanied with menaces of compulsion in case of refusal. But the circumstance which

which proved most offensive and alarming to the imperial court, was the opposition of the Prussian envoy to the proposal of raising the people of the frontiers in a mass. This was described as a servile, and no less perilous imitation of the French. So violent was the disapprobation he expressed, that he explicitly declared, in his master's name, that if such a measure was adopted, Prussia would immediately renounce the confederacy, and recall its troops from all further service in that cause.

These various differences of sentiment in the princes and states of Germany, greatly debilitated the efforts that were intended to be made against France. It soon appeared that, from this want of unanimity, nothing very decisive would be concluded on, and that, however serious and sincere some of the parties concerned in the war might be, there were as many who felt a repugnance to its prosecution, and who could not therefore, notwithstanding their ostensible concurrence with those whom they were fearful to disoblige, be reputed hearty and cordial in their assent to a measure which they were well known to disapprove.

The intelligence of this change of disposition in the Germanic powers, but especially the defection of Prussia from the alliance of which it had, in concert with Austria, been the primary promoter, roused the indignation of that numerous and powerful party in Great Britain, who had so warmly abetted the views of the confederacy. Fully aware that a good understanding between the courts of Vienna and Berlin was indispensably requisite for any effectual prosecution of

hostilities against France, no methods were left untried to prevent a secession between them. But mere exhortations and reasonings only, were lost upon a ministry so keenly intent on the promotion of its particular views as that of Prussia. The obligations of a treaty framed on its own principles and coinciding with all its purposes, had vanished before the conviction that the ends of that treaty were no longer attainable. The only character it now determined to act in, was that of a subsidiary ally. Nor was it without an enormous expenditure that the British government was able to prevail on the Prussian monarch to act in that capacity. No less than 2,200,000*l.* would be the sum accepted by his ministry. In consideration of this, it engaged to furnish the combined armies with 60,000 men. But this engagement was accompanied by a clause which, in the eye of impartial politicians, rendered it almost nugatory. This large body of troops was to be under the sole command of a Prussian General, appointed by the King of Prussia himself. Thus it exclusively depended upon him to regulate the motions of these troops; which at his sole and uncontrouled option were to be made useful or inactive. This implicit confidence was generally deemed very injudicially placed by the British public. In truth, after such proofs of an understanding between Prussia and France, it was a mark of a childish weakness. The suspicions that had arisen of an amicable disposition to each other in the French and Prussians, were openly expressed in every country in Europe; and people were utterly at a loss to explain

plain the motives that could induce the British government to pay such a compliment to the good faith of a power, with which it had but a doubtful interest to form intimate connexions; and which at this particular period was viewed with the extreme jealousy by every member of the confederacy.

This period was not only remarkable for the suspicions entertained of Prussia: its rival Austria itself was involved in that mistrust of political candour and sincerity which now began by the scrutinizing part of the world to be affixed, without distinction or exception, to the conduct of every European court. The source of this duplicity was the deficiency of procuring resources, of which neither Prussia nor Austria possessed a sufficiency for the great objects they both had in view. The only quarter from whence they could derive the supplies of which they stood so much in need, was Great Britain. But the interest of this latter not requiring more than the reasonable aid it was willing to afford for the common cause, which was no other than the balance of Europe, it became the study of its allies to render it subservient to their own particular designs; which extended much further than they were willing to avow, and included schemes which, instead of promoting, tended materially to injure that balance. The treaty between Great Britain and Prussia not only occasioned its particular application to the parties directly concerned in this treaty, but gave rise to a suspicion that the court of Vienna itself was privy and consenting to the demands of that of Berlin on the British ministry. Doubtless, it was furnished these intriguing courts, well accustomed

to plans of partitioning policy, had agreed to share in the spoils of an ally whom they both contributed to make the dupe of their rapacity. How far a suggestion of so base and odious a nature should be admitted, no unquestionable authority can decide. What may have given it currency, was a circumstance much insisted on at the time of that remarkable treaty, which was, that it did not take place till it had gone through the hands of Col. Mack, the well known agent of Austria. Through his direct and personal intervention, this treaty was finally concluded and signed at the Hague on the 19th of April by the ministers of Great Britain and Holland; which latter was to supply 400,000*l.* of the expence.

The facility with which the treasures of Great Britain had for a long succession of years been obtained by its allies, had established a sort of proscription, from which it was not easy to recede. Both Austria and Prussia had, in the days of their respective distress, experienced largely the utility of an alliance with Britain. Europe can witness that each in their turn owed their preservation to the generous as well as wise policy of this country, in heading at immense expence an opposition to the common enemy. It was not surprising therefore that, relying on that jealousy of the designs, and that apprehension of the aggrandizement of France which is natural to a British administration, they should avail themselves of its readiness to favour those measures which appear calculated to secure that equilibrium of power among European states, on which the independence of this part of the world so manifestly depends.

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While the above negotiations were on foot, the prodigious preparations of France for the ensuing campaign had excited the profoundest alarm among all the members of the confederacy. The army which the French administration intended for the operations in the Netherlands, amounted to more than 200,000 men. As it was there principally the decisive blow would be struck, nothing was omitted to render this army no less formidable by its organization than by its numbers. It consisted of the selectest men, and the most expert and valiant officers. They were abundantly provided with all the implements and appurtenances of war; and no article, either of necessity or of encouragement, was wanting that foresight or ingenuity could supply. The principal aim of the French commanders was, to make themselves masters of the maritime parts of the low countries, in order to cut off that quick and easy communication with England, which gave the allies so many advantages. For this purpose a strong body of troops, towards the close of March, marched into Flanders. Here they began to establish posts and stations preparatory for the designs they were projecting. They also made incursions into other districts; where they met alternately with success and defeat. The losses on both sides were nearly balanced; and as no material object was yet proposed on either, the war consisted of skirmishes of little or no consequence.

The court of Vienna, thoroughly sensible of the importance of the Netherlands, and deeply anxious for the preservation of the richest portion of all her dominions, had made

the utmost exertions for its defence. The Austrian forces in the Flemish provinces amounted, in the commencement of the campaign to 140,000 men. The excellent order and discipline of the imperial armies had not however preserved them from the diseases that proved so destructive at this period to both the allied and republican armies: the number of sick and wounded among the Austrians, amounted to upwards of 20,000. This was an alarming diminution of strength, where so much more was needed than the whole complement of their troops, had they been in perfect health. Nor is it probable that the list of sick and disabled in the other corps of the combined army was less proportionably considerable. Previously to the commencement of military operations, a great council of war was held at Aeth, about the end of March, in order to form the preliminary arrangements:—but this meeting proved a source of discord among the commanders of the allies. General Haddick was commissioned on this occasion, by the court of Vienna, to produce the plan it had for the concerted campaign: but it was so manifestly calculated to throw the whole direction of military affairs into the hands of the Austrians, and to render all the confederate forces subservient to the schemes of the Imperial councils, that the Duke of York explicitly refused to act upon that plan before he had consulted the British court.

The Duke it seems, however it may have been intimated by the Austrian party, did not object to that subordination to General Clairfait which was assigned him by the Austrian plan, from any unreasonable

reasonable pride of rank and dignity. His motives were of a superior kind. He had discovered such a preference in the Austrians to every measure that accorded with their particular views, and such an indifference to the common interest where their own was not peculiarly implicated, that he thought it inconsistent with his honour and duty to trust himself and the troops under his command to the management of an ally who had given too many proofs that he would on all occasions consult his own ends exclusively, to merit that implicit confidence in his good faith and fair dealing which, with so little reason and very unseasonably, he seemed in a manner to insist upon. The altercations that arose on producing this plan were so violent, that, in order to restore harmony among the contending parties, the courts of London and Vienna were necessitated to enter into a reciprocal compromise, by which it was agreed, that provided the Emperor assumed personally the command of the armies, the Duke of York would serve under him. Such was the ostensible termination of a difference which begat in the sequel many unfortunate consequences. Austrian pride never forgave the refusal to acknowledge its superiority; jealousy and distrust increased on both sides; and much evil resulted from the defeat of that mutual cordiality, without which no connexions can prosper.

In order to afford a plausible motive for the Emperor's quitting his imperial residence, the propriety of his personal inauguration as Duke of Brabant was strongly pleaded. His presence at Brussels, the capital of his hereditary dominions in

the Netherlands, would, it was represented, powerfully tend to conciliate his Flemish subjects, and induce them to second his endeavours to expel the French from the low countries. Moved by representations of this nature, the Emperor repaired to Brussels, where he arrived on the 9th of April. He was received with the utmost magnificence, and went through all the forms prescribed by the constitutions of the different provinces, of which he was acknowledged the sovereign. After the solemnities of his inauguration were over, it became necessary that he should fulfil the agreement which was the real motive of his journey to the Netherlands. He set out accordingly from Brussels, and proceeded to assume the command of the allied army, which was reviewed by him on the 16th of April. It was now resolved to signalize his presence by an enterprise of some importance. To this purpose the siege of Landrevy was undertaken. It was invested on the 17th, and the whole army posted in such a manner as most effectually to oppose the endeavours which the French might make to compel the allies to raise the siege. The combined army was divided into eight columns, five of which attacked the French, who were very advantageously posted, with great vigour and success. Two of these columns were commanded by the Duke of York and Sir William Erskine. That part of the French army which they engaged, was strongly entrenched, and surrounded by woods very difficult to be penetrated: the resistance of the French was, according to expectation, very obstinate; and it required



quired the most resolute exertions to dislodge them from their posts. This however was effected after a long and severe contest, wherein the British troops acquitted themselves with remarkable courage and skill. The other divisions of the allied army succeeded in like manner in their separate attacks on the enemy. One of these divisions was headed by the Emperor himself, assisted by Prince Cobourg; and he had the satisfaction of seeing the French opposed to him entirely defeated, and obliged to retreat with considerable loss, though not without having maintained their ground as long as it was tenable, with the greatest bravery. These advantages did not prevent the French from attacking the next day, which was the 18th, the division under the hereditary Prince of Orange. They fell upon him with their usual impetuosity. But the Dutch, of whom that division consisted, stood their ground so firmly, that the French wholly failed in their attempt, and were compelled to retreat. Three days after, they attacked Prince Cobourg's advanced posts; and, after a warm dispute, they forced general Alvinzy, who commanded them, to fall back on the main army. Flushed with this success, they advanced on a large body of Austrians; but these, supported by Sir Robert Lawrie's brigade of British cavalry, resisted them successfully, and forced them to withdraw in great disorder.

Exasperated at these failures, the French assembled a large force at a place near Cambray, known by the name of Cæsar's Camp; intending as soon as they had received further

reinforcements, to risk a general engagement. But the allies determined to engage them before their strength was increased. The Duke of York's division attacked them vigorously on the 24th, and after a well disputed day, put them completely to the rout, and obliged them to retire again to Cambray. Undiscouraged by this defeat, the French returned to the charge on the day following, and assailed the Duke with the utmost fury. The combat was long and bloody on both sides; but fortune declared again for the allies. The loss of the French in these two actions, was computed at more than 3000 in killed, besides thirty pieces of cannon. Among the slain was Chapuy, their General, and a great number of officers. The loss of the confederates was also very considerable. The division headed by the Emperor was also assailed at the same time, but with no better success. The French fought with their accustomed resolution; but the dispositions made by Prince Cobourg were so skilful, that the enemy were repulsed with great slaughter. Eager to repair these losses, the French Commander in Chief, Pichegru, collected a large force, together with a formidable train of artillery, and advanced towards Monegon, where General Clairfait was encamped, and waiting for the reinforcements promised him before he entered upon action; but Pichegru gave him no time to be reinforced: on the 29th of April he attacked the Austrians on every side of their position; and after a fight wherein much blood was reciprocally shed, he completely succeeded in carrying it.

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This defeat was immediately followed by the loss of Courtray and Menin. In this latter town was stationed a number of French emigrants, a body of Hanoverians, of which the garrison chiefly consisted, zealously assisted in preserving them from the revenge of their furious countrymen. With uncommon intrepidity, they jointly fought their way through superior numbers of the enemy. The loss of these two places, was in some measure balanced by the taking of Landrecy. This small but well fortified town, had in the space of ten days, experienced the horrors of many a longer siege. The bombardment had been so incessant and destructive, that only three houses remained entire. Of the garrison, which consisted of near 6000 men, at the commencement of the siege, little more than 4000 were left; and the inhabitants themselves co-operated so warmly in the defence of the place, that some hundreds were slain.

While these transactions happened in the west of the Netherlands, General Jourdain was no less successfully occupied in the duchy of Luxemburg. Pursuant to the plan of the French administration, he had in the beginning of March entered that province, with the view of intercepting its communication with those of Liege and Namur. He was opposed by General Beaulieu, at the head of a numerous force of Austrians. He had long been esteemed a brave and expert officer, and his conduct on this occasion did not fall short of the reputation he had acquired: but the enemy he was now to encounter, seemed destined, by the

uncommon daringness of their en-

terprizes, to break through all the ordinary obstacles that skill and valour could throw in their way. General Jourdain, prompted by that emulation which he felt from the appointment of Pichegru to the command of the northern army, exerted all his talents against his Austrian antagonists. On the 17th of April he made a general attack on the lines occupied by Beaulieu. The courage and obstinacy with which both parties engaged, was such, that the battle lasted two days. It terminated at last in favour of the French, who suffered severely as well as their enemies. In the province of Flanders, the fortune of war seemed as yet more equally balanced. Aware of the active qualities of Pichegru, the commanders of the allied army were perseveringly on the watch to meet his continual motions; and he was no less impatient to justify the choice that had been made of him for the important station to which he had been preferred. After making the previous dispositions for the attempt he was meditating on the 10th of May, the French, to the number of 30,000 of their choicest troops, made a furious attack on the force commanded by the Duke of York, near Tournay: their intention was, by turning his wings, to surround and place him between their collateral fires. They began first by turning his right wing; but it was fortunately flanked by a wood, where the Austrian regiment of Kaunitz had been posted to guard against any such attempt. This regiment maintained its post so effectually, that the French were completely disappointed. They next endeavoured to break in upon the centre. Protected by the r

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merous artillery, they advanced with great resolution to the charge; but were received with equal intrepidity: the fire on both sides was kept up with unyielding courage during a long and furious conflict: but the efforts of the French were fruitless, and they were at length compelled to retire with the loss of near three thousand of their best troops. In the hope of repairing this misfortune, the French planned and executed on the following day an attack on General Clairfait, who was posted in the vicinity of Courtray: they marched from this town in great force, and assailed him at once in several points. But happily he was prepared for them. After a conflict that lasted from twelve at noon to near midnight, he routed and drove them back to Courtray; but here they recovered themselves; and the Austrians were in their turn put to the route, and pursued so closely, that after crossing two rivers, they with difficulty were able to take such a position as might cover the three important towns of Ghent, Bruges, and Ostend. This was a fatal day for the allies. The French had in this action triumphed over the abilities of General Clairfait, and the bravery of his best Austrian veterans. The consequences of this remarkable defeat were felt during the whole campaign; and it was in fact a prelude to the many disasters that followed.

Animated by this success, the French crossed the Sambre, and obliged General Kaunitz to hasten with his whole force to cover Mons: but they followed him with the utmost rapidity, and brought him to a very serious engagement; wherein, however, they did not

meet with the success they had expected. After repeated charges, made with the most desperate valour, and in which they lost an alarming number of excellent officers and soldiers, they found themselves under the necessity of making a retreat, and even of re-crossing the Sambre, after losing in this destructive engagement little less than five thousand of their best men. This remarkable defeat happened on the 14th of May. After so considerable a check, it was hoped in the imperial councils that the French might in their turn be attacked with a likelihood of compelling them to withdraw from those parts of the Austrian territories, of which they had taken possession. To this end arrangements were concerted to recover from them the province of Flanders, which from its situation was of most importance to the confederacy. But what had befallen the French on the opening of the campaign, now happened to the allies: the plan they had formed for the execution of their designs, was betrayed to the French, and thereby completely frustrated.

Of this treacherous communication of their plan to the enemy, the allies unfortunately were not apprized. According to the project agreed upon, they advanced towards the enemy during the night of the 16th, intending to assault his lines before he had received intelligence of their approach. The allied army was formed into five divisions; the Emperor and the Duke of York acted with the strictest concert on this important occasion, and neglected nothing that could procure success to an enterprise on which so much depended.

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The French were posted on the banks of the Margne, opposite to those towards which the allied army was now advancing. Two divisions were to force a passage over this river, while the three others were executing other orders: but the former arrived so late at the place of their destination, and were so fatigued with the length of their march, that the utmost they could do was, to make good their passage over the river, being utterly unable to perform the remainder of what had been proposed. Another division, on its arrival at the French quarters, found them in such good order and strength, that fearing to be cut off by their superior numbers, it immediately retreated to the position it had left. The two divisions under General Otto and the Duke succeeded better, and drove the French from several of their posts. In the last that was carried by the Duke's division, they were strongly intrenched, and made a formidable resistance: but by the judicious conduct of General Abercromby, and the valour of the troops under his command, the entrenchments were forced, and the enemy totally routed.

Thus ended the operations of the 17th of May: a day rendered memorable by the disappointment of the sanguine expectations of the allies to regain their posts in the Flemish districts, and re-establish the superiority they had lost there at the close of the former campaign. The effects of this unexpected disappointment were peculiarly unfortunate for the confederacy: it excited, or to speak perhaps more properly, it revived a spirit of mistrust which had in a great measure been laid, by the con-

sciousness of the necessity of acting together with confidence and unanimity: it extinguished the readiness and alacrity requisite for the formation of enterprises, by damping that hope of success which depends on the honour and secrecy of those who are privy to them.

The advantages obtained by the allies in this conflict were of so little importance, that the French determined to renew the fight next day. Their Generals felt the necessity of recovering immediately the ground they had lost. They were conscious of the critical situation in which they stood, and that the present occasion would prove very decisive. Actuated by the urgency of the moment, they lost no time in making the most skillful arrangements, and at break of day attacked part of the Duke of York's division which lay nearest to them: another body was speedily ordered to move to its assistance; but their attack was made with such a superiority of numbers, that they bore down all resistance. The Duke's main body being weakened by the absence of the troops he had been obliged to detach for the support of those that were engaged, the enemy seized this opportunity of assailing him. The force destined for this purpose was so numerous, that it completely surrounded and fell upon him on every side. General Otto's division, that lay at some distance, was dislodged by them from its position, and overwhelmed by the irresistible strength that pressed upon it from all quarters, and incessantly supplied by fresh additions, was utterly unable to afford him relief. The Duke's division was, after the most intrepid resistance, obliged every-

where to give way: the Duke himself was on the point of falling into the enemy's hands, and compelled to retire with a few attendants to General Otto's division. But it was impossible, with so unequal a force, to stem the immediate torrent of the enemy, and enable the Duke's division to rally. It was with prodigious efforts that the Generals Fox and Abercromby found means to restore sufficient order among the troops, to save them from total destruction, and effect a retreat. But even this was attended with almost insurmountable difficulty; the enemy pressing upon them with incessant fury, and giving them no time to recover from the forlorn situation into which they had been thrown by the unexpected immensity of the numbers with which they had to contend on this unfortunate day.

The defeat of the allies was in every respect complete: not one of their divisions was able to oppose the enemy to any effect: the troops that were headed by the Emperor and Prince Cobourg shared the same fate as the rest. Some hopes had at first been entertained, that General Clairfait might have made a junction with the forces engaged; but a river separated him from them, and the French observed his motions with so much vigilance, that he found it impracticable to participate in this action. The disasters of the allied army on this fatal day, occasioned a variety of complaints and recriminations among different parts that composed it. Want of conduct, and even of sufficient resolution, was imputed to some; they were accused of having made an

untimely retreat, which, by the confusion it caused, threw the other parts into irreparable disorder. The precise loss of the allies in this battle, which was fought near Turcoign, was never satisfactorily ascertained; but it must have been very great. The British troops alone lost a thousand men, besides a considerable train of artillery; and the other divisions of the army, though less deeply engaged, could not escape the fury of an enemy so expert in making the most of every advantage, and deriving so many from its prodigious numbers.

This complete defeat of the combined powers filled the French with an exultation that led them to think that no resistance to them could henceforward be practicable. They counted much less on the slaughter of those who had fallen in battle, than on the discouragement among those that survived. They did not seem to reflect on the real and efficient cause of their success: the numerous and exhaustless multitudes they were able to bring into the field, and to replace as fast as they were destroyed.

An enemy thus circumstanced was the more formidable, that he carried on the war at his own doors, and could instantly, as it were, be supplied with whatever force was needed for the operations he might project. His enemy's situation was precisely the reverse. His supplies of men came from far distant countries: they had immense tracks to traverse before they reached the place of their destination. The countries contended for, and in which the war was waged, afforded no recruits, or a very few; the generality of those classes wherein soldiers are found, being  
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refuge to their rulers, and well affected to the French. This was notoriously the case with the people in the Austrian Netherlands. In the Seven United Provinces, the inhabitants have so many beneficial occupations to follow, that their military list is almost entirely composed of foreigners. Such being the relative situation of the French, and of the confederacy formed against them, it was not surprising that the loss of men in battle was so little felt by the former, and so much by the latter; and that, presuming upon so important an advantage, the French should continually be forming fresh enterprises, while the allies found it necessary to adopt no hazardous measures without the utmost caution, from the serious consequences that must necessarily ensue through the difficulty of repairing their losses in killed or taken.

Four days after the defeat of the allied army, the French Generals resolved to improve their advantage by following it up, while the spirits of their enemies were depressed by their ill success. To this end they determined to force their passage over the Scheldt, and lay siege to the city of Tournay, wherein they had many wellwishers. They collected a force of no less than one hundred thousand men, with which they doubted not to compass their designs. The allies in the mean time having reunited their scattered forces, prepared with unabated resolution to meet them again. At five in the morning, on the 22d, the French attacked the advanced posts of the allies, and obliged them to fall back on the main body: but here their progress was checked, and, notwithstanding the fire and

impetuosity with which they continued their various attacks till near ten at night, the skilfulness of the dispositions made by General Fox, to whom the command and honour of the day chiefly fell, and the steady valour of the troops under him, their attempts were wholly frustrated; and they were compelled to retire as far back as Lisle. The loss of the French in this severe conflict was estimated at more than 10,000 men. It would have been much greater had the British cavalry been able to act. But the French, who had on several occasions suffered considerably by its exertions, had taken the precaution to cover both their flanks by thick woods, through which the horse could not penetrate. Had they not been guarded in this manner, it was the opinion of many of the ablest judges, that such a victory obtained by the allies must have decided the whole fate of the campaign in their favour. It was at this period that the Emperor, accompanied by Colonel Mack, forsook the Netherlands, and returned to Vienna. His departure occasioned the more surprize, that the fate of the campaign was far from being decided. The French had just been defeated; and the public were of opinion that he ought to have remained on the scene of action, were it only to inspire his soldiers. All he had done was to issue proclamations; to which no attention was paid.

The signal defeat of the French near Tournay was accompanied by two others; which, though not of equal importance, contributed greatly to raise the spirits of the allies; on which the activity of the enemy, and the continual superiority or strength they displayed on

every occasion, had made a very serious impression. They saw that, with all their efforts, even when successful, they could not damp the resolution of the French; who seemed to forget their defeats the moment they were able to renew the fight, and to behave with as much confidence as if they had been the victors. The first of these defeats was on the 24th of this month, two days after the action wherein they had received so destructive a check. They had taken a strong position at Rouveroy, on that side of the Sambre where General Kaunitz lay encamped. He formed there with a design of surprising them; and did it so effectually, notwithstanding their usual vigilance, that they suffered a total rout, with the loss of near 5,000 men killed and taken, together with fifty pieces of cannon.

Six days before this event, the Austrian forces, commanded by General Beaulieu, had invaded the district of Bouillon, lying within the precincts of France. A large body of French were defeated, and the town of that name taken and plundered, on pretences of the inhabitants having fired on the Austrian troops: 1,500 men, it was reported, were slain or captured on this occasion. But these discomfitures of the French produced no solid advantages to the allies; in the district of Bouillon they soon recovered the superiority. General Jourdain, at the head of 40,000 men, entered the Duchy of Luxemburg; and General Beaulieu was in consequence forced immediately to abandon his position, and retreat towards Namur, in order to protect it from Jourdain's army. Elated by his success, and confiding

in his numerous forces, General Jourdain advanced towards Charleroy, of which he cut off the communication with Brussels. Alarmed at his attempt, the allies collected a powerful body of troops, at the head of which the hereditary Prince of Orange attacked the French, on the 3d of June, so vigorously, that they were obliged to recross the Sambre, after losing about 7,000 men.

It was not expected that, after being forced to raise the siege of Charleroy with so much loss, they would so readily be able to resume it with a greater strength than before. This however they did in a short time. They recrossed the Sambre with 60,000 men, and after destroying some fortified posts that had been constructed to obstruct their approaches to the town, they recommenced the siege with the utmost fervour. The commanders of the allies were duly sensible of the critical situation they were in; Charleroy was, by the present position of the contending armies, absolutely necessary for the preservation of Brussels itself. Should the former fall, the latter could not stand. Of this the French were well aware; and, from that motive, carried on the siege of Charleroy with all possible vigour. Animated by the consciousness of the imminent dangers that threatened them, were the French to reduce this important fortress, Prince Cobourg, in conjunction with the hereditary Prince of Orange and General Beaulieu, determined to hazard a general action with the French, in order to compel them to raise the siege.

For this purpose the major part of the allied army was drawn together,

ther, and formed a strength which was deemed sufficient for the great effort which was now proposed. Two days were employed in making the arrangements requisite for the decisive day that was approaching. The posts occupied by the French were uncommonly strong; and they appeared no less solicitous on their side to leave nothing undone that could contribute to their success. Early in the morning of the 26th of June, the allies moved on in several divisions to the attack of every part of the French army. The opinion entertained by both that this action would be very decisive, induced them to make the most animated exertions. The contest continued until it was very late in the day; and victory long fluctuated between the opposite parties. Fortune at length decided for the French: the allies were in every quarter repulsed with an immense slaughter: the enemy routed and pursued them with such destruction, that they were obliged, without halting, to make a confused retreat to Halle, a place at thirty miles distance from the field of battle.

This day fully proved, what both parties had previously expected, a final decision of the fate of the French and the allied armies in the Netherlands, during the present campaign. The present struggle between them had been fully adequate to so great an object. It continued thirteen hours, during which the French line had thrice been broken, and on the point of giving up the contest. But those who headed the republican army, had firmly resolved that no retreat should be permitted. They succeed-

ed by infusing their sentiments throughout their men, who with reiterated endeavours exhorted each other to die or conquer. It was fix in the evening before the French were able to make any impression upon the allies. General Jourdain had the good fortune to receive at this moment to powerful a reinforcement of troops, and especially of artillery, as immediately turned the scale in his favour. The allies were now equally fatigued and depressed by their repeated and fruitless efforts against an enemy whose numbers they found it impracticable to diminish. As those who fell were constantly replaced by fresh troops, they were unable to make any longer stand, and precipately withdrew in all directions. This battle was fought on the plains of Fleurus, already memorable in history for a victory obtained over the powers in alliance against France by the famous Marshal Luxembourg, about a century before. By the present victory the reputation of General Jourdain rose to its highest summit. This was the second time his valour and skill had enabled the republic to triumph over its enemies at a dangerous crisis. Dunkirk in the preceding year, and Fleurus in the present, were now reputed two events decisive of each of these campaigns. What the real loss of the allies amounted to on this fatal day, was never ascertained with any precision. The numbers stated to the convention were upwards of 10,000: but whatever they might be, the loss of all further hope to maintain their ground in the Netherlands against the French, was a circumstance more depressive than any other.



The chief object in contemplation among the heads of the allies seemed now to be the preservation of of what remained of their shattered forces, and, if possible, of the principal places of strength yet in their possession. Allowing the reports of the slain and prisoners in the allied army as laid before the Convention, and published by their direction, to be exaggerated, it appeared that whatever might be the cause, the combined forces had suffered a diminution of more than half of what their numbers amounted to at the commencement of the present campaign. The Austrian, the British, and the Dutch troops then formed a total of little less than 200,000 men; of which not more than 100,000 were now remaining to oppose the undiminished strength of the French, which pressed upon them from all quarters, and was daily receiving additions: so eager was the republican administration to improve the advantages lately gained, and to overwhelm the confederates before they could be reinforced, and thus deprive them at once of all expectations of recovering their losses. Charleroy had surrendered to the French on the very eve of the battle: a circumstance that was not known to the allies till very late in the action, and materially contributed to discourage them, as they relied on the garrison making a vigorous sally during the engagement; and which would have proved a strong diversion in their favour.

While these transactions were taking place in the vicinity of Charleroy, the French were not less active in the province of Flanders. They were commanded

by General Moreau, one of the bravest and most expert officers in the service of the republic. His operations were directed against Ypres, the most important town in that province, and the taking of which would be attended with the most signal advantages, as it would open a road to all the other parts of the country where the allies were stationed, and lay them open to the enterprizes of the French. This strong town was accordingly besieged by General Moreau, at the head of near 60,000 men; part of which force was intended to watch the motions of General Clairfait, were he to attempt to raise the siege. This he very speedily endeavoured to effect. Knowing the consequence of preserving this place, he collected the whole strength he was able, and advanced with a full determination to venture a battle for this purpose. He attacked the French on the 12th of June, and from this day to the 17th left them no respite. This engagement was in point of duration and uncertainty how it would terminate, the most remarkable during the whole campaign. Success seemed at first to incline towards the Austrians, who repeatedly drove the French from their posts, and for a long time rendered the victory doubtful. But after five days continual fighting, the final issue proved fatal to the allies: they were driven from the field of battle, and withdrew in the greatest disorder towards Ghent, where Clairfait rallied his scattered troops, in order to cover that large city, and preserve a communication with Oudenarde. But the French were now posted between him and this town.

Despairing

Despairing of receiving relief from him, the garrison of Ypres found it necessary to surrender. That strong and important place capitulated on the 17th of June to General Moreau, whose reputation and valour were now greatly raised by these various successes.

This reduction of Ypres, together with the defeat of General Clairfait, produced the same effect in Flanders that had followed the defeat of the allies at Fleurus and the taking of Charleroy. It put an end to all effectual resistance in the Flemish districts, and so dispirited the Austrians, that their opposition to the French became daily weaker, and of less avail. Six thousand of their best troops had fallen into the hands of the French at Ypres, besides the numbers that had been lost in the different engagements between the French and General Clairfait. This brave but unfortunate officer was no longer able to afford protection to the Flemish towns lying between Ghent and the sea:—the most considerable of which was Bruges, one of the largest and most opulent places in Flanders. The garrison consisted of an inconsiderable body of Hanoverians, under General Walmoden, who, finding his situation untenable against the numbers that were approaching, retreated towards the army under the command of General Clairfait. This evacuation induced the magistracy of Bruges to submit to the French army, and to acknowledge the sovereignty of the republic. This submission was formally made on the 24th of June, to the great satisfaction of the majority of the inhabitants, who had long har-

boured discontents against the Austrian government, and were heartily desirous of seeing it subverted.

The defeat of General Clairfait had proved no less detrimental to the British forces commanded by the Duke of York, which had been posted at Tournay as the proper centre of communication between the army of General Clairfait in Flanders, and that under Prince Cobourg, in the more eastern districts. But the disasters that befell the latter wholly disconcerted the plan of operations intended; and the Duke was now obliged to move towards Oudenarde, in order to afford its relief against the French who had invested it with a large force, and held another in readiness to support the siege, expecting that the allies would not remain inactive spectators of its capture. By this movement the city of Tournay was consigned to the protection of a garrison totally inadequate to its defence against the formidable strength that would undoubtedly be employed in its reduction. The moment the French perceived that the force which had been stationed there had quitted it, and was removed to a sufficient distance, to enable them to cut off its communication with the city, they marched towards Tournay; which, if properly garrisoned, would certainly have been able to have made a resolute defence. It had been strongly fortified by the most skilful engineers, after it had been taken by the French during the reign of Lewis XIV; and it had cost many lives to the allies, who retook it in the war for the Spanish succession. But such at present was its defenceless situation, and

little able was any part of the combined army to afford it protection, that on July 3, after the Duke's division had evacuated it, the considerable body he left behind, consisting of Hanoverians and Hessians, thought it prudent to withdraw from a place which it was clear they could no longer preserve. Notwithstanding the friendly footing on which the British troops and the inhabitants had lived together, so rooted was their aversion to the Austrian government, and so partial were they to the principles and views of the French republican

party, that their troops were welcomed into the town with the loudest acclamations, and treated with every mark of attachment. Upon the very day that Tournay surrendered, the Duke of York found it necessary to abandon his position near Oudenarde, and to retire towards Antwerp; to which city he sent his sick and wounded. Oudenarde fell immediately into the hands of the French; who made a considerable booty here as well as at Tournay, consisting principally of military stores and provisions.

## CHAP II.

*Arrival of Lord Moira at Ostend. Evacuation of this Town and March of Lord Moira to the Assistance of the Duke of York. Ostend surrendered to the French. Exultation of the French at their Successes. Diligence and Activity of the French Armies in improving them. Prince Cobourg defeated and Mons taken. Brussels surrenders to the French, who establish their Form of Government in that and other Places. Reunion at Brussels of the French Armies of the North and of the Sambre and Meuse. Immense Captures by the French of Provisions, Ammunition, Military Stores, and Magazines of every Kind. Ghent taken by the French. Engagements between the French and the Troops under Lord Moira. He effects a Junction with the Duke of York. Their joint Operations against the French. They quit Mechlin. Movements of the Duke of York. Prince Cobourg proposes to attack the French, but the Dutch decline his Proposal. Reasons assigned for their Conduct. The Hereditary Prince of Orange endeavours to oppose the French, but is compelled to retire. General Clairfuit defeated near Loirvain, with great Slaughter. That City taken by the French. Project of the Allies to form a Line of Defence between Antwerp and Namur. Frustrated by the expeditious Movements of the French. Capture of both these Cities. The Austrians routed at Liege by General Jourdain, to whom that Place surrenders. The French invade Dutch Flanders. The Dutch evacuate Lisle. Cudford surrenders to General Moreau. Siege of Sluys by the French. Its brave Defence. Surrenders to the French. Successes of the French upon the Rhine. Kayserlauern and other Places taken. The French surprised and defeated by Marshal Mollendorff at Kayserlauern. They gain a complete Victory over the Prussians at Edikhoffen. Another over both the Prussians and Austrians at Tripladt. Consequences of these Victories. The City of Treves surrenders to the French. The French retake Landrecy, Quesnoy, Valenciennes, and Condt, with immense Quantities of Stores and Artillery. Their inexorable Treatment of the Emigrants. Their Capture of the Towns in Flanders. Brave Defence of Nieupoort. Situation of the Dutch at this Period. Endeavours of the Stadtholder to excite them to unite in Defence of their Country. Discontents and Complaints of the People of Holland. Preparations of the Dutch to oppose the French. Brede and Bois le Duc put in a Posture of Defence. The Duke of York stations his Forces near these Towns*

*Tetons for their Protection. Preparations of the French to attack the Duke of York. Their immense Superiority of Numbers obliges him to remove to Grace. after sustaining their Attack of his Posts on the River Dommel with great Resolution. Consternation in Holland at the Approach of the French. Proclamations of the Stadtholder and the States, exhorting the People to Vigour and Unanimity in their Defence. Address of Prince Cobourg to the Inhabitants of Germany bordering upon France. Address of the Emperor to the same. Sentiments of the Princes and States of the Empire at this Time. Embassy from the King of Great Britain to the Emperor, who engages to prosecute the War on receiving a large Subsidy for that Purpose. Prince Cobourg resigns the Command of the Confederate Armies. Reasons alleged for his Dismissal.*

**D**URING these rapid successes of the French, a considerable body of British troops arrived at Ostend, commanded by the Earl of Moira. Intelligence being received of the perilous situation of the Duke of York, a consultation was held, whether it were not more expedient to proceed with all diligence to the relief of the Duke than to attempt the precarious defence of a town that was encompassed by so many places possessed by the French? A siege of it would infallibly take place; and were the garrison to make ever so brave a defence, this would not prevent the enemy from pressing upon the Duke with so numerous a force, that without immediate aid he could not maintain his ground. These motives determined the Earl to march his troops with all speed to the assistance of the Duke, while the garrison of Ostend should immediately embark in the fleet that brought them from England. This evacuation was effected with great dexterity by Colonel Vyse; who used so much expedition, that in the space of a day, the 1st of July, before night, all the troops of which the garrison consisted, with their baggage and stores of every kind, were safe on board. The French troops, apprized of what was transacting at

Ostend, made so rapid a march as to reach it towards the evening: a strong detachment entered the town as the last of the British troops were embarking: they directly began to fire on the shipping; which answered them with great spirit.

It was the end of June before the arrival of the Earl of Moira at Ostend; and the fleet on which the British troops and garrison embarked, sailed for Flushing, in Zealand, on the 3d of July. Only one vessel was lost on this occasion. It ran aground in the entrance of the harbour, and was burnt, to prevent its capture by the enemy.

Notwithstanding the benefits resulting to the people of Ostend while it remained in the possession of the English, so infatuated were the inhabitants, as to imagine that much greater advantages would accrue to them from the French. They received them of course with every demonstration of joy; and the French, in return, organized the without delay, according to their own plan. The force brought from England, under the command of the Earl of Moira, amounted to ten thousand effectual men. Previously to the approach of the French to intercept his communication with the allied force

Lord Moira had secured his junction with the army under General Clairfait.

In the mean time, the exultation of the French at their uninterrupted successes, was boundless; the Convention resounded with the applauses of their Generals; and they spoke of their enemies in the most unqualified terms of indignation and contempt. On the 4th of July, the celebrated Deputy Barrere made a speech on occasion of the victories gained by the French, wherein he enumerated them with great pomp, or rather affectedness of expression. By the statements he laid before the Convention, it was asserted that in the different engagements with the combined armies, these had lost thirty thousand men slain in battle, besides those who had been made prisoners. It may be added, that had he disclosed the numbers of killed on the side of the French, they would not probably have been found less considerable. While the people in France consoled themselves in their victories, for the many calamities that had befallen them in the progress of this sanguinary revolution, the French armies, elated at their superiority to all the resistance the allies fruitlessly endeavoured to make, and presuming on the consternation which was daily increasing among the allies and their adherents, were becoming more active and enterprising than ever. Instead of relaxing in their career, they now exerted additional diligence in improving their good fortune. This indeed was their leading characteristic at this period; and to this they were indebted for the surprising prosperity that now at-

tended them. Actuated by this fundamental maxim of all permanent success, they pressed upon their enemies in every direction; they pursued them without intermission, and afforded them no opportunity of making any effectual stand. After the battle of Fleurus, Prince Cobourg having reassembled his broken army at Halle, exerted his abilities to recover it from the dejection as well as the disorder into which it had been thrown, by so terrible a defeat. He advanced towards Mons, hoping to protect it from the enemy, by taking an advantageous position in its neighbourhood; but he was on the 2d of July attacked with relentless fury by the French, who forced him to abandon his post, and to evacuate Mons, into which they made their entrance at one of the gates, while he was hurrying with all speed out at another.

Prince Cobourg, determined to stand another trial to save Brussels from the enemy, threw up strong entrenchments in the forest of Soignies, that lay between the French and that capital of the Austrian Netherlands. This being the last effort he proposed, or would indeed be able to make for its preservation, he resolved on the most resolute defence. The Austrians under his command, fought accordingly on this occasion, with great courage and obstinacy; and particularly made a vast slaughter of the French, by means of a formidable artillery; but these terminated at length this bloody conflict, by rushing on the Austrians with their bayonets. Notwithstanding the skill displayed by Prince Cobourg, his troops were broken and their batteries seized; seven thousand of them

them were slain, or left wounded on the field of battle; and the residue of his army, with the greatest difficulty made its way to Brussels, through which it effected a retreat during the night. Whether he was afraid lest the inhabitants of this metropolis should have gathered such intelligence from his retreating men, as might have proved detrimental to the allies, or whether he was unwilling that the people of Brussels, whom he knew to be disaffected, should enjoy the satisfaction of witnessing the flight of the Austrians, their former masters, from a place where they had so long exercised unbounded, however hated authority, Prince Cobourg laid the strictest injunction on the inhabitants to remain within their houses, without opening their doors or windows, or presuming to look through them, during the whole time of his army's retreat. Instant death was threatened to the disobedient. Such was the last act of sovereignty exercised in this capital seat of the Austrian domination and grandeur in the low countries, by the last Austrian commander that had it in his power to enforce obedience.

The inhabitants of this great city beheld this revolution of affairs with uncommon pleasure. Every victory which the French gained, had long been to them a motive of rejoicing, as far as they durst avow their sentiments. On the rapid decline of the Austrian interest, they could no longer contain their satisfaction; and the mingled effusions of their anger and sarcasms at the flying Austrians, proclaimed loudly to the world how ill, or at least how injudiciously, that family had ruled their subjects in the

Netherlands, how little it knew how to conciliate their affection or esteem, and how unwise the attempt to maintain its power by haughtiness and coercion. Brussels fell into the hands of the French on the 9th of July. This event was reciprocally viewed, by both the allies and the French, as a final conclusion of all farther hope on the part of the Emperor of ever repossessing it. Republican principles were so deeply rooted among the Flemings, and so few of them retained the least regard for the government of that family, which was now looked upon as expelled, that they proceeded, immediately on the junction of their metropolis to the arms of France, to borrow from the conquering people, to whom they now professed an unbounded attachment, all the forms and regulations which these new masters thought proper to recommend for the good order of the state. Thus the whole French system was adopted, and in a short time established in every part of the Netherlands, from which the Austrians were forced to withdraw. It was peculiarly fortunate for the French armies, that the period of their conquests in the Netherlands was approaching to that of the harvest. The ground promised abundant crops of every kind, and, notwithstanding the irregularities attending the motions of armies, the natural fertility of the soil, and the laborious industry of the inhabitants, had prepared ample supplies.

The different armies of the Meuse, the Sambre, and the North, on the surrender of Brussels, united their whole strength at this point, from which they proposed, as from the centre of their future operations,

to direct their movements against the allies. The plunder of every denomination which became the prize of the French, was equally of immense value, and of the highest utility. The rapidity with which the allied troops everywhere retired before them, left no leisure for the preservation of their magazines and stores; and had the French made themselves masters of these alone, they would have found enough to supply the demands of a whole campaign. The gaiety with which the reception of the French was everywhere accompanied, was a remarkable contrast to the sullen silence with which the Flemings had beheld the arrival of the Austrian troops, and viewed their departure. They seemed so pleased with their new guests, that they met them at their gates with wine and other refreshments, and hailed them as their deliverers from oppression. We have seen in the course of this work, that several years before the French revolution, the imperial government had become hateful to the higher orders among the Flemish nation, on account of the premature and impolitic reforms of the Emperor Joseph II. As the higher ranks were discontented from a recollection of the past conduct of the house of Austria, so the lower classes were moved and agitated by the example of France:—and such in general is the brief history of insurrections, revolts, and revolutions. The poor, forming the mass of the people, are always persuaded that they have something good to hope for from a change of government. The rich and great, dissatisfied with their ancient rulers, and afraid of their return to power, suffer things

to take their course. The reign of popular orators commences: outrages follow: the greater part of the nation are overawed by fear: an apprehension of popular violence, on the one hand, and a mistrust of royal amnesties on the other: a general listlessness and despondency prevails: an indifference about all political matters, which by the silent lapse of time, strengthens the hand of usurpation. The revolutions of France and of the low countries, may be clearly traced to the same origin: the faults of their respective governments, but principally their corrupt administration of the finances, squeezing payment for soldiers, and pensions for courtiers, out of the blood and vitals of the people; premature and rash innovations; and a multiplicity and fluctuation of councils and laws, which perplex the minds of plain men, and leaves them in some matters at a loss to know what is the precise conduct that they ought to hold with respect to government. Confidence in government once lost, is not to be restored by manifestos and proclamations. It becomes impossible to arrange the people around a centre of common opinions: scarcely are two men who entertain exactly the same sentiments concerning public affairs. An appeal is made, not to public law and the rights of nations, but to arms; and all things are determined by physical force, instead of moral persuasion.

In the mean time the loss of Oudenarde had been followed by that of Ghent, which the French entered on the 5th of July. This large city enabled them to station in it a numerous force, and to keep the allies in its neighbourhood in continual

continual alarm. The Duke of York, in consequence of these losses, found it advisable to relinquish the position he had taken, and to draw nearer to Antwerp; where it had been determined to form a junction with the troops lately brought from England by Lord Moira.

This prudent and indefatigable commander had, after a most tedious and difficult march, and encountering continual obstacles, reached the town of Alost. Such had been the sufferings of his troops, that, from their leaving Ostend to their present position, they were without baggage and tents, and exposed all the way to the inclemency of weather. Presuming on the fatigue they must have endured, and their consequent weariness, the French attacked them on the 6th of July, immediately after their arrival, and forced an entrance into the town; but they were obliged to abandon it, after a sharp dispute, wherein they sustained a much more considerable loss than the British troops. Two days after this action, Lord Moira effected a junction with the Duke of York. They posted their united forces along the canal between Brussels and Antwerp; but here they were not permitted to remain. The French attacked them in great strength on the 12th of this month; and they were compelled to take shelter in Mechlin, closely pressed by the French; from hence however these were driven in their turn by a reinforcement brought forward by Lord Moira, and obliged to fall back on their posts with considerable loss. This check did not prevent the French from renewing their attack three days after. They as-

ailed the posts in the front of Mechlin, towards the canal, in its vicinity. The allies occupied a dyke, from whence they were not dislodged without an obstinate defence. But the numbers and impetuosity of the French improved this first success so completely, that no longer resistance was made, and the allies retired into Mechlin; which appearing in their present situation untenable, was immediately evacuated. The French were now in such force near Antwerp, and this last defeat had so enabled them to command its environs, and straiten it on every side, that with such inferior strength as the Duke's, it was not possible long to retain possession of it. The Duke resolved however to remain there, in order to cover the operations of the Dutch, and afford them an opportunity of putting their strong holds in the neighbourhood in a condition to make a vigorous defence.

But whatever determination the Dutch might have come to, to defend their fortresses with resolution, they were totally averse to meet the French in the field. Prince Cobourg had resolved, notwithstanding his late disasters, once more to have hazarded a battle with the enemy: but the Dutch troops refused to second him. It was alleged by those who excupated the Dutch, that their numbers were so reduced, that had the French been victorious, which was much to be apprehended, the loss of the Dutch, in killed or taken, might be so great as to disable them from effectually protecting their frontiers; which in that case would infallibly fall into the hands of the French. This defection of the Dutch entirely frustrated the intentions



tions of Prince Cobourg. His plan was, it seems, to collect whatever could be found in good order and condition of the allied troops, and with these to venture one courageous trial of fortune with the enemy. His superiority in number was visibly the principal cause of his success; and if, through skilful dispositions, this superiority could be guarded against, the chances of war would remain equal, and hopes might be justly entertained of giving battle to the enemy with success. But this, in the opinion of many, was a very perilous scheme. The numbers of the French were continually brought forwards with so much arrangement, expedition, and dexterity, that it was impossible to avoid them. Their tactics were so ordered as to maintain constant succession of attacks, which could not by any art be prevented: thus, whatever numbers they might bring into the field, they were all brought into action, and rendered of certain utility.

We have been repeatedly assured by different persons, well informed on the subject of French affairs at the present period, that the military plans and stratagems of the French armies in the present campaign, were not so often formed by the Generals, though unquestionably men of great genius and ability, as by the joint (if not superior) talents of a military committee established at Paris, for the

peculiar purpose of directing all the grand operations of war on the immense frontiers of France in a systematic manner; and by the aid of the telegraph, almost instantaneous. This committee was treated by Robespierre in his own way. The members who composed it were placed, and in fact confined, in the Thuilleries; whither all kinds of military charts were brought to them from the war office, and all the military memoirs and observations of the most celebrated commanders that had been produced by France. In the antichamber of these gentlemen there was a number of aid des camps, and a multitude of couriers, for the purpose of transmitting such orders as could not be communicated by the telegraph. A hint was given them, that in case their measures should not prove successful, the guillotine was at their service. In this manner the cunning tyrant contrived to avail himself of the abilities and experience of many officers warmly attached to the royal family and the old government. It was of officers of this class indeed that the committee principally consisted: and, what is also very remarkable, among the members of this committee, there were several gentlemen who had offered their services to the army under the French princes in 1792, but were rejected on the score of their not belonging to the royal

\* Among other ingenious inventions in the art of war, a contrivance had by this time been fallen on for sending reinforcements of men from one place to another on sudden and great emergencies, with great celerity and without fatigue. It seemed, like other inventions of great importance, very simple and obvious too after it was invented. It was no other than to take the assistance of coaches and other wheel-carriages. In this, as in other military improvements, the French have been imitated by their neighbours.

ists of the first and purest class, or, in other words, those who had emigrated about the same time with the princes, or joined them in a few months thereafter, at Coblenz.

Another striking circumstance, of which we are well assured, and which will not appear anywise incredible to any one who attends to the natural movements of the mind and heart, was, that even the greatest royalists in that committee, acknowledged afterwards, that, on receiving intelligence that their plans had been crowned with success, they could not refrain from indulging the same kind of satisfaction that is enjoyed by a good player at chess, when he gains a piece by a train of judicious combinations.

Although what we have here related may seem to carry in it somewhat of the marvellous and romantic, we have not the least difficulty in giving it entire credit, as it appears to our satisfaction to be sufficiently attested; and as it is in

perfect unison with the character of the dictator, and the new, strange, and after whimsical situation in which all things were placed by the successive revolutions \*. It was long a very common error to ascribe all successes in war to the character of the chief commander. But it is no longer permitted to any others than poets to introduce heroes, raging like Diomedes and Achilles in the midst of hostile armies, and ruling the storm of war by personal exertions, and the magic power of example. Great names have no doubt an influence on the minds of the soldiers. A King at the head of his troops increases their ardour in his cause: a victorious General inspires his troops with confidence: but the strength of modern armies consists much more in the organization of the états majors, the artillery, and the skill and dexterity of the engineers, than in any superiority of talents in the General. Now all the advantages just mentioned, it must be owned, were on the side

\* From the military committee of Robespierre, we are led, by a natural association of ideas, to observe that a very considerable portion of the army were friends to monarchy at their hearts; though it was impossible for great bodies of men all at once to part from their usual habits, modes, and we may add means of life. But they did not conceive that it was any violation of duty, or unbecoming their character as military men, to remain in the army and fight the battles of France against a hostile invaders. Sentiments of regard and attachment to the royal family and the army, broke forth, on some occasions, without any disguise. The following anecdote of Pichegru is told by a gentleman, worthy of all credit, who could not be under any mistake as to the fact which he relates, and of which he was a witness.—General Pichegru, towards the end of 1794, being in Holland, said openly and boldly before many strangers as well as Frenchmen, that he wished for a restoration of monarchy; and that he wished that he could contribute to so desirable a work. It cannot be determined whether Pichegru said this from an unguarded impulse, or a design to sound the public mind, and particularly that of the army, on the interesting subject. But his words did not seem to excite any surprise at the time when they were spoken. It was probably in consequence of some hints from Pichegru himself, that overtures for the restoration of the French monarchy were afterwards made to him by the French princes.

of the French. But it is farther to be acknowledged, that the government of France was more calculated to produce a great number of good Generals, than those of the Emperor and the other allies. The former opened a career of glory to all who were born with a military genius, however humble their station, as distinguished merit was a sure, as it was the only road to preferment; whereas, in Germany, all the great offices, military as well as civil, were in the possession of the nobility. The courts were under a degree of necessity of bestowing marks of confidence and favour on the great families: and a General must have committed many faults and errors, before any minister could come to the bold determination of dismissing him from his office. Democratical governments are equally inimical to the tranquillity and happiness of their own people, and the peace and security of their neighbours: they breed turbulent and pestiferous citizens; but alert soldiers, able officers, and formidable armies.

However the intrepid spirit of Prince Cobourg might view the circumstances of the war with coolness and fortitude, the allied armies could not fail, after such a series of defeats, to feel some degree of dejection at the repeated disappointments of their most expert officers. It now appeared impracticable to act on a parity with the French. The advantages on the side of these were so numerous and evident, and there was so little probability of diminishing them, that valour and experience did not appear a sufficient counterpoise for the prodigious weight that constantly attended them. The com-

manders of the allied forces were now chiefly occupied in preserving from utter destruction what now remained of the strength with which they had fought so many battles. The hereditary Prince of Orange, who had frequently signalized his courage and capacity during the present as well as the foregoing campaign, continued with undespending activity to oppose the enemy to the last. After the unfortunate battle of Fleurus, he placed himself in so advantageous a position, that the French could not compel him to abandon it, until their approach towards Brussels, in immense force, rendered all farther resistance on his part equally vain and hopeless. Retiring towards Louvain, he made a resolute stand on the banks of its canal; but here he was again overpowered by numbers, and fell back on the river Dyle, which he was also obliged to cross, to prevent them from surrounding him.

The French, after taking possession of Brussels, determined to use all expedition in subduing the remaining parts in the district of Austrian Brabant, and in the contiguous provinces. For this end they advanced upon Louvain, the second city of notice in this district. The division appointed for the reduction of this city, was under the command of General Klebert, an officer of great merit in the French service. General Clairfait commanded a large force of Austrians in the proximity of the city, and with a courage and conduct worthy of a better fortune, again hazarded an engagement with the French. The battle was fought with great fury on both sides, as usual; but the fortune of the French again prevailed.

ailed. General Clairfait was entirely defeated, losing no less than six thousand men, together with all prospect of maintaining his ground in that quarter. The result of this defeat, which happened the 15th of July, was the loss of Louvain. It was not however yielded to the French without a desperate conflict, wherein much blood was shed. A stand was made by the Austrians in the neighbourhood; but they were put to the rout by the French General Lefevre, and pursued with great slaughter as far as Tirlemont.

The rapidity with which the French carried all before them, totally confounded the plans that had been formed to resist them. After it had been found that a defensive system was the only one to be adopted after so many disasters, a line of defence had been projected, wherein the principal places deemed tenable were included. The two extremities of the line proposed were Antwerp and Namur; and it was expected that by filling these places with numerous garrisons, long and tedious sieges might be sustained, and, not improbably, weary out the patience of the enemy, and prove in the end materially obstructive to his general designs. But the unexpected celerity with which the French pursued whatever they undertook, totally frustrated this plan: whether from not being previously put in a state of preparation for a regular defence, or that a want of proper vigour was imputable to the allies, the French experienced little or no difficulty in compelling the almost immediate surrender of every town they approached. Doubtless, the disaffection of the

inhabitants to the cause of the combined powers, operated against them; but as they were disarmed, a resolute garrison might have kept them in awe, as well as maintained their post against the enemy.

Both Antwerp and Namur were famous in history for the sieges they had sustained. Namur particularly had been successively besieged by Louis XIV. of France, and William of England in person, and neither of them reduced it until after an obstinate resistance: but both these cities were now abandoned in a manner which, by the severe critics of the conduct of the allies throughout this campaign, was stigmatized as denoting feebleness of conduct and dejection of spirit.

The troops at Namur were withdrawn by General Beaulieu: they were so apprehensive of being made prisoners, that they took advantage of a dark night; and before the morning of the 17th of July, had evacuated both the city and the citadel; where, on taking possession, the French found a numerous artillery.

The importance and extent of Antwerp had rendered it a general dépôt of the principal stores and magazines of the allied army. The quantity of these was immense. Eager to seize a prey of such value and consequence, the French hastened to Antwerp the moment they were able, and summoned it to surrender; which it did accordingly on the morning of the 23d of July. The enemy was disappointed however in his expectations of booty: all that could be serviceable to him having been previously destroyed. It was computed at the time, that the value thus lost amounted to

more than five hundred thousand pounds sterling.

The capture of so large and important a place as Louvain, had in a manner decided the fate of all the eastern parts of Brabant. The French had no position of much strength to encounter between that place and the city of Liege, which was the next object of consequence they had in view. Here however they were secure of the warmest attachment of the inhabitants of all that country, who waited impatiently for the retreat of the allied forces to manifest their disposition. General Jourdain was now advancing towards this city with the victorious armies of the Sambre and Meuse; the way was clear before him, and the success of the other armies had removed every obstacle that might have been apprehended on the side of Brabant. He posted his troops on the ground before Leige on the 27th day of July, and attacked the Austrians in front of the city with so much fury, that after standing a heavy cannonade, finding the numbers of the enemy increasing, and preparing to surround them on every side, they withdrew in good order to the high grounds adjacent to Liege; from whence they did great execution on the French with their artillery. The reception of the conquerors by the inhabitants of Liege, was conformable to that which they had invariably experienced in every place in the low countries that fell into their hands. The people of this city and its dependencies, were however peculiarly distinguished by the zeal they had long shewn for a connexion with France of the strictest kind. The French go-

vernment was conscious of this; and it was with particular satisfaction they recovered possession of a territory so considerable in wealth and extent, and of which the natives were so firmly devoted to France.

While this part of the Netherlands was thus returning to the obedience of the republic, its arms were equally triumphant in others. The Dutch, justly apprehending that the French, after seizing all the Austrian Netherlands, would not fail to attempt their own country, endeavoured to put their frontiers in a situation of resistance. But the fate of their allies followed them. Lillo, a fort formerly constructed to guard the inland entrance into the Scheldt, was found untenable against the strength which the French were expected to bring against it, and was therefore evacuated.

On the coast of Flanders, opposite Zealand, the Dutch were masters of some towns and fortresses reputed of great strength. One of these lay in the Isle of Cadzand, renowned for having been the scene of many actions between the Spaniards and Dutch, when these first threw off the Spanish yoke. But General Moreau now took it without difficulty, on the 29th of July, together with a number of cannon and of warlike stores. The town of Sluys, that lay contiguous to that island, had not been taken however till after a gallant defence. The governor and his garrison were, it seems, determined to resist to the last, that torrent of success to which others had in their opinion yielded too readily. The answer returned by the governor to the French General who summoned him

him to surrender, was much applauded at the time for the spirit and laconism of the style: "The honour," said he, "of defending a place like Sluys, that of commanding a brave garrison, and the confidence they repose in me, are my only answer." The name of this brave officer was Vanderduyn; and he made his words good by the valour with which he acquitted himself: that siege was carried on with great vigour from an early period in July till near the close of the next month, when the place was surrendered on honourable terms, in consideration, said the French, of the soldier-like behaviour of the garrison. The reduction of Sluys took place on the 25th day of August; and it was considered as an epocha of note in this campaign, not only for the length and spirit of its defence, but for having led the way in first making an able resistance.

In the mean time, during this valorous career of the French on the side of the Netherlands, their armies on the Moselle and the Rhine were not less fortunate. After the brilliant successes obtained in the close of the succeeding year by Generals Hoche and Pichegru, the raising of the siege of Landau, and the retreat of the Duke of Brunswick into winter quarters, the French might boast of the prosperous termination of a campaign which had now placed them in a situation promising of the highest successes in that which was to follow.

The campaign of 1794, in this quarter, began by the reduction of the fort of Kaiserlautern, of Spire, and of other places in those parts, wherein large quantities of military

stores were found. Notwithstanding the rigour of the season, these exploits were achieved with an expedition and alacrity that alarmed the enemy, who had not expected such early exertions from the French. Intimidated by so unlooked-for an incursion, the Austrians in garrison at Fort Vauban deserted it, after applying matches to the mines, in order to blow them up before the arrival of the French, who were fast approaching, and whom they entertained no hope of being able to resist. As soon, however, as the rigour of winter abated, the Austrians took the field, impatient to recover that ascendancy which the French had gained over them. Many bloody skirmishes happened between both parties, the animosity of whom was reciprocal; and who lost numbers of men in this destructive but indecisive mode of warring. It was not till towards the end of May that any action of consequence took place. Marshal Mollendorf, who had succeeded to the Duke of Brunswick in the command of the Prussian army, after this prince's resignation, was desirous to justify his master's choice, and to signalize his own appointment. The French were entrenched at Kaiserlautern, and did not imagine that their enemies would venture to attack them in such a situation. But the Marquis suspecting this persuasion, resolved to improve the opportunity which it afforded him of attacking them by surprise. He accomplished his intentions so successfully, as to force their entrenchments, and put them to a total rout. Their loss in slain and taken amounted to more than 3000, besides a number of cannon. This defeat happened on the 24th

of May. This unexpected event rendered the French more circum-spect, as they had been routed through mere accident, for which they had not been prepared; it neither diminished their courage nor their confidence. They waited with additional vigilance for an opportunity of revenge. But the conduct of Marshal Mollendorf long prevented them from obtaining any material advantage; and the whole month of June elapsed without any transaction of great consequence. In the beginning of July the French army received considerable reinforcements; and its commanders became sensible that it behoved them to strike some blow before the enemy himself was reinforced. For this end they advanced with their whole force on the Prussians, who received them with their long accustomed bravery. The conflict was long and obstinate; and victory seemed doubtful during a great part of that day and of the next, during both which the battle lasted. The French were seven times repulsed, but their eighth charge was successful. The Prussians occupied strong entrenchments on a very high mountain, which the enemy, by means of superior numbers, assaulted on every side with such unceasing fury, that they were carried at last with great slaughter. Several Prussian officers of note fell upon this occasion; and the loss of the French was very considerable. So averse were the Prussians to relinquish the contest, that it was eleven at night before they retreated. This battle took place on the 12th and 13th of July, near a place called Edikhoffen. Not satisfied with this success, the French resolved to bring matters

to a final decision, and to render the present action conclusive of the whole campaign, by continuing it till the enemy was entirely overthrown and disabled from keeping the field. To this end, early in the morning of the 14th, they made another attack on a large body of the enemy entrenched on the high grounds at Tripstadt. After a furious combat, very destructive to both parties, the French carried the works, with a number of prisoners and pieces of cannon. Elated by this additional success, and full of the plan they had so nearly completed, they extended their attack on the following day, which was the 15th, along the whole chain of posts occupied by the Imperial and Prussian troops. The artillery of both parties did dreadful execution among them on this day, as from their reciprocal position, they were remarkably exposed to its effects. This destructive cannonade lasted above six hours without ceasing; and it was difficult to tell which guns were best served, those of the French or of their enemies. It was dark before the action was concluded, when the allies, protected by the night, made a hasty retreat. The Imperialists crossed the Rhine; and the Prussians retired further down the left banks of that river, towards Mentz. The French may be said to have entirely carried the point they had proposed, by the violent exertions they made during these four decisive days. Sixty miles of territory in length, from France to the Rhine, were immediately abandoned by the allies, in consequence of this defeat; and no appearance remained of their being able during the residue of this campaign, to recover any part

part of that ground. Another effect produced by this victory was, the determination to proceed against Treves. The army of the Moselle was now no longer necessary to support that of the Rhine, but at full liberty to pursue its operations along the former river. It began its march accordingly on the 5th of August: after forcing some posts on its way, it arrived on the 8th in sight of the city of Treves. A body of government-troops stationed there, evacuated it immediately; and the French made their entrance in the afternoon of that very day, to the seeming satisfaction of the inhabitants. The magistrates met them at the gates in their formalities, and assured them of a sincere welcome. The French, on their parts, issued the strictest orders against all irregularities; and organized the government of this city and its dependencies on the republican plan. The French had now nothing more to accomplish for the most prosperous termination to the campaign, than to recover those towns that had been taken by the allies within the precincts of France. In order to accelerate their surrender, they threatened the garrisons to put them to the sword if they made a defence; which they must be conscious was totally needless in their present circumstances, from the absolute impossibility of their being relieved. These threats had been decreed by the sanguinary administration of Robespierre; as had also the order to give no quarter to the British troops, nor to the Hanoverians \*. But the French officers and soldiers had too much honour and huma-

nity to become the instruments of such cruelty. As there was no likelihood of receiving any kind of assistance from the allied armies, the various garrisons that had been left in these towns, did not think it prudent to exasperate the French by a resistance, which could only produce effusion of blood, without serving the cause for which it might be shed.

Landrecy was the first of these towns summoned to surrender. The garrison consisted of 2,000 men, well provided with the means of defence, had it been practicable. They did not however yield to the first summons, and waited until the French General had opened ground, which he did in the night, so near to the town, that not apprehending him to have approached so close, the fire from the garrison was directed to a much more distant point, and of course was lost. A capitulation was proposed by the Governor, but refused by the besiegers; to whom the place was at last surrendered at discretion, about the end of July. The next of those French towns that returned to the obedience of France, was Quesnoy. It was like the former, in excellent condition, and duly prepared for a siege: but the same motives that operated the reddition of the one, effected the surrender of the other. The garrison amounted to 5,000 men, who delivered up the place to General Schorzer, the same officer who had reduced the preceding; and who refused all terms but those of absolute discretion; to which the garrison submitted on the 15th of August.

Less harsh terms were granted

\* The barbarity of this order was nobly contrasted by the sentiments of humanity and moderation which dictated, on this occasion, a proclamation by the Duke of York. See State Papers in this volume, page 68.



to the allied troops that garrisoned Valenciennes. They were allowed a capitulation; by which, though prisoners, they were permitted to retire to their respective armies, on condition of not serving against France till regularly exchanged. The reduction of this important town took place on the 26th of August. So thoroughly was the Imperial ministry convinced that Valenciennes would remain to the House of Austria, that they determined, as soon as it was taken in the preceding year, to lay out considerable sums on its improvement. The period of its surrendering to the allies, promised them far other events than those which they so shortly after experienced. The French had been so unfortunate, that few persons imagined that they would ever recover themselves. Hence, the vast projects formed by the coalited powers seemed to them in a state of certainty to be realized; and nothing could exceed the astonishment with which they were struck on the great disappointments that followed. — The stores, provisions, and magazines of every species, deposited in Valenciennes, were immense, to say nothing of the military chest, containing more than 6,000,000 of German florins in specie. All these amounted to a heavy and serious loss to the Emperor, at a time when his revenues were insufficient for his expences; and the treasures he had accumulated entirely exhausted by this unpropitious war. A circumstance that rendered the reddition of this town to France an occasion of deep sorrow, was, that at least 1000 French emigrants fell into the hands of their enraged countrymen. It could not be doubted

that the fate of these unhappy men would be similar to that of their companions, who had been taken in arms against the republic, and whom the inexorable decrees of the convention never failed to sacrifice to their vengeance when and wherever it could find them. Numbers had been regularly executed on being found in the other places taken by the French; and it was become a matter of surprize that, knowing the fate that awaited them when taken, they were so ready to serve in garrisons.

The strong town of Condé closed the list of those which reverted to their ancient masters: though of small extent, its strength had induced the allies to make it a principal depositary of all their warlike appurtenances and preparations. The place contained whatever of that nature it could hold. The quantities of all those articles were prodigious, and alone a capture of inestimable value. It surrendered on the 30th of August; and the garrison, amounting to nearly 2,000 men, remained prisoners of war. The fortifications of every one of those towns had been considerably augmented and improved, and they were altogether in a better condition for defence than before they were taken by the allies.

Previously to the recapture of these places, various fortified towns, especially in Flanders, had been reduced by the French. That which claimed principal notice was the little but strong town of Nieuport. After the fall of so many other towns in its vicinity, the French did not imagine it would have attempted a defence: but the garrison consisted of men who, like those at Sluys, were determined to hold

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**Held out as long as they were able.** The French assembled no less than 30,000 men for the attack of this place; which was defended with a valour and obstinacy that ought and might, in the opinion of good judges, have been exerted on several occasions of the same nature. The artillery brought against it was truly formidable; and it sustained a bombardment that lasted from the beginning to the end of the siege. The garrison surrendered on the 15th of July.

The war was now become, on the side of the allies, purely defensive. Those who coolly viewed their situation, and were competent to judge of it, were of opinion, that, by concentrating their force and acting on a plan unanimously supported by every part of the confederacy, they might put a stop to the progress of the French, and secure the Seven United Provinces, and the adjacent countries between the Meuse and the Rhine. Those provinces, it was alleged, had, in the infancy of the Dutch republic, withstood, with a proportion of strength comparatively much less than they had at present, the veteran and victorious armies of Spain, commanded by the best Generals of the age. To this, however, it was replied, that the Dutch were at that time an united people, animated with the double enthusiasm of liberty and of religion, either of which principles was singly capable of inspiring men with the most desperate and invincible resolution: but it was notorious, that at present the Dutch were actuated by neither. The attention of the natives of those provinces was very little occupied with the active service of their country: their armies were made up of any foreigners

that would take their pay; and, what was worse, they themselves were divided into two irreconcilable parties, one of which was determined to side openly with the French the moment it could do it with safety, and even to bring them into the country rather than submit to the present government.

As this representation of the state of Holland at this time could not be denied, no reliance could be placed on its co-operation against a power to which a majority of the people was friendly. Nor did the allies, even while the Dutch troops were with them, put any confidence in the Dutch themselves: their troops being chiefly Germans, looked upon the United States rather as paymasters than as sovereigns; and felt of course none of that patriotic warmth which only accompanies men who are really fighting for their country.

The Stadtholder used frequent endeavours to excite his countrymen to unite cordially against the French. He had repeatedly, during the campaign, issued addresses and exhortations to the inhabitants of the Seven United Provinces, on the necessity of exerting their strength in common with their allies, in order to arrest the career of so dangerous a power as France. When the tide of success had brought the French to the frontiers of Holland, he renewed his applications with additional fervour:—he reminded the Dutch of the fortitude with which their ancestors had resisted the potent monarchs with whom they had at several times contended. The liberty and independence of Holland, he observed, had been established and maintained in the midst of every difficulty. Spain first, and France next, had vainly strove

strove to subdue their valiant forefathers. The condition of the republic was much more critical in 1672, than at the present period. Not only some towns, but three entire provinces had fallen into the hands of the French; and the affairs of the republic were desperate in the extreme: but though surrounded by victorious enemies on every side, and reasonably past all hope, still their brave ancestors would not despond: they resolutely called forth all the resources of the state,—they employed them with equal prudence and courage,—they undauntedly faced the enemy,—they nobly hazarded their lives and all that was dear to them in repelling him from their country,—and they happily succeeded, to the astonishment and admiration of all Europe. Examples like these claimed the imitation of their posterity; and he hoped the Dutch at the present day would shew themselves worthy descendants of their valiant progenitors.

Such was the general purport of the various addresses, issued occasionally to the people of the Seven United Provinces: but the effect produced by them fell far short of the wishes of those who framed them. They were powerfully counteracted by the spirit of discontent that had been encreasing among the Dutch ever since the coercive interference of Prussia in the affairs of the republic. The Dutch complained, that ever since their Stadtholders had intermarried with royal houses, they had disdained the station assigned them in the commonwealth, and had never ceased to use their keenest endeavours to subvert it, in order to render themselves absolute masters

of the state. Herein they were constantly abetted by those sovereigns with whom they had formed family connections. When disgusted with this conduct of the Stadtholder, they had, on the demise of King William of England, declined the renewal of this office, in order to be free from the dangers attending it. The intrigues of a collateral branch of the House of Orange, seconded by the many interested adherents who sought its exaltation for their private ends, procured it a matrimonial alliance with the royal family of Great Britain, hoping, through so powerful a medium, to restore it to the dignity of the Stadtholder. This being accomplished, much against the sense of a majority of the principal people in the different provinces, a number of regulations passed, whereby the Stadtholderate was converted almost into a monarchy. It was made hereditary both in the males and females, and additional prerogatives annexed to the office. Thus the United Provinces became in reality a kingdom, and, like some other kingdoms in Europe, were made subservient to the views and politics of the reigning family. The interest of the Stadtholderian family, it was everywhere alleged in the provinces, was alone consulted by those monarchs with whom it was thro' marriages connected. The interest of the state, it was said, required peace with all nations; but that of the Stadtholder being only secondary, and subordinate to the courts to whom he was related, he would of course give them the preference, and act according to their directions. Thus the late Stadtholder was governed by the councils of  
Great

Great Britain; and the present by those of the British and Prussian ministries united: he had in fact been no other than the lieutenant of both these powers in Holland, ever since they had by force of arms replaced him in the office from which he had been expelled by the voice of the public and the authority of that state, for his criminal adherence to these powers against the welfare of his country.

These heavy charges had for many years been laid to the House of Orange: they had subsisted ever since the war between France and Great Britain, for the protection of its American colonies: they had continued during that unhappy war, which terminated in their separation from their parent state; and they were now become louder and more rancorous than ever, since the Seven United States had, against the consent of the nation, as they boldly asserted, been forced into the war with France in pure subservency to the coalition against that power.

The enemies of the House of Orange were indefatigable in disseminating these sentiments among the people; and they visibly gained ground among all classes. They were aided by the emissaries of France, who were no less industrious in representing the advantages that would accrue by casting off the yoke of Great Britain and Prussia, and uniting with a republican government, such as their own might have been, after they had divested it of the pernicious as well as expensive formality of a Stadtholder.

While the opposition in Holland, seconded by the secret agents of the French, were labouring to ex-

tend this inimical spirit to the present measures, the ruling powers of the state exerted all their efforts to avert the evils which they dreaded from the French nation. This appeared an event so replete with mischief, both public and private, that they omitted nothing that remained in their power to prevent it. They still had the disposal of a numerous and well disciplined military, which, in conjunction with the British troops, including those in British pay, composed a formidable strength. As defence alone was the system proposed the strong towns on the frontiers of the United Provinces were intended to be sufficiently garrisoned for a vigorous resistance. The precedents of Shys and Nieuport had proved, that with bravery and fidelity in the men, and ability in the commanders, the French, notwithstanding their numbers, might meet with such obstacles as would impede their progress, and give time for a further accession of strength to oppose their designs upon Holland.

Breda and Bois le Duc were the two places against which it was probable they would direct their first attacks; their strength was perfectly competent to a long and obstinate defence, and it would depend on the courage and determination of their garrisons to protract the sieges, as far as courage and skill could effect such a purpose. History afforded numerous instances of conquerors being stopped in their career, by the unyielding valour of those who had resolved never to submit but in the last extremity. Were such resolutions to be taken when it became men to take them, many more obstructions would be thrown in the way of  
victorious

victorious armies than they might be able continually to overcome. It was more by terror and multitudes that the French had obtained such constant successes, than by superiority either of valour, discipline, or experience. It was therefore in fortresses that their enemies should henceforth confide for protection against their numbers. Here the immensity of those numbers could not overwhelm opponents secured by fortifications against their violence and impetuosity; and here cool and deliberate intrepidity would have due scope and leisure for its utmost exertions.

These were the grounds whereon some very judicious and veteran officers built their hopes of being able to withstand the impetuous torrent of successes that accompanied the French armies. Relying on the precedents of former wars, they flattered themselves, that, through a parity of exertions, they would be equally fortunate with the many who, like themselves, had experienced a multiplicity of disasters, but had at length, by a manly perseverance, risen superior to them all. It was time for the allies to act seriously according to these maxims. The French were now complete masters of Austrian Brabant, and preparing to invade that part which belonged to the Dutch. The Hereditary Prince of Orange was diligently occupied in putting Breda in a proper posture to receive them: the British forces in the mean time covered his operations; and to his end were at his request encamped in the neighbourhood of that town. Their numbers had, thro' various causes, suffered considerable diminutions since the opening of the campaign;

yet, after quitting Antwerp and its vicinity, and marching to the frontiers of the United Provinces, they were computed to be near 26,000 strong. They remained in the position they had taken near Breda till about the end of August, when the Hereditary Prince of Orange had completed his preparations in that town. They proceeded next to Bois le Duc, for its protection, while measures were taken for putting it in a like state of defence. On their march to this place, they were interrupted by a body of French, who retired after a slight engagement; their intent being chiefly to reconnoitre the motions of the British troops. After Bois le Duc had been supplied with the necessaries for a vigorous defence, it was garrisoned with near 7,000 men. Much expectation was formed from the natural strength of this place: it was surrounded not only with good fortifications, but with large bodies of water, which, in case of a siege, could be rendered a great annoyance to the besiegers.

Besides the reduction of Breda and Bois le Duc, the French had formed the design of attacking the army commanded by the Duke of York. As it consisted chiefly of native British, they were the more desirous to obtain a victory over a people who had gained so many battles over them, and whom they considered as the most formidable of all their enemies. They were determined however to leave as little as possible to fortune, and to provide against the chances of war by such a superiority as might ensure success. The strength which they collected for this purpose, amounted to 80,000 men. At the head of this immense body General Pichegru

Piëgru marched, in the beginning of September, towards the Duke of York's army, that lay encamped between Bois le Duc and Breda, in order to be at hand for the assistance of both. After employing some days in securing advantageous ground, and making necessary arrangements for an action which the French General was particularly solicitous to render successful, on the 14th of September he attacked the several posts which the Duke had taken along the river Dommel, and after a well contested dispute, so overpowered them, that they were unable to make head against the multiplied assaults with which they had to contend. Finding his position untenable against so superior a force, the Duke retreated on the 16th across the Meuse, and took a station near the town of Grave. The loss of the British troops, and those in their pay, in the action of the Dommel, was very considerable; and that of the French may be reputed not less. But they carried a point of material consequence, by clearing that extent of country lying between Bois le Duc and Breda, and obtaining thereby an opening across the Meuse into the Seven United Provinces, by the pass of Dommel; which, though a place of strength, they were confident of being able to force, as they had done so many others of equal, if not superior strength.

The proximity of so daring and numerous an enemy as the French, and so able a commander as Piëgru, occasioned a deep alarm throughout the Seven Provinces. Those who were inimical to the French, began seriously to apprehend that, aided by their numerous

partisans in Holland, who now began to shew themselves less upon their guard than ever, they would not fail to succeed in the design which it was known they had framed, of revolutionizing the Seven Provinces on the same plan as those in the Austrian Netherlands. The approach of the French armies had already occasioned additional proclamations on the part of the Stadtholder and the states general, exhorting the Dutch in the warmest terms to make their utmost exertions for the common defence of their country. Various schemes were proposed for levying money, raising men, and for providing every requisite to encounter an enemy so much to be dreaded as the French were at present, from the determination they seemed to have taken to sacrifice every other consideration to that of bringing utter destruction upon every government and people that did not coincide with their views and yield to their demands. But though these admonitions were well accepted by those who dreaded an entrance into Holland by the French, their adversaries constituted a majority that testified no disposition to act suitably to their requests. These proclamations were dated so early as the 6th of August, when the allies were retreating everywhere, and the rapid successes of the French had filled all who wished well to the state with the strongest apprehensions.

It was about the same time that Prince Cobourg himself, alarmed at the progress of an enemy who had triumphed over so many German armies, addressed himself to his countrymen, in order to ani-

mate them to new efforts against the French. He described them as a people infuriated with false ideas of freedom, sporting with the lives and happiness of men, tearing asunder the bands of civil society, and lavishing their blood at the command of their tyrannical rulers. He reproached the people of the Netherlands for refusing to listen to the call of their Sovereign, and neglecting, from a criminal insatiation in favour of the enemy, to co-operate against him in defence of their country. He required of the Germans inhabiting the left banks of the Rhine, an immediate contribution of provisions and of money for the supply of his army; he insisted at the same time on their taking up arms and defending their country against the French; and after pathetically requesting them to comply with his demands, he concluded by threatening, that if, like the people of the Austrian Netherlands, they should now suffer themselves to be misled by secret seducers, he should be obliged to pass the Rhine and to leave them a prey to their enemies; but would at the same time deprive them, without scruple, of what the enemy, were it left in their hands, would convert to his own subsistence.

The Emperor now probably despaired of being able to retrieve his affairs in the low countries; and was no less fearful that the enemy had in contemplation to invade his German possessions. Actuated by these considerations, he warned the Circles of the Upper Rhine to prepare the most vigorous resistance to the French, if they were inclined to preserve their country from subjugation. He informed them

that his treasures were exhausted, and that he was unable, singly, to defray the charges of a war against France. He complained with great bitterness that, notwithstanding the most ample subsidies he had received from the British court, the King of Prussia's efforts had not been adequate to his promises. He stated, that unless the empire united vigorously with him for its common support, he should be under the necessity of recalling his troops to the defence of his own territories: the enemy now being so active and successful, and their numbers so immense, that he must concentrate all his force, in order to oppose them with any hope of success. He concluded by reminding them, that they ought, in a state of so much exigency, to have recourse to those resources which yet remained unemployed in the hands of ecclesiastics as well as seculars. This memorial was dated the 17th of August.

The wisest heads in the Austrian councils began seriously to apprehend that a pacification was necessary; and that, as little hope remained of turning the tide of war, the sooner it was terminated the more advantageous terms might be procured; whereas, should it continue and the enemy still retain his superiority, the most calamitous issue might justly be expected.

These reflections appeared to be so well founded, that they alarmed all those who were not resolved to prosecute the war at all events. Most of the German princes were desirous of terminating it. The grandeur and interest of the House of Austria were rather invidious objects to them; and the depression of

of that potent family had always proved acceptable. The war, for these reasons, was not popular in Germany. Even in the Emperor's hereditary dominions, peace was the general wish of the inhabitants.

In these critical circumstances, the British ministry deeming it necessary that the confederacy should not be dissolved, took the resolution of employing the most efficacious means for its continuation. The Earl of Spencer and the Honourable Thomas Grenville were deputed to Vienna in quality of Ambassadors Extraordinary, in order to induce the Emperor to remain firm in his engagements. They arrived in August, and succeeded in their negotiation. The Emperor stipulated to act with the confederacy; and a large subsidy was granted to enable him to fulfil his stipulations. A

vigorous prosecution of the war being thus determined upon, as ample reinforcements were sent to the Imperial armies as could be procured. They were no longer under the command of Prince Cobourg: he resigned his post in the close of August, and in a valedictory address to his army, which was expressed in very manly and patriotic terms, he assigned infirmity and want of health as the cause. This however was controverted by some persons, who pretended to be fully competent to judge of the real motives of his dismissal. He had, it was insinuated, placed improper confidence in some persons who betrayed him; and, being himself of a candid unsuspicious nature, lay too open to the artifices of designing men, to avoid their cunning and duplicity.

### CHAP. III.

*General Jourdain defeats, near Liege, the Austrians, commanded by General Latour. Use made of an Air Balloon upon this Occasion. The Austrians again defeated with great Slaughter, and compelled to abandon Aix la Chapelle, which is taken by the French. The French meet with a Check from General Clairfait. They attack the Chain of Posts he had formed from Juliers to Richmond, and after a Battle that lasted four Days, completely defeat him, with great Slaughter, and force him to retreat to Cologne and cross the Rhine. Juliers, Cologne, and other Places surrender to the French, who endeavour to conciliate the Inhabitants by their Regularity and Moderation. Reduction of Coblenz by General Moreau. Worms and other Towns on the Rhine submit to the French. General Picquet appointed to the Command of the Army destined for the Invasion of Holland. The British and Dutch Forces obliged, on Account of his vast Superiority of Strength, to remain entirely on the Defensive. The French reduce the Fort of Crevecoeur, and shortly after Bois le Duc. The Duke of York retires to Nimeguen. The French attack the British Posts with Success, and force them to retreat across the Ward. They advance to Nimeguen, and obtain further Advantages. They besiege that Town, and meet with a resolute Defence. It falls into their Hands through an unfortunate Accident. Surprize excited by its sudden Capture. Considerations on the Disposition and Conduct of the People of the United Pro-*



*vinces at this Crisis, and on the Political Ideas current in the Netherlands and Germany. Advantage taken of them by the French. Maastricht besieged and taken by them, after a long and obstinate Defence. Pichegru prepares to invade Holland. Inferiority of the Forces opposed to him. Distracted Situation of the Dutch.*

THE operations of war continued in the mean time with unabated vigour on the part of the French. After their expulsion from Liege by General Jourdain, the Austrians retired to a strong situation at some distance, where they threw up some entrenchments, intending to wait for expected reinforcements, with which they did not despair to make a further stand, and possibly to commence an effectual check to the progress of the enemy. But General Jourdain, strengthened with additional supplies of men, resolved to attack the Austrians before they could receive any increase of numbers. To this purpose he divided his army into four bodies, with which he proposed to make as many separate attacks. The Austrians, 18,000 strong, were posted on the other side of a river which he had to cross, exposed to the fire both of their artillery and musketry: the banks were steep and rocky, and the entrenchments were fortified with uncommon care. General Latour, an officer of great experience, commanded the Austrians, who seemed to look on their situation as secure. On the 18th of September the several divisions of the French army attacked the Austrian encampment with their usual impetuosity. They made little use of their fire-arms; and as soon as they had crossed the river, they rushed forward with their bayonets; and their numbers enabling them

to relieve each other, and to make incessant attacks, the bravery and discipline of the Austrians proved unavailing. They fought however with such remarkable obstinacy, that they did not begin to retreat till the French had penetrated into every part of their camp. Their loss of course was very considerable, exceeding two thousand slain on the spot, besides prisoners. The action lasted till night; and they did not retire without making a great slaughter of the French. The success of these was in a great measure owing to the discovery of the position and movements of the Austrians made by two expert engineers, whom the French sent up in an air-balloon. From this machine they perceived with facility whatever was transacting in the Austrian camp, and gave continual notice of all they saw by notes, which they threw down among their own people. By these means the number of troops in the camp, the quantity of their artillery, their motions and probable designs, were instantly made known to the French, who directed their attacks accordingly against the weakest parts, assaulting these with the largest bodies, and with the greater confidence, from their presumption and the probability of success.

The balloon, soon after its invention, was considered in Britain, as well as some other countries, merely as a curiosity; as it could neither carry a burthen, nor be conducted

conducted according to the will of the aeronaut. It is true, that in trade and commerce, it does not yet appear that it can be turned to any useful purpose: but still, among an ingenious people, and in a great nation, this was no reason for neglecting the study and improvement of balloons. There is not a doubt, but various purposes to which balloons may be applied, will be found out in the progress of time. Things are discovered first; their uses afterwards. The properties of the pendulum were discovered long before it entered into the minds of those who knew them, to conceive that they would become the means of measuring time with so much accuracy. The art of ship-building was brought to its present state by very slow degrees. The properties of the magnet were long known before they were applied to navigation. Many of the purposes to which gun-powder has been applied, were long unknown. Nor is there almost any discovery of which the same thing may not be said. The French, who are the original inventors of the balloon, have all along treated it with more liberality than we have done. Here it was abandoned to shew-men. In France, its principles were investigated by men of science; who, instead of collecting sullings, collected improvement,—and declared that it would one day be of utility. It was not on the single occasion abovementioned that the French armies made use of the balloon, but on several occasions before, and on more since; at the battle of Fleurus, during the siege of Mentz, and more recently during that of the fortrefs of Ehrenbreitstein, on

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the right bank of the Rhine, opposite to Coblenz. In all these cases it was found of utility; but particularly in this last, where the great height of the fortrefs and its inaccessible position, not unlike that of Gibraltar, rendered it impossible by any other means, to reconnoitre the internal parts.

The French armies are attended with a new species of reconnoitering engineers, whose business it is to do every thing relative to the preparation and use of balloons. The person who mounts in the balloon, is furnished with paper and pencils of different colours. The marks to be made, are agreed on beforehand; and the paper, after being marked, is attached to a small rod, like an arrow, one end of which is loaded and pointed, so that it strikes in the ground, and stands upright. A small piece of coloured silk is attached to the other end, like a flag, to render it more visible. This is dropped from the balloon, on ground that is in possession of the army to which the balloon belongs. And thus the information obtained, is fully communicated.

But a contrivance for communicating intelligence of still greater importance, and which was also first made use of by the French, as we have above observed, was the Telegraph; of which it would be altogether inexcusable in this place not to give some account; for next to the power of prophecy is that of knowing what passes at a great distance in a short space of time.

Whether the language of sound or of signs existed first, it is certain that they are both of them natural languages. The human voice cannot, even with the aid of a speaking-

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ing-trumpet, be heard at any considerable distance: and as the firing of cannon, or other loud noise, is not susceptible of those variations in which the perfection of the human voice consists, signals by means of sound are never employed with advantage, except when the intelligence to be communicated is simple, consisting of only one or two facts, and where those facts and communications of signals and persons are previously agreed on. The telegraph is an instrument, or machine, intended to communicate intelligence with accuracy and dispatch; and is different from any other contrivance for making signals, in this, That it expresses not words, but letters: so that any information that may be given by writing, may be given by the telegraph.

The telegraph, in so far as it represents words, is a new,—but in so far as it makes use of signs, is a very ancient invention. There is reason to believe that there was some sort of telegraph in use among the ancient Greeks. The burning of Troy was certainly known in Greece very soon after it had happened, and before any person had ventured from thence. A Greek play begins with a scene in which a watchman descends from the top of a tower in Greece, and gives the information that Troy was taken: “I have been looking out these ten years,” says he, “to see when that would happen, and this night it is done.” The Chinese, when

they send couriers on the great canal, or when any great man travels there, make signals by fire, from one day’s journey to another, to have every thing prepared: and most of the barbarous nations used formerly to give the alarm of war by fires lighted on the hills or rising grounds\*.

The telegraph of the present day is, however, infinitely more perfect than any mode of conveying intelligence quickly from one place to another, known to the antients; and differs as much from former signals as the articulate sound of the human voice differs from the noises made by brutes. Many of the brute animals, such as dogs, horses, and others, can by noises and signs shew what they want, or give the alarm when frightened or hurt. But farther than such a general annunciation of a few very common wants, feelings, and events, their language does not extend; at least as far as men can understand them.

Men who are deprived of the use of speech make signs, and have different motions or positions for the different letters; and, when properly taught, can communicate every thing they know with accuracy. And this fact it is that has probably led to the French invention of the telegraph, by Monsieur Chappe: for this machine has an upright body, and two arms, like a man, each of which arms has a joint or elbow; so that, were two men to make signs to each other, at a

\* The ancient Gauls were an exception from this. Instead of lighting fires, they gave great and continued cries; which were repeated by all who heard them, until the whole country was alarmed. This was but a slow and imperfect mode of communication, when compared even with signals by fire. The ancient Gauls or Celts seem to have been as much behind other nations in improvement as the modern French are in many instances before them.

distance too great for seeing the ordinary motions as made by dumb people, they would move their arms as Monsieur Chappe moves his telegraph; which is an upright post, having affixed to it a transverse beam, with two moveable arms; the beam itself being also moveable. The different forms of which the machine is capable of assuming, are sixteen; and these are the telegraphic alphabet. A number of telegraphs are erected at convenient distances; and the signals are repeated from one station to another. Early in 1794 this machine was tried in France, and found to answer. And as the combined armies were at that time in the Low Countries, a chain of telegraphs was established from Paris to Lille, by which short sentences were conveyed in a few minutes with great accuracy.

The invention of the telegraph was announced by Barrere in the Convention, on the 17th of August. The news, he said, of the recapture of Lille, by means of this machine, had reached Paris in an hour after the troops of the republic had entered that place. The recapture of Condé was, on the 30th of that month, reported to the Convention with equal speed in the same manner.

The telegraph is as yet but a very imperfect as well as expensive machine. But, like other inventions, it will admit of many improvements: and, among others, probably, a reduction of the expense. And it is certainly to be considered as one of those inventions which opens a door to wonderful changes. It has hitherto been employed solely in the service of a bloody war. But it

will also be found subservient to a variety of purposes in times of peace. With the aid of one intermediate station across the Channel, news might then be conveyed from London to Paris in an hour: and in three or four hours, an answer received to a few simple questions. This easy approximation of minds, would wear away jealousies and antipathies, and promote reciprocally a good understanding. It is a pleasing task to record the progress of discovery and invention: but it is melancholy to reflect, that the most splendid inventions of our day have been hitherto employed, not for the benefit of mankind, but their destruction.

In an age characterized by the application of discoveries in science to practical purposes, during a war in which most part of the European nations have been engaged, and in which the French, the most active, and certainly one of the most ingenious of all nations, has played so distinguished a part, warlike inventions were to be looked for, and are still further to be expected.

This nation, partly by new methods of combining and employing physical force; and partly by operating on the human passions, have withstood, and in many instances defeated the tactics of the most experienced Generals. Before the invention of gun-powder, it was reckoned a capital point in all engagements, to call forth the courage and exertion of every individual soldier. For these two last centuries, the great art of war consisted in reducing the soldiers to mechanical obedience. The French, in their practice, returned in no inconsiderable degree to the principles and conduct of ancient warfare,

fare, in which trumpeters, drummers, and bag pipers, were officers of great consequence; as in the time of Virgil, who gives great praise to him who was skilful:

*Æreciere viros, martemque accendere cantu\*.*

The power of the Marseilloishymn, and other songs, are well known. It is a fact worthy of notice, that while the French soldiers were sometimes without shoes, the army was always furnished with the best bands of music in Europe.

It has been predicted by men of speculative genius and philanthropic dispositions, that the progress of science, by increasing the enormous expence of military preparations by the instrumentality of powers less and less subject to resistance, and by the reduction of the whole business and consequences of war more and more to calculation,—would be favourable to the tranquillity and happiness of the human race. But the present war, more sanguinary and atrocious than any recorded in history, reminds us how much the passions of men prevail over their judgment, and forbids us to indulge in such pleasing anticipations.

A powerful corps of Austrians were posted in the midway between Liege and Maestricht: they were under General Clairfait, who, on receiving intelligence of General Latour's defeat, ordered a strong detachment to his assistance; by means of which he made good his retreat, and checked the pursuit of the French. But on the morning of the 19th, they renewed the attack with such fury, that he was

forced to continue his retreat till he had reached the body of men stationed under General Dalton, as a further support in case of need. The pressure of the French, however, upon the Austrians, was so violent in every quarter, that they were totally unable to maintain their ground. They were broken and thrown into much confusion at Aix la Chapelle, where they had endeavoured to make a stand, and fled with the utmost precipitation and disorder towards Cologne; where, with much difficulty, the scattered troops were rallied on the third day after this unfortunate engagement.

General Clairfait, in consequence of this defeat, was compelled to withdraw as far as Juliers, where he was rejoined by the fugitives. The French in the mean time took possession of Aix la Chapelle, from whence they proceeded on the 26th, in quest of Clairfait, a division of whose army they attacked in great force. But they met with so resolute a defence, that after several violent charges, they were unable to make an impression on the Austrians, and obliged to retire with loss.

The situation of General Clairfait was so advantageous, that while he kept possession of it, the French would be materially impeded in their operations. He had stationed a chain of posts, reaching from his camp as far as Ruremond; and they were all in excellent order. The French, notwithstanding the frequent defeats of this brave officer, knew his value, and that none of them were due to want

\* To rouse the warriors by the sound of the trumpet, and inflame their courage by a song.

of vigilance or of skill. They neglected of course no means of facing him successfully ; and were as circumspect in their operations with him, as with any General in the confederacy.

They acted on the present occasion with a precaution that shewed how much they stood in awe of his valour and experience. They waited at Aix la Chapelle till they had collected such a strength as would justify the bold attempt they had projected, which was, by a decisive action, to render themselves masters of all those parts that lay between the Meuse and the Lower Rhine, and to force the Austrians to retire wholly on the other side of that river.

General Clairfait clearly comprehended their design, and made suitable arrangements to oppose it. The importance of the event was equal to both parties ; and they were alike determined to dispute the point with the utmost obstinacy. The French commenced their attack on the 29th of September. It extended along the whole chain of Austrian posts. They first made good their passage over a river in their front, and assailed the Austrian lines with the utmost fury. The resistance they met with was of the bravest and most skilful kind ; and they soon found that, in case of success, they must purchase it at the dearest rate. The conflict lasted with various success on the first and second day ; and the dispositions made by General Clairfait were so judicious, that, notwithstanding the disparity of strength, it remained doubtful to some of the French commanders whether they would not finally be

obliged to abandon the attempt ; so resolute in the meantime were the combatants, that after fighting the 29th and 30th of September, without coming to a decision, they recommenced the action on the 1st of October, and continued it until the 3d. The slaughter on both sides was dreadful, and nearly equal. But superiority of numbers and perseverance, gave the victory to the French. The principal difficulty they had to overcome, was, a lofty mountain well fortified, and covered with batteries of heavy metal. It was assailed four times by the most intrepid of the French troops, before it was carried. On the morning of the 5th day of this destructive battle a fog arose, which enabled General Clairfait to conceal the motions he was now under the necessity of making to secure a retreat. Upwards of ten thousand of his men had fallen ; and the remainder of his army was unequal to any further contest. He was followed however so closely by the victors, that not less than three thousand more were added to the slaughter of this day.

This was truly a decisive battle : it was considered in that light by all parties ; and all hopes of repairing for a long time the losses of this campaign, were now extinguished. It appeared even more decisive than the battle of Fleurus that had begun (but not completed) the ruin of the Austrian armies in the low countries ; from whence they were now totally expelled without any prospect of return.

It was however allowed, that this last conflict was maintained with a skill and resolution that did honour to both parties. They

fought with a courage worthy of the prize for which they were both contending; and those who lost it, still preserved their honour.

General Clairfait had ample reason to be satisfied with the behaviour of his men; and notwithstanding the general character of unfortunate, which a series of untoward accidents had affixed to his name, still the officers and soldiers under him had lost none of their esteem for his abilities; and were determined to do him the justice he deserved, by seconding his measures with their usual wonted alacrity and spirit.

This General conducted the retreat of his army to Cologne with great circumspection. The enemy pursued it the whole of its way, and harrassed it so incessantly, that it was not without much care and dexterity he was able to reach that city: but as it was defenceless, and the inhabitants averse to his cause, he thought it prudent to hasten over the Rhine with all expedition. The French were so close on his rear, that they almost came up with the last division of his troops that were crossing the river, insultingly telling them, "that was not the road to Paris."

On the 6th of October the French made their triumphant entry into Cologne, where, in compliance with the request of the inhabitants, only four thousand of their most orderly men were stationed. They were extremely desirous, pursuant to the strict injunctions of their rulers, to impress all people with a conviction that they would respect the property and religion of every country and place that submitted to them; and

this they were not remiss in verifying by their conduct. The people of Cologne on this occasion, experienced so much good behaviour on their part, that few of them left the city; as they found their persons and possessions in no danger of being molested, nor the exercise of their religion in the least interrupted.

Juliers had already surrendered, immediately after the Austrians had left its walls. Venloo on the Meuse, and belonging to the Dutch, submitted next, and was followed by Nuys and Bonn, both situated on the Rhine, and part of the electorate of Cologne.

There was a place in the vicinity of this town which the French government were particularly solicitous to reduce. This was the town of Coblentz, a dependence of the electorate of Mentz. It was highly obnoxious to them, on account of the celebrity it had acquired for having long been the principal receptacle of the French emigrants, and the capital seat of their consultations and resolves against the measures originating from the revolution. For these reasons, it was determined by the heads of the republican government, that it should no longer remain in the possession of its enemies. General Jourdain was therefore directed to detach a sufficient force for its reduction. Expecting the French would not fail to attack it, the allies had employed a considerable time in fortifying it; and the garrison it contained would, it was hoped, make a resistance adequate to the expences laid out for that purpose.

General

General Moreau, a young man who possessed abilities far beyond his years, and had raised himself in the military line by his sole merit, was entrusted with the command of a division for the execution of this design. Having previously put to the rout a strong party of the Austrians, who had endeavoured to obstruct his march, he arrived the 23d of October before Coblenz. The celebrity with which the works erected at so much expence were carried, was truly astonishing. Hardly any opposition was made; and after a mere shew of defence, the Austrians hastily retired to the other side of the Rhine. The country to the south of Coblenz was now undergoing the same destiny. Worms, the seat of a bishopric, and several other towns of less note, surrendered about this time to the French armies stationed upon the borders of the Rhine.

The great project now in agitation among the French, was the reduction of Holland. Winter was approaching; and were the season to prove severe, it was not doubted among them, should the rivers that surround the United Provinces be frozen, but they would serve as bridges for the French, to penetrate into the very heart of the country. The talents displayed by General Pichegru, in the course of this arduous campaign, pointed him out as the fittest man to be employed in a task of this nature, wherein the versatility of his genius would find a variety of objects to work upon.

But antecedently to so great an undertaking, it was necessary to overcome several obstacles which,

if not surmounted in due time, might probably increase to a degree that would render them very difficult to be encountered. The Duke of York's army, though compelled to retreat before a superior force, still continued to maintain its ground; and only waited the reinforcements promised by the late treaty, to recommence offensive operations. Until this army was overcome as others had been, Pichegru's entrance into Holland would certainly meet with powerful obstructions.

But the total rout of Clairfait's forces was a gloomy preface of what would probably befall those under the Duke. It was now become impossible for reinforcements to arrive from Germany, unless by a circuitous march, that would consume more time than could be taken to await them. Finding his strength incompetent for those active operations that had been planned, on the presumption that he would be seconded by the Austrians, and these now being unable to co-operate with him, it became necessary that he should adopt only defensive measures, in conjunction with the Dutch, whose situation was daily becoming more critical, and who had only the British forces to rely on for any effectual aid.

The French in the meantime had been preparing for the siege of Bois le Duc, by seizing some places in the neighbourhood that might facilitate its progress. The chief defence of this town consisting in its power to inundate the country round, the chief object of the French was to obviate a measure which would so effectually render the place inaccessible. For this



this end they found it previously indispensable to be masters of the strong fort of Crevelœur, where the sluices were situated. They invested it accordingly; and it surrendered to them on the 27th of September. The loss of so important a place, together with the defeat of General Clairfait, which followed it soon after, threw a damp on the measures that were pursued by the British and Dutch commanders. Bois le Duc, deprived of its principal means of defence, was no longer viewed as possessing much strength. The French immediately laid siege to it; and it yielded to them on October 10th, by a capitulation, which permitted the garrison to retire into Holland, on condition of not serving against France till regularly exchanged. The like terms had been granted to the garrison of Crevelœur. The artillery and military stores found in Bois le Duc were very considerable.

The Duke of York was now encamped under the walls of Nimeguen. On the taking of Crevelœur, and the approach of the French army to Bois le Duc, he thought it necessary to relinquish Grave, as of too dangerous a proximity to the very numerous forces of the enemy. From the beginning of October, when he took this position, to the middle of the month, the French were chiefly occupied in the siege of Bois le Duc: but as soon as they had secured this important place, they resolved to strike a decisive blow on the Duke, and, if possible, to compel him to retire from the defence of the United Provinces. For this purpose the French crossed over

the Meuse with thirty thousand men, which were to attack the British posts on the right, while another body of no less strength was advancing to take them on their left. On the morning of the 19th of October, the several divisions of the Duke's army on the right were accordingly assailed by the French, who, forcing a post which was occupied by a body of cavalry, a corps of infantry, which was stationed near it, was thrown into disorder, and compelled to retreat along the dyke on the banks of the Waal. Unfortunately, they were followed by a body of the enemy's cavalry, which they mistook for their own; nor did they discover their mistake till the enemy came up and attacked them before they could assume a posture of defence. The whole of that infantry was either killed or made prisoners. The superiority of the French rendering at the same time all farther resistance vain, the Duke withdrew all his troops from the posts which they had occupied, and stationed them on the other side of the Waal, in order to oppose the passage of the French over that river. Encouraged by this success, and firmly intent on the accomplishment of their plan, the French, on the 27th of October, made a violent attack on the British posts in the front of Nimeguen, and, after an obstinate conflict, obliged them, in order to prevent their being wholly surrounded, to alter their position, and move to another of greater security. The French were now encamped in such force in the environs of Nimeguen, that it would have been rash to attack them in the open field; all that could be effected was

to maintain the posts very near the town, and so situated as to admit of ready assistance if assailed. Impatient at the resolute defence of the garrison, the French endeavoured to surround the place with a multiplicity of batteries, in hopes of keeping so incessant a fire on every part of the town as should reduce it to a heap of ruins. The situation was such as rendered this an attempt extremely difficult. They succeeded however in erecting one particular battery, with which they annoyed the town in a very destructive degree. General Walmoden, the governor, determined that a sally should be made, in order to destroy it. In the night of the 4th of November, General Deburgh, a remarkably intrepid officer, was placed at the head of three thousand men, British, Dutch, and Hanoverians, to effect the object proposed; and they marched out accordingly with all customary precautions; but the French, by means of their spies, were previously acquainted with the design, and duly prepared for it. The consequence was, that both parties engaged each other with much fury, and that a great slaughter ensued; but general Deburgh was wounded, and the attempt wholly frustrated.

Two days after, the French erected a battery against the bridge of boats from the town, over the Rhine; and another against the town itself. The fire of the former destroyed immediately two of the boats; and the other proved of great annoyance. It was therefore judged advisable to leave no more troops in the town than were requisite for its defence, and to

withdraw the others. This was executed accordingly during the following night; and the bridge being expeditiously repaired, afforded a safe passage to the British, Hanoverian, and Hessian troops. A large body of these was to remain with the Dutch, and to form a garrison; which, it was presumed, would be adequate to the defence of the town. But this arrangement proved ineffectual: when the major part of the troops had passed the bridge, the Dutch division, which brought up the rear, found it on fire. They attempted to cross the river in the large flying bridge, which was the usual method of passing; but it swung round towards the town, the ropes being cut by the cannon-balls of the enemy, or possibly of their own party who fired on the French, not knowing exactly how to direct their shot.

The result of this accident was very unfortunate. The French, while this business was transacting, had found means to effect an unexpected entrance into Nimeguen: they directly proceeded to the bridge, and made prisoners of all the Dutch troops there, as well as of all the others whom they found remaining in the town. Such was the issue of the siege of Nimeguen: it had been expected, amidst the rapid success of the French in the subduing of so many strong towns, that this one would have escaped the general imputation of having surrendered too soon. The number of excellent troops it contained, the gallantry they had displayed on every occasion, the importance of holding out till it became evident that no succours could be expected from  
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any quarter, and, above all, the propriety of proving to the world that the spirit of national resistance had not entirely deserted the Dutch, and that they did not prefer the throwing themselves into the hands of the French to the danger of repelling a foreign yoke at the risk of their lives and individual property;—all these various motives combined, had induced the public in every country, to look on the siege of Nimeguen as an event that would terminate in great celebrity, from its duration, the number of brilliant actions it would produce, and the unyielding obstinacy with which it would on both sides be accompanied.

The sudden and unexpected disappointment of all these expectations put an end to the hopes that had been entertained, that, laying aside the animosity of parties, the Dutch would at length cordially unite in opposing the threatened invasion of the French. Plain reason pointed out the insatiation of committing themselves to the good faith of strangers interested in keeping them under subjection, and preventing them from acting as an independent people. Those Dutchmen who exhorted their countrymen to subvert their present government, and call in the assistance of the French to erect another on its ruins, did not consider that so mighty and so victorious a nation would, like all other conquerors, consult their own views, and render those who submitted to them the instruments of their future wars and conquests. Historical experience spoke invariably this language; and the pretended establishment of liberty, so

continually held forth as an inducement to join the French, was either the plea of that fond credulity which is incident to ignorance, and the usual concomitant of fanaticism and all violent passions, or of that general enervation, selfishness, and indifference to their country, which seems to have fallen on so great a portion of the Dutch nation. The Hollanders had been now so long unaccustomed to war, that they could not well be expected to measure their strength with troops that had conquered the Emperor. As little was it to be expected that there should be any cordial union between the Belgians and Batavians for the support of the Emperor and the Stadtholder, whose power and government were odious to so great a portion of their respective people. If the Flemings and Dutch had been at liberty to follow their own inclinations, they would have remained neutral like the Danes, and the people of Hamburgh. There is a period of declination and degradation in the history of states, when they become reconciled to the idea of acting a submissive and cunning part, and when they resemble the beadles and doorkeepers of those churches in Switzerland and Germany that are open to Lutherans and Calvinists in their turn; and who pay equal respect to whichever of these sectarians is in actual possession.

That the French were determined to conquer for themselves, and in order to attain that end would employ all the means that could accelerate it, was obvious to all persons of discernment. The most

not efficacious of these means, was, to settle the government of every country of which they obtained possession, exactly on the plan of their own. This was an act of the profoundest policy. They seemingly divested themselves of all direct authority over the natives, whom they appeared to leave in the fullest plenitude of their freedom, both in their public and private concerns. But they took care, at the same time, to retain it thro' the infallible influence of the power which they exercised in virtue of their ostensible connexions with the state, and their secret intrigues with the party that having first introduced, was now necessitated to support them.

That such would be the fate of the Dutch was no longer doubted: the unwillingness testified by the inhabitants of both the towns and country to co-operate with the military against the French, was open and avowed. They seemed even sincerely desirous of their absence; and expressed their wishes with little or no dissimulation. Such a state of their minds was very astonishing to those who were acquainted with the long standing habits of coolness and circumspection in their general conduct, in which the natives of this part of Europe have been so usually noted. It proved that uncommon pains must have been taken to alter their ideas; unless it may be supposed that, being convinced the power of the French was utterly irresistible, they judged that the sooner they made terms with that conquering people, the better treatment they would experience.

Reasonings of this nature began

at this time to be very common among the commonalty, both in the Belgic and the United Provinces. Not only the lower but the middling classes evinced a decided repugnance to espouse the cause of any king; and attributed the invincible character of the French to the conviction they were under, that they were no longer fighting for their kings, but for their country. A persuasion of this kind, well or ill founded, was also diffusing itself very fast in many parts of Germany; and was the real cause of the repugnance which the people on the frontiers of the empire visibly exhibited when called upon, with exhortations and menaces, to join heart and hand in repelling the French from the confines of Germany. When these various considerations are laid together, it was not surprising that the French themselves, conscious of the partiality their cause excited in the majority of the inhabitants of those countries they were invading, should, by so flattering and cogent a motive, be actuated to the most indefatigable and daring exertions; and prove in the issue superior to those who contended against them, under so heavy a discouragement as the hatred of the natives of those countries which they were employed to defend, not for them, but for their masters.

The very loss of the town, which has given occasion for the foregoing observations, was imputed to the secret machinations of those within the walls who were labouring for the service of the French, and continually giving them notice of whatever was transacted in

in the garrison. While such practices were on foot, it was impossible for either courage or military skill to be of much avail; and those who were so ready to extol the French for their exploits, ought to have acknowledged that, situated as their enemies were, these deserved no less admiration for bearing up so resolutely against difficulties, in their nature insurmountable; as they were infallibly calculated to baffle all intrepidity of spirit and wisdom of exertion.

The loss of Nimeguen was accompanied with that of another place, still more famous for the various sieges it had sustained at different periods, during the three last centuries. This was the strong and important town of Maastricht. It had, by its noble defence against commanders of the highest fame in their day, acquired a reputation which, it was presumed, it would not fail to maintain; while those who were intrusted with its defence recollected the motives that should animate them. The garrison consisted of select officers and soldiers, and amounted to upwards of 8000 men, abundantly furnished with the means of a brave and obstinate resistance. The honour that would result from the taking of such a place was a very stimulating motive among the French. The person chosen to command on this occasion was General Kleber, who had already signalized himself by his courage and conduct. He summoned the town upon the 26th of September; but was given to understand that it would not yield but in the last extremity. The besieging army was very numerous, and the corps of

engineers attending it composed of the most expert in that department. On the town's refusal to surrender, a number of batteries were planted on every spot from whence the town was annoying. Their execution proved formidable; and it became necessary for the garrison to exert its utmost efforts to counteract them. As there was a considerable body of cavalry in the place, a determination was taken to employ it in making a sudden and rapid sally on a battery, of which the situation required an expeditious attack. It was accordingly attacked and entirely destroyed, and one of the guns carried off. Encouraged by this success, the besieged made another sally on the French batteries; but the enemy was duly prepared, and the attempt duly miscarried. A third sally succeeded better; and the battery against which it was directed was almost entirely demolished. But these vigorous efforts, on the part of the besieged, produced no permanent benefit. The mountainous ground in the environs of the town, afforded so many situations to erect battering pieces; and those which were injured by the besieged, were so speedily replaced by others, that the besiegers, being constantly supplied with heavy cannon, and constructing additional batteries wherever they could be serviceable, surrounded the town with them in such a manner, that their firing continued without intermission. No part of the town remained unexposed, and many parts were laid in ruins. This destructive scene lasted several days and nights, during which a great slaughter was made of the garrison  
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and the inhabitants. The French having completed their approaches, and effected sufficient breaches, were preparing to give a general assault, when the magistracy of the place waited on the Governor, to request he would not deliver them to certain death, by continuing a resistance which could only terminate in a massacre of the garrison and people. These remonstrances induced him to consent to a capitulation; by which the garrison were to be considered as prisoners of war till exchanged. On these terms Maestricht surrendered to General Kleber on the 4th of November, after having stood a siege of forty days, and suffered a loss of more than 2000 houses and public buildings, either totally demolished or materially damaged.

The capture of two cities of such high consideration as Nimeguen and Maestricht, filled the ruling party in Holland with the most evident consternation; they now began thoroughly to despair of being able to make head against France, especially as their domestic enemies were well known to have formed the resolution of taking an active part in favour of the French, the moment they could do it with any prospect of personal safety.

The invasion of Holland was an object of universal expectation in Europe. The force under the command of General Pichegru, who was placed at the head of this great expedition, amounted to no less than 200,000 men. His abilities, and those of the officers who were to serve under him, annexed

a security to the enterprize, which equally elated the French and depressed their enemies. In less than two years from the accession of the governing powers in the United Provinces to the confederacy which was to have reduced France, they found themselves on the point of becoming the subjects of that irritating power, by the most humiliating and disgraceful of all means, those of subjugation and conquest.

The strength which was to oppose this vast and victorious army, consisted in the remains of the British troops and those in their pay, and of the Dutch troops. But their numbers were beneath consideration, when compared to the multitude of their enemies; and though far from deficient in military knowledge any more than in spirit, they did not appear adequate to the arduous task of preserving Holland from the designs in agitation against it.

A neutral party subsisted in Holland, which, without inclining to the Stadtholder or to his enemies, were decidedly averse to the entrance of the French; which they foresaw must put an end to the independence of the Dutch as a nation. But their remonstrances on the necessity of a reunion of all parties against a foreign invasion, were lost in the fixed determination of those in authority to trust none but their adherents; and in the no less obstinate resolution of their antagonists to destroy their authority through the assistance of the French.

## CHAP. IV.

*Military Operations of the French in Spain. Difference between the present and former State of Spain. Its Decline and want of Population sufficient to encounter the French. Their Preparations for the Campaign of 1794. They first attack the Western Borders of Spain, and rout the Spaniards near St. Jean Deluz, and at other Places, and take a Number of Prisoners, with an immense Quantity of Artillery and Warlike Stores. General Dugommier forces a Spanish Army to lay down their Arms. Count De L'Union defeated by the French, in attempting to raise the Siege of Belleguard, which surrenders to them, with a large Garrison. General Dugommier obtains a signal Victory over the Spaniards, but is slain. Honours decreed to his Memory. Battle of St. Fernando Desfigueres, wherein a large Army of Spaniards is forced into its Entrenchments, and Count De L'Union killed. St. Fernando Desfigueres taken by the French, together with a numerous Garrison, and an immense Booty of all Kinds. The Spaniards again defeated, and unable to keep the Field on their Eastern Frontiers. Successes of the French on the Western Borders of Spain. General Delaforde forces the Spanish Camp at St. Jean Deluz, and takes a large Number of Prisoners, and a great Quantity of Military Stores and Provisions. A remarkable Victory gained by the French over a Spanish Army of superior Force. Losses and Consternation of the Spaniards. Rapidity of the Motions and Successes of the French. Fontarabia and St. Sebastian submit to them with their Garrisons. Immense Magazines of all Kinds fall into their Hands. Conduct of the French towards the Spaniards, diminishes their Aversion to the Politics of France. Alteration in the Spanish Character since the French Revolution. A large Body of Spaniards defeated by a small one of French. Desertion of some Spanish Troops to the French. The Spanish Lines, extending near forty Leagues, are forced by the French, and the Spaniards routed with great Loss of Men killed and taken. Discouragement of the Spanish Court and Ministry. Their fruitless Attempt to raise the People in a Mass. Distress of the Spanish Government. The Methods it employs to raise Money. Military Operations of the French in Italy. Political View of the Effects produced by the Revolution on their National Capacity and Strength of Exertion. Former Disappointments and Disasters attending the French in the Invasion of Italy. They open the Campaign in that Country by the Siege of Oneglia. Their cautious Conduct towards the Republic of Genoa. Oneglia besieged and taken by them. Consequences of this Capture. They defeat the Sardinians and Austrians, penetrate into Piedmont, and seize large Quantities of Provisions and Warlike Stores. Exploits of Dumerlion their chief Commander. He forces a strong Encampment of the Sardinians. Numbers of them are killed and taken, with all their Cannon and Magazines. He attacks and carries the Sardinian Entrenchments at Colda Sanda, and compels them to abandon that Pass with great Loss. Consternation of the Court of Turin. It forms the Project of raising the Inhabitants of Piedmont in a Mass. They assemble in large Numbers, but are quickly dispersed by the French. Successes of the French in the Alps. Their General (Dumas) attacks the Fortifications of Mount Cenis, and drives the Sardinians from them, with great Loss. The Sardinians again defeated. The Austrians and Sardinians form a*

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*Project against the French, which is completely counteracted by these, who compel them to abandon all their Posts, and take Shelter in Alexandria. The French remain Masters of the open Country; and the Austrians and Sardinians are reduced to act on the Defensive. The strong Situation of the French in Italy alarms the Powers of that Country. Strictures of the Political State of that Country. Conjectures on the Effects of the French Revolution in Italy. Situation of Europe at the Close of 1794. Review of the Primitive Causes of the Revolution in France, and of the Effects originating from these Causes. Their Strength and powerful Operation. The People of France transformed by them into a Nation, wholly different from what it was. The Face of Europe so altered by the Events of the Campaign of 1794, that it is no longer the same. The Consequences of that Campaign not terminated. Reflections on the Enthusiasm of the French in Favour of their present Government.*

WHILE the armies of France were victorious in the Low Countries, and on the frontiers of Germany, they were no less successful on the borders of Spain. A singular change had now taken place in the fortune of this once mighty monarchy. Destined for the space of near two centuries to figure at the head of christiandom, and to disturb by its ambition the peace of all Europe, it was now reduced to the necessity of courting the alliance of other powers, in order to preserve the remains of its own importance. The loftiness and dignity which used to characterize its transactions with other states, impressed little weight on them; and it was with difficulty that the court of Madrid maintained its rank, and some portion of its former influence in other countries. The war in which it had united with the coalition of other sovereigns against France, had deeply tried its resources both in men and money. Hitherto the licence of war had inclined to Spain; but it was through the most violent exertions it stood its ground. The narrow population of a country larger than France, but not containing half the number of its

inhabitants, was a constant drawback on all its efforts to recruit the armies requisite to face such numerous forces as the French were preparing to bring into the field; their intention being to crush Spain with the weight of their multitudes, as soon as they had overcome some difficulties which retarded the proper organization of those numbers that were ready in the southern provinces of France to embody themselves, and to strengthen the French armies employed in that country. The close of the campaign in 1795 had been favourable to the Spanish arms; upwards of 5,000 French had fallen, either slain or wounded, in the battle of the 22d of September, won by General Ricardos, in the neighbourhood of Perpignan; and the campaign terminated with another defeat of their forces, not far from Collioure, on the 28th of December. But although these were unpropitious events, the French government was not in the least apprehensive of their consequences. Relying on the strength which would be added to the French forces employed against Spain at the opening of the next campaign, they entertained a sanguine hope that



it would prove entirely different from the former. The French army took the field early in the month of February. Impatient to recover the credit they had lost by their preceding defeats, they attacked the Spaniards that were posted near St. Jean Deluz, and routed them with great loss on the 5th of that month. Encouraged by this success, the French forces stationed on the eastern frontiers, marched, in the beginning of April, against the Spanish army, encamped at Cerat, and obliged them to abandon it, together with the town of Boulon: they again attacked them, on the 1st of May, near the former of those places, of which they had attempted to retake possession, and gained advantages over them of the utmost importance: they took an immense quantity of artillery, together with 2,000 men; the slain and wounded were also very numerous.

But the event which gave a decisive turn to the war in Spain, was the splendid victory obtained on the 23d of May by General Dugommier, an officer of great celebrity, over a Spanish army near Collifare. Besides those that fell in action, 7000 men laid down their arms; and all the baggage and cannon fell into the hands of the French. This event was so satisfactory to the Convention, that it was proposed to erect a column on the field of action, with an inscription to commemorate it.

In the mean time, the strong town of Bellegrade, which the Spaniards had taken in the preceding campaign, was invested by a large body of French troops. Count De L'Union, a Spanish General of great eminence, formed a plan for its

relief. At the head of some chosen regiments he attacked the besiegers with such impetuosity, that they were at first driven from their posts; but they soon rallied and recovered them. The fight continued with obstinacy for a long time. General Mirabel, a French officer of merit, and who contributed by his exertions to the success of his countrymen on this day, was killed with a number of them; but they were at length successful, and the Spaniards were totally routed, with the loss of near 3000 men. This brave but unfortunate attempt of the Spaniards to raise the siege of Bellegrade, took place on the 30th of August. The garrison still hoping to be relieved, held out till the 20th of September; when, despairing of any effort in their favour, they surrendered to General Dugommier. On the very next day Count De L'Union, unapprized of this event, made a very resolute attack on the French; but was again compelled to retreat with considerable loss. The number of Spanish troops made prisoners at Bellegrade, amounted to 6000: a heavy loss in such a scarcity of able soldiers as Spain now daily experienced.

The continual failures of the Spanish commanders in their repeated attacks of the French, roused them to a determination to collect such a force as might, through the goodness of the troops, as well as their numbers, afford better hopes of success. With a strength thus selected, they advanced against Dugommier, the most formidable of their enemies, and whom for that reason they were chiefly desirous of having the honour of defeating. He met them at Spanilles on the

17th of October. The victory was disputed with great valour on both sides; but after a bloody conflict, declared for the French, who made a dreadful slaughter of the enemy, and particularly of their emigrated countrymen in the Spanish service. A great number of cannon and warlike stores, with tents for 12,000 men, fell into their hands.

But the glory of this day was heavily clouded by the loss of the General to whom it was owing. Dugommier, zealous to reconnoitre the motions of the enemy, in order to complete the plan he had formed to cut off his retreat, was slain by a cannon-ball in the moment of victory. No officer seems to have been more respected for his various great qualities. The convention decreed that his name should be inscribed on a column in the pantheon of Paris, among those warriors who had deserved well of their country, and fallen in its service. Three days after this great victory, another still greater was obtained. Exasperated at their continual defeats, the principal heads of the Spanish army resolved to concentrate their whole strength in a position strong by nature, and which they had rendered still stronger by a chain of entrenchments and batteries, to the number of near 100. These stupendous works had employed six months of assiduous labour. They were defended by an army of 40,000 men; and it was thought by adequate judges in military affairs, that the French would certainly be worsted, if they attempted to force them. In this hope, some of the most eminent officers in the service of Spain had repaired to this army, in order to contribute

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their exertions on the critical day that was shortly expected.

Convinced of the necessity of overcoming the obstacles thus thrown in their way, before they could make a farther progress, the French commanders drew together the best troops that could be mustered from the various posts they occupied, resolving to make the utmost trial of their valour. On the 20th of October they marched to the attack of the Spanish entrenchments; and after three hours fight penetrated them in every quarter, to the utter astonishment of the Spanish commanders. Indignant at so unexpected and humiliating a disappointment, after using every effort that bravery and skill could employ to retrieve the fortune of the day, they seemed determined not to survive it. Count De L'Union and three other general officers were amongst the slain; and their army was completely defeated and put to flight. This great and decisive battle was fought in the neighbourhood of St. Fernando de Figueres, a place of great strength, and garrisoned by near 10,000 men: but the loss of such a battle in their sight, filled them with such dismay, that they surrendered to the victors in three days. The booty found in this fortress, and in the encampment that had been forced, was immense. Among other articles of high value, twelve foundries for cannon, with all the materials in readiness, were taken. The importance of this victory was such, that all resistance fell before the French in those parts. They followed the retreating Spaniards with so much expedition, that overtaking them at a place where

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they endeavoured to make a stand, they put them to a total rout, killing and taking numbers, and, among other captures, seizing their military chest, esteemed of uncommon richness. These successes made them masters of several towns of importance, and of which the situation opened the way into those parts which they were chiefly desirous to attack.

While the French armies were gaining so many victories on the eastern frontiers of Spain, the northern borders of that kingdom were equally the scene of their successes. The Spaniards, after their defeat at St. Jean Deluz at the commencement of the campaign, had made the greatest efforts to retrieve that misfortune. They assembled a large force on the same spot:—but they were not more fortunate than before. General de la Forde, a French officer of extraordinary activity, fell upon them in their camp, which he forced, together with an adjacent fort, in one day. The slain and prisoners were numerous; and the quantity of military stores, and especially of provisions, was so very considerable as to occasion the most serious distress to the Spaniards. This advantage, which was obtained towards the close of July, prepared the way for another of still greater consequence. A body of 15,000 Spanish troops had taken a strong post on a mountain, the whole extent of which they covered with their numbers. The force of the French was much inferior, not exceeding 6000 men; but as the execution of their designs was materially obstructed by the position of the enemy, they resolved to risk an attack upon it,

notwithstanding their inferiority. With that furious impetuosity which has so frequently irresistible, they rushed upon the Spaniards so unexpectedly, they were thrown into a confusion from which they never recovered. They retreated with such precipitation, that they abandoned magazines, 200 pieces of cannon, and tents for 20,000 men. In their retreat 2000, were killed without resistance. A brilliant action struck the Spaniards with so much terror, that they were deprived them of all courage of mind. The rapidity of the French was such, that they were before the walls of Fontenoy the evening of this very day. It immediately surrendered. The following day was signified by the seizing of Port Passage. In the ensuing, they invested the bastion, which capitulated. Thus they accomplished in a few days what in former time required the labour of months and of thousands, and had proved the abilities of the victorious commanders. The most remarkable days were the 3d, and 4th of August. The capture of those important places was accompanied by that of 15,000 prisoners, besides the acquisition of immense accumulations of stores of every kind which those towns were filled.

The conduct of the French on this occasion entirely surprised the inhabitants to their favour. The severest orders were issued conformably to the directions of the French government, against species of depredation or against the established religion of the country. This in-

by a policy peculiarly repugnant in a country so wedded to religious opinions as Spain. chiefly the violent apprehensions of the natives that the French would deprive them of the possession of their worship, that had increased their enmity and aversion to the French people. This induced the French first to take up arms, under the pretence that Heaven would be for their own cause, and not permit the French to triumph over those who were fighting for it. When the course of events had shown that, however hostile to the French government, the French were indifferent to speculative opinions in spiritual manners, and that every man's conscience at length was no longer considered with the same abhorrence; they began to view the war in the light of a political contest between the French on the one side, and the European princes on the other, each contending with equal ardour; the former for the restoration of the system they had adopted, the latter for the restoration of the old system.

It should it pass unnoticed, that the general disposition of the people in Spain had undergone a remarkable change since the great revolutions that had happened in the country. The inhabitants of the northern provinces of the former, those of the southern in the latter, have so many modes and methods to preserve a communication with each other, and all the precautions taken by the Spanish court to prevent it, have not been sufficiently effectual for the purpose chiefly intended; it was to obviate an interference of ideas and opinions on the

transactions of the times. Many of the political maxims adopted by the French, had been introduced among the Spaniards, and met with abettors; and the impropriety of blending religion with politics was clearly understood. Hence numbers of people of all classes, especially the middling and industrious, began to wish for a limitation of the regal authority, the weight of which was experimentally found too heavy for commerce and industry. But the only means of reducing that excessive authority within bounds, was to humble it by distress; and no instrument of such humiliation appearing so ready and efficient as a successful attack on the part of the French, those who secretly wished for a diminution of the power hitherto exercised by the court, were glad of the opportunity offered them by the successes of the French; and omitted no occasion to throw a damp on the spirits of the Spanish military, and to discourage that pertinacity of resistance for which the Spaniards had always been so remarkable in their hostilities with France.

Thus the reduction of the places that had fallen into the hands of the French, was not a little owing to a change of sentiments among the Spaniards. Such pains were now taken, though in an indirect and imperceptible manner, to magnify the prowess of the French, that the opposition to them was weakened in the most visible degree, and the whole country submitted to them that lay between the places that had already surrendered and the city of Toledo.

The Spanish commanders, alarmed at the readiness to admit the French, which appeared daily to

g: in ground, thought it their duty at all events to encounter them before it had spread farther. They collected a considerable body, with which in the beginning of September they marched against the French; but either they took such improvident measures, or their soldiers were so ill disposed to second their officers, that a division of the Spanish force, consisting of 6000 men, were engaged and defeated by a detachment of hardly 1000 French. A transaction took place on this occasion, to which may be justly ascribed the defeat of the Spaniards. A corps of the King of Spain's Walloon guards deserted to the enemy, either during the fight or previously to it: it excited such a suspicion that more treachery was intended, that universal confusion ensued, and a retreat became immediately necessary.

It was a whole month before the Spaniards recovered from the panic into which they had been thrown by this most unfortunate event. Their spirits still appeared too much depressed for their commander to venture on offensive operation, and they kept within a line of strongly fortified posts, extending nearly forty leagues. The French however determined to attack them, and did it with such vigour and effect, that notwithstanding the strength of the works occupied by the Spaniards, who had bestowed an entire year on their construction, they were forced in no less than twelve different places, where they were at once assaulted. Two accidents only prevented the entire destruc-

tion of the Spanish army: a division of the French, which to have cut off their retreat, did not arrive in time; and a thick fog, which enabled the Spaniards to make a retreat, after losing ever 3000 men, killed and taken.

Disasters of unusual and repeated, filled the court of Spain with consternation. What aggravated them, was a perception that they were in some measure due to disaffection. The long and absurd superstition that long characterised the Spaniards appeared to be considerably relaxed, and a disinclination to the present war evidently took place among a large portion of the monarchy. Symptoms of so dangerous a tendency deeply alarmed the Spanish ministry, some of whom to be of opinion that in the present temper of the nation it would be advisable to have recour to a pacification, in order to effectually for a subjugation principles that had been imported from France; and that there was a still more general diffusion among the French to make farther advances into the kingdom. The prodigious successes had so heartened the soldiery, that expectation remained with a view to recover them from their despondency; and, which was still worse, the loyalty of many of them was, from what had happened, not unjustly suspected.

In a situation so truly critical it was proposed by some of the most zealous adherents to government, that recourse should be had to that measure which had proved so useful and efficacious in

case of France, the raising of the people in a mass \*: but those who were so weak and deluded by their ignorance, as to recommend such an attempt, soon found it impracticable. The French were become a nation of enthusiasts; the Spaniards still remained a nation of bigots. The French, however they might be mistaken in their object, had now risen above all principle but that of a violent attachment to the constitution established in their country, and as violent a hatred to that which had been abolished. But the Spaniards, though desirous to reform the defects in their government, still maintained an implicit devotion to the absurdest tenets of the religion system so long prevailing among them. Hence their minds were debilitated by superstition, and unable to rise to that height of

comprehension and vigour which adds so powerfully to manliness and courage, and without which mere bravery loses half its effect. The attempts which were made to disseminate among the people a spirit of universal resistance to the enemy, failed everywhere, to the great mortification of the court; which had not expected to be relinquished in so marked a manner by the nation at large. Other methods of encountering the approaching danger were now to be provided with the utmost expedition; and it was hoped that by appealing to those who were most interested in the support of government, it would be able to maintain its ground, and if not to overcome, still to prevent the enemy from extending his conquests into the interior parts of the kingdom. The nobility, the

\* This expression of raising the people in a mass is vague, and neither conveys any precise idea, nor refers to any fact or event from which any clear idea may be formed. At the famous epochs of 1789, the 14th of July and the 5th of October, the people of Paris assembled in an immense body for a short space of time. But if it had been necessary for this immense body to march out of Paris, it would soon have found that they neither would nor could march to any great distance. In France, since the commencement of the revolution, the national guards have been formed into military bodies, as the volunteers have been since in England; but this organization requires time. And it is only after any number of men, used for the defence of their country, have been duly trained and disciplined, that they can be of any material service, either by recruiting the old armies, or by forming new ones. If whole nations of men were to rise in masses, and to remain for such a length of time as would be necessary for the purposes of war, whether offensive or defensive, how are they to be fed? how clothed? how armed? Who is to establish magazines for them? to provide lodgings? to furnish camp-equipage and necessary carriages? There have appeared several quacks in Germany, Italy, and Spain, who have talked much of the people rising in a mass; and periodical publications have re-echoed the sound. But there is no man versant in even the rudiments of the military art, who will lay any stress on the possibility of a nation entering on war in a mass, and who will not consider the idea as absurd and ridiculous.—The country-people sometimes assemble in multitudes, for the purpose of attacking the remnants or wrecks of a conquered army: but the effects of such risings are momentary, adventitious, of little consequence, and never to be much reckoned upon. To build any hopes of either subverting or restoring empires by such means, in so enlightened a quarter of the world, and so skilful in all military art as Europe, is extreme ignorance and folly.

clergy, persons in office, and the opulent adherents to government, were now called upon to assist it to the utmost of their abilities. A fourth part of salaries and pensions was now made a voluntary donation by the incumbents themselves. The rich ecclesiastics contributed largely; and the wealthy in all classes imitated these precedents in the most liberal manner. Besides all this, it was resolved that henceforward no placeman or pensioner should be entitled to the receipt of more than a stated salary, though in the exercise of various employments. The very highest offices were placed under this arrangement; and the zeal and alacrity with which they testified their readiness to make these sacrifices, did much credit to the Spanish character, though it proved at the same time to what distresses the government was reduced. These transactions took place in September; a period distinguished in every theatre of the war by the calamities that were accumulating upon the enemies to the French republic.

While the armies of France were thus triumphant in the Netherlands, in Germany, and in Spain, they were no less victorious in Italy. During the preceding campaign, the fortune of war had remained undecided in this part; and the French had experienced some considerable defeats; but the present year totally altered the face of things, and placed the arms of France on a footing of success, which alarmed all the powers of that country. The armies of the Emperor and the King of Sardinia, had in former times always succeeded in keeping the entrance of

Italy shut against the French at the worst, in expelling them great loss whenever they entered. Before this year, the plan of confederacy seems to have assumed the Sardinian armies potent to resist the attempt France in that quarter, while attacked by such potent enemies in so many other parts. But French had now opened a series of exertions, of which Europe never imagined it to be capable. Accustomed to judge of the strength of France on a proportion at the utmost, to which it had displayed its most splendid æras of its grandeur. Lewis the XIV. whom it arrived at its height, never had armies exceeding altogether 450,000 men; and were deemed greatly disproportionate to the just and natural strength of his dominions. The tunes that beset him towards the close of his reign, were impelled by the prodigious expences of forts of every description to which he was necessitated to have recourse, in order to maintain enormous multitudes. Robespierre was as great a despot as Lewis. But the court of Lewis consisted of great and rich landed property whereas that of Robespierre composed of men who had property nor character. In imposing the heaviest taxes, and exacting contributions to any amount from the rich, Robespierre met with opposition from his court. Lewis XIV. had taken it in his head to sell the lands of the Lords of his court, he would have carried his design into execution without formidable

ance. A monarchy therefore, if limited, is more favourable than a democratic government to the interests of humanity, in as much as it lays the rulers of kingdoms under a necessity to put an end to wars when they become a greater burthen than can be borne by the exhausted people.

The rulers of a great nation, subjected to the principles of democracy, are not restrained in the exercise of power by any opposition, nor by any responsibility. They dispose of the property as well as the lives of the people, at pleasure. Public misfortunes and calamities which weaken the hands of royal administrations, strengthen those of democratical governments. It is no difficult matter to persuade the poor and numerous classes of society, that they are fighting in their own cause, as long as they can persuade them that it is necessary, by a contest in arms with foreign powers, to maintain the national independence. When once a people are fully persuaded that this is really the case, their efforts in the prosecution of whatever they may think concerns their safety, their welfare, or their honour, are beyond the reach of ordinary calculation: from whence a very obvious corollary is to be drawn, which has no doubt been duly considered by the sovereign princes and statesmen of the present times.

There is no nation that has ever verified the truth of these observations so conspicuously as the French. Placed in the centre of Europe, and exposed to the resentment of the formidable potentates, whom their conduct had so grievously offended, they found them-

selves in the most critical of all dilemmas. Their only alternative was, submission to their enemies on the terms which these should please to dictate, or a resistance which they foresaw would require such exertions as would almost undo them. They magnanimously chose the last. And though this determination has been attended with events that make humanity shudder, yet candour will extort the confession, that in such difficulties and perplexities as they were constantly surrounded with on every side, with potent enemies assailing them from abroad, and the most rancorous and restless party incessantly conspiring against them at home, they had no choice but of inflicting death upon those, or of suffering death themselves; and of conquering their foreign foes, or of resigning their freedom and lives to their discretion. Such a situation necessarily called forth every ability they possessed. Their courage, their capacity, their resources, were stretched to the utmost. This was not effected by the mere power of government; it was not the work of administration; it was the deed of the nation itself. No other agent could have performed what was done; the universal mind co-operated as a single one: no labour, no hardship, no misery, was refused: in these every man partook, as they also did in the triumphs produced by the activity, the patience, the sufferings; which, by being endured in common, and evidently for the sake of all, were the more cheerfully borne by every one in particular.

In order to produce these vast exertions, it is by no means necessary  
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that a nation submitting to those burthens they require, should be certain of obtaining those ends for which it is willing to bear them; or that the object for which it is contending, should not be an illusion. It is sufficient that such a nation is persuaded of the reality of that object and of those ends, to act a part which no other cause could possibly effect; to astonish the world by events beyond all the rules of probability, and almost of possibility, and to set, as it were, at defiance the conjectures of wisdom and the experience of ages. Such now was the spirit and temper of a people always famous for the brilliant characters it often exhibited, both in arms and arts; but which, though highly elevated in the system of Europe, was never thought capable of facing alone all the nations around. But the time was come, owing to the causes enumerated, that the combination of all the European monarchies would be found insufficient to reduce that nation to the terms intended to be imposed upon it.

Among the countries of which the powers were inimical to France, there was none wherein the French had for a succession of ages met with so many disappointments as in Italy. The ambition of their monarchs had frequently led them into that country; but their successes had always been transitory; and it was proverbially denominated the burying-ground of the French, from the constant overthrow and destruction of their armies. It was of course expected, that the same destiny would again attend them; and that, should they invade it, they would, as heretofore, be finally expelled. On this pre-

sumption, their entrance into Italy was viewed without much alarm in the native powers. Nor did they at first seem to threaten much danger to those princes whose territories they invaded. But the French having successfully got over the first trial of the strength brought against them by the coalition, and terminated with advantage a campaign which they began with the gloomiest prospects, they now derived from thence such hopes, that they determined to leave no means untried to realize them.

They formed accordingly a multiplicity of plans for the attack of their different enemies, equally daring and sagacious; that which was proposed for Italy promised to compensate for the disappointments of the last campaign there; and their success in the outset excited their most sanguine expectations. Among the possessions remaining to the King of Sardinia on the sea-coast, the only one of any consequence was the town and harbour of Oneglia. It was noted for being the receptacle of a number of privateers, which committed many depredations on the commercial shipping of the French sea-ports in its neighbourhood. It was resolved, for that reason, to commence the campaign by the siege of that place. As it was encircled by the territories of Genoa, it became necessary to calm the inquietude that might arise from marching through these to attack that town. The fortune of France had not at that time declared itself in such a manner as to render the French inattentive whom they offended; and they were particularly desirous to commit no violations of the treaties subsisting between them

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and other states, however considerable these might be, and incapable of resenting ill treatment. The strictest promises therefore were made, to observe the respect due to the sovereignty of Genoa on its own territory; and they were kept accordingly on this occasion to the particular satisfaction of that republic; which was exceedingly solicitous to preserve its neutrality in the midst of those hostilities, which it had not the power to remove from its neighbourhood.

A passage being thus opened to Oneglia, it was besieged and taken in the beginning of April. Hereby the direct communication of the court of Turin with the British fleets in the Mediterranean, was entirely cut off; which was a main object with the French. The capture of this important place was soon after followed by the defeat of a considerable body of Sardinians and Austrians; and the French penetrated into Piedmont, some districts of which were compelled to submit to them. Large quantities of provisions and warlike stores fell at the same time into their hands, and proved an irreparable loss to the troops that were advancing against them. The principal officer among the French was Dumerion, a very resolute and active commander. He had four strong holds to reduce before he could execute the design he had formed, of attacking the Sardinians in a fortified camp, which they occupied. He attempted them, however, successfully the beginning of May, and immediately marched to the Sardinian encampment; the forcing of which did him the more honour, that it had been fruitlessly

attempted in the foregoing campaign.

The French on this occasion made two thousand prisoners, and killed a considerable number of the enemy. A numerous train of artillery fell into their hands, besides vast stores of provisions and ammunition. This success was directly followed by another of still more importance. Eight thousand of the enemy were entrenched in one of the narrow passes into Piedmont, known by the name of Colda Tanda. This had in former wars often resisted numerous forces, and effectually guarded the country behind it; but it could not resist the impetuosity with which the French assailed it. The Sardinians were completely defeated, and lost a great number of men in their retreat. These advantages, obtained by the activity and bravery of Dumerion, in the districts between Turin and the sea-coast, fully decided the superiority of the French in those parts, and spread dismay through all Piedmont. The King of Sardinia's ministry began to be very seriously alarmed at the approximation of so resolute and successful an enemy; and were highly perplexed in what manner most effectually to put a stop to his progress.

After many consultations on the dangerous posture of affairs, it was proposed to make an appeal to the inhabitants of Piedmont, representing to them the danger threatened to their religion, and the duty incumbent on them to protect it from the violence and profanation of an impious enemy. The attachment of the Italians to the Romish religion is notorious. Long before the revolution in France, they considered

considered the French as far from being such real and sound Roman Catholics as themselves. That event and its consequences lessened still more their good opinion and respect for the French in these particulars; and since the abolition of the papal jurisdiction in France, and the dereliction of christianity, openly avowed even by some French ecclesiastics in the course of the proceeding year, they looked upon the generality of the French with abhorrence. Such a disposition in the bulk of the people, appeared highly favourable to the design of exciting them to rise in arms to oppose the French. The Piedmontese displayed on this occasion more willingness than the Spaniards had done. Encouraged by their clergy, and the numerous friars who exerted themselves in spiriting up the multitude everywhere, they assembled in July, to the number of ten or twelve thousand, and marched confidently to the enemy. But so little were the French alarmed at this method of opposing them, that they did not think it necessary to make any extraordinary preparations to meet this body of undisciplined peasantry. A few regiments were sufficient to put them to the rout. They quickly dispersed to their habitations, thoroughly disheartened at a trial, from which both they and others had formed better expectations; but which neither seemed inclined any more to repeat.

While the French armies succeeded so completely in the southern provinces of the Sardinian dominions, their forces in the northern parts were equally fortunate. No country in Europe could be

more susceptible of every assistance arising from military knowledge. Full of mountains, defiles, and precipices, it was often with difficulty troops could proceed on their way even without seeing the face of an enemy. The Sardinians had fortified every post that was tenable either by nature or by art; and the French were compelled to fight for every inch of ground on which they stood. The strongest of the many fortresses scattered over this country of rocks and mountains, was that so well known to travellers by the name of Mount Cenis. It formed a central post, supported by several others; every one well garrisoned and fortified. Their situation obstructed the passage to it so effectually, that without previously taking them, it would remain inaccessible. Dumas, the French General, whose particular experience in this mountainous warfare had recommended him to this arduous expedition, exerted himself so skilfully, that he had in the beginning of May made every preparation requisite for the commencement of his intended operations. On the 10th of this month, at the close of day, a chosen body were ordered to attack a fort that occupied the first pass. It was carried, after a stout defence, together with a valuable train of artillery; and the garrison was obliged to capitulate for permission to retreat. In the mean time, Dumas himself, at the head of a select division, descended into a valley intersected by a chain of posts, through which he forced his way, and made himself master of another fort. After overcoming these obstacles, a number of precipices lay before him, through which, with equal  
courage

courage and circumspection, he directed his march to a strong hold; which having secured, he next advanced to the foot of Mount Cenis. This formidable mountain was covered with redoubts and batteries that did great execution on his best troops, as he led them to the assault. But, after a vigorous defence, they were all taken by storm, and the Sardinians driven from their position. While this was doing, another division of the French army came upon them, by a circuitous march across precipices that were not thought passable. This sudden appearance of an additional and unexpected enemy, so discouraged the Sardinian troops, that they immediately retreated; leaving behind them all their cannon and warlike stores, and a great number of prisoners and of this.

This was a victory of the highest importance to the French. It not only enabled them to subjugate a considerable extent of this mountainous country, but it struck such a camp on their enemies, that it was with the utmost precaution they ventured to encounter them on open ground, and were continually throwing up entrenchments in every place where they expected them in considerable force. A variety of partial engagements and skirmishes occupied the remainder of the summer, till the middle of September; when the Sardinians came to a more serious action with the French: by whom, after maintaining a regular contest, they were at length defeated with a great loss. They still however continued to dispute their ground with so much judgment and vigour, that the French, notwithstanding their ac-

tivity, received several checks, and were not able to make farther progress in those parts.

In order to retrieve the disasters of this campaign, and to terminate it more auspiciously than it had begun, the court of Turin concerted a plan with the Austrian commanders, the object of which was, to attack in great force the various posts occupied by the French to the north of the Genoese territory; and by means of which they were enabled to make incursions far into the Sardinian districts. Whether the French discovered this project, or had formed another to a similar purpose against their enemies, they counteracted it so effectually, that before it could be ready for execution, the Sardinians and Austrians were assailed in all their posts, defeated in the completest manner, and compelled to retreat with the utmost precipitation, as far as the strong town of Alexandria; to the gates of which they were pursued.

This great defeat, which happened in the latter part of September, closed all the material operations of the campaign. After rallying their scattered forces, the Sardinians and Austrians remained wholly on the defensive; and by choosing advantageous positions, so far recovered the credit of their arms, as to prevent the French from advancing further into Piedmont, and even to worst them in some encounters. But these were not of a nature to raise any apprehensions in the French that they should suffer a reverse of fortune. They seemed indeed to others, as well as themselves, so firmly settled in Italy, that the various Princes and states of this country,

country, began to entertain serious fears that they might acquire such a degree of power there, as, on divers pretences, to refuse relinquishing it. Plausible motives would easily be assigned for their keeping possession of what they had obtained; and while they continued superior in the field, their reasons would remain uncontroverted.

Italy, in the opinion of the soundest politicians, was a theatre whereon the French would act a more remarkable part than in any other country in Europe. The Italians, divided into sundry states and principalities, none of which were intrinsically very formidable, had ever cherished a jealousy of each other; which rendered them altogether of little consideration in the scale of European politics. Their country was perpetually exposed to the invasion of those potentates who thought proper to form pretensions to parts of it, and in the sanguinary disputes occasioned by those pretensions, none were exempt from experiencing eventually the horrors of war. Often had the wisest heads in that country, which certainly produces as wise heads as any, endeavoured by arguments, and by the influence their high stations gave them, some of them being no less than Sovereigns, to form such an union of force among the Italian princes and states, as might enable them to expel foreigners from their country. The propriety of this advice was incontrovertible; and it might have been followed, to the benefit of all concerned, had the least patriotism existed among those who ought chiefly to have taken the lead, in promoting so national

a measure. Italy being therefore the property, partly of Sovereigns who have no natural relation to it, and of others who consider their possession as precarious, and the rulers of states assuming the name of commonwealths being usually at variance with the people under them, it follows of course, that national attachments and reciprocal confidence between the governors and the governed, are unknown in this country. The only exception is found in Piedmont; the inhabitants of which are in general very well affected to the princes of the House of Savoy, their native Sovereigns for many centuries.

Matters being thus circumstanced, it was the firm persuasion of persons of political knowledge and discernment, at the close of the year 1794, that Italy would be that country wherein the consequences of the French revolution would finally be felt in their fullest extent, unless the alliance between Sardinia and Austria should be more prosperous than it had hitherto proved; which, however, from past events, did not seem probable: an alteration of circumstances in favour of both these sovereigns, depended not only on the success of their arms in Italy, but also on the better fortune of those of the whole confederacy.

The termination of this campaign left the affairs of Europe in the most astonishing condition they had ever experienced since that political system had been formed, which had kept them so long in equipoise, and happily prevented any nation from exceeding those limits of power and consequence which must have necessarily endangered

ged the authority and importance of the others. That system was now forgotten; that equipoise destroyed; and the whole fabric of the standing politics of centuries tottering to its foundation. The causes of this amazing change lay much deeper than either the revolution of France, or the confederacy formed to counteract it. A spirit had started up, which, disdaining to be fettered by those maxims to which mankind has submitted for a long course of ages, had struck out new paths, embraced new principles, and seemed determined, in defiance of all opposition, to establish a new order of things throughout the civilized world\*. This was an attempt of such a nature, that it could not fail to excite the most violent resistance. The enmity of many would arise from the interest they would feel in its suppression; the abhorrence of others would flow from the persuasion of its pernicious consequences to society; and multitudes would condemn it, on account of that dislike of change which must be attended with much confusion before things can be thoroughly settled.

In the mean time the operations of this spirit were incessant. As it fell chiefly on minds the most restless, most turbulent, and most resolute, its activity at last knew no repose; its audacity dreaded no danger; and it laboured with an insatiable assiduity to gain probabilities among all whose qualities and way of thinking were similar to those of its propagators. Invidious of this frame of mind passed a natural ascendancy over

all others. Doctrines supposed to be founded in moral rectitude, the most powerful principle among moral agents, were readily embraced by men who believed that while they consulted their self-interest, they paid homage at the same time to immutable truth and justice. Novelty too, proverbially the pursuit of most men, contributed largely to their rapid diffusion; and as they differed essentially from many received notions, the truth of these began to be called in question, and they were gradually dismissed to make room for more acceptable ideas. Time and speculation having, by degrees, ripened them into a regular system; among their numerous adherents, the fervour with which these maintained, and were determined at all hazards to support them, gave birth to a resolution to let them no longer lie buried in theory, but to bring them forwards into actual practice.

It happened, at the same time, that a coincidence of extraordinary events co-operated with the most ardent wishes that could have been formed by the professors of this new system. A nation the most terribled, and susceptible of those impressions that fascinate the imagination, had long lain dormant and depressed under an accumulation of difficulties which had exhausted its patience. Its government abounded with errors, which had produced much misery; and the public was anxiously seeking for remedies to its distresses. Matters indeed were in a train for gradual and even speedy reformation; but the impatience of the French nation could not brook any delay; and is dis-

\* See Vol. XXXIV. of this Work, page 4.

posed to pursue its object through certain dangers, rather than to wait for its certain and safe accomplishment at any future period.

This was the moment which the spirit of novelty and reform seized with the keenest avidity for immediate exertion. The very nation so situated, abounded with spirits of this stamp. They lost no time in seizing so favourable an opportunity of introducing themselves into the most active functions, and of preparing the materials wherewith to erect the fabric they had in contemplation.

With a circumspection arising from the profoundest policy, they concealed their ultimate views from the majority; whose minds, though in strong unison with their own respecting a multiplicity of objects, were not yet arrived at that point which would be requisite for the accomplishment of those ends which were finally proposed; but when, through a surprizing variety of favourable incidents, they had gained possession of the public mind, they threw away all concealment, and openly avowed their purposes to the world.

As these purposes were highly soothing to the sentiments of men desirous of making a figure in society, they were instantly joined by all the bold and daring spirits in the nation. Of such only they accepted for the execution of those projects which were necessary for the security of the system they had established. In the collision of the many rivals struggling successively for power, all principles of humanity were trampled to the ground; but those principles, on which their system had been founded, remained unshaken in the attachment of the

public. The very suspicion of enmity to these was a crime; and tyranny, cloaked a while with the pretext of patriotic severity, was, on the instant of its discovery, doomed to immediate destruction.

These maxims and passions have wrought a radical change in the reciprocal conduct of the French and the European powers, in their various relations with each other. Conscious of the irradicable enmity borne by those powers to their principles, they can be friendly to none, and are therefore suspected of eagerly watching for opportunities of subverting every system of government but their own.

While Europe remains suspended in its expectations and fears of what will finally prove the result of this natural state of hostility between France and those potentates whose all is now at stake, dissimulation may hold forth the appearance of peace; but its reality will never, it is much to be feared, be known till that awful decision is made which will either confirm the new system of things, or procure, thro' its entire ruin, the restoration of the old: a consideration replete with terror; when that fatal alternative is weighed, which hence will of necessity arise, or at least may be dreadfully apprehended, that either France will ultimately succeed in overturning every government in Europe; or that, after shedding seas of blood, and converting this part of the world into scenes of devastation and horror, they will effect the total ruin of that country and people, and ensure, by the rights of war, its depression and degradation for ages to come.

In searching for an event, or era  
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a history, that might be found to bear some analogy to this great revolution in the sentiments of so large a portion of the European world, and that might suggest some anticipation of its probable result, and some instructions for the conduct of nations, we have not been able to discover any nearer a parallel than the reformation of religion; which, after various preludes in different countries, blazed forth in Germany in the first part of the sixteenth century. The

Wars that ensued were, like the present, wars of opinion: and after a struggle continued, with some interruptions, for upwards of a century, were terminated at the peace of Westphalia by a compromise. The more that one reflects on these two objects, the more circumstances he will certainly perceive of discrimination; but the more he revolves them in his mind, in their origin and progress, the more he will also discover of resemblance.

## CHAP. V.

*Causes of the rapid Changes of Men and Measures, and of the Vicissitudes in Government during the Progress of the French Revolution. Discontents excited by the Barbarities exercised by various Parties. Motives for the general Submission of the French to the Ruling Party at the Commencement of the War with the Coalesced Powers. Determination of the Royalists to unite against the Republicans. Insurrection in La Vendée. Its Causes, Beginning, and Progress. Joined by Numbers of the Noblesse and the Clergy. Military Plans and Dispositions made by the Vendéans. Alarm of the Convention. Policy of the Insurgents in concealing the Names of their Chiefs. Charette the first Promoter of the Insurrection. He erects the Royal Standard. Risings headed by Stoffet and Catineau. Fears and Preparations of the French Government against the Vendéans. Distribution of the Vendéan Army into three Divisions. Appointment of Delbée to the chief Command. The Insurgents supply themselves with Arms, by seizing those of the Conventional Troops. Advantages resulting from the Situation of their Country. They adopt Defensive Measures. Their Victories. They meet with a Repulse at Nantes. Numerous Forces march against them. They defeat these Forces. New Method to reduce them adopted by the French Government. They are overpowered and forced to abandon their Country. They retreat across the Loire. They lose their principal Chiefs, who die of their Wounds. They march into Brittany. They attack St. Malo and Grandville without Success. They defeat the Armies sent against them. They quit the Sea-Coast, and make an Irruption into Maine and Anjou against the Advice of their Chiefs. Immense Force ordered against them. They receive Intelligence of the intended Assistance from England, and march towards the Sea-Coast. They are overtaken by the Conventional Troops and entirely defeated, with a prodigious Slaughter. The Isle of Noirmoutier is taken by Charette. He is left by most of his People, and Noirmoutier is retaken by the Conventional Troops. His remaining Followers obliged to disperse. Barbarities exercised by the French Government upon the Royalists.*



**H**ISTORY does not furnish an example of a nation that, having emancipated itself from despotism, and acquired a constitution founded on principles of freedom, was again so quickly enslaved as the French. Elated with their acquisition, and impatient to give it every improvement of which it might be susceptible, they did not reflect that no species of system requires so much enquiry and deliberation, and is slower in its progress towards perfection, than a political constitution. The rules that are applicable to the disposition of one people have, it is well known, been sometimes found unacceptable to others; and the propriety of any government depends so much on the circumstances of time, place, events, and individual characters, that what may suit one nation may prove unfit for another; and what may be proper for a nation at one period, may be highly improper at another. Totally inattentive to these maxims, and hurried on, partly by a native impetuosity, partly by the artful impulse, communicated by men who had deeper designs in contemplation than the rest, the French took such rapid strides in their revolutionary motions, that they underwent greater changes in their political system during the short lapse of five or six years, than some nations have experienced in the course of so many centuries. From an absolute, they emerged to a limited monarchy; from thence they passed to a democracy; which speedily gave way to an oligarchy; and this was shortly absorbed in the tyranny of one. In these expeditious changes, the character of the nation was singularly prominent:

inconstant in its ideas, fickle in its attachments, restless in its motions, and invariably preferring what it expected to what it possessed. When to this radical frame of temper are added the machinations and intrigues of ambitious individuals, and of those who had been, or thought themselves ill-used or neglected by men in power; when we advert to the current notions of the times, the popular zeal for liberty, the suspicious light in which numbers were held, the resentment for past sufferings, the dread of their return, the consequent hatred borne to the former arbitrary government, and the violent adherence to those principles that overturned it; when the private views by which so many were actuated are weighed, together with the public motives by which the mass of the nation was guided; when the vanity, and opposition to each other, of leading interests and opinions are considered, the warmth with which they were espoused, the determination with which they were supported and enforced:—when we take all these things into consideration, we shall be at no loss to account for the uncertainty and fluctuation of the power successively possessed by the parties that were precipitated from the helm with such rapidity; nor yet for the effusion of blood that accompanied these changes, and that marked so strikingly the dread as well as the hatred in which they reciprocally held each other.

The national character of the Americans, and the geographical as well as moral and political circumstances of that people, were so different from those of the French, that we are not surprized to find  
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very different results arising from their national councils. But there is another circumstance of diversity besides all these, to which, partly, the wide difference between these results may be traced. In all the stages of the American revolution, one regulating and presiding mind combined a great variety of parts, and harmonized them into that unity and consistency of design which is scarcely to be expected from the joint councils of a number of men, actuated by a variety of opposite views and passions. Perhaps, if Mirabeau had lived, and only perhaps, France might have derived from him benefits similar to those conferred on America by General Washington.

It was natural that, viewing the progress of revolutionary measures, attended by such direful consequences, a large party should embrace the contrary side of the question. Comparing the inexorable character of those who supported the democratic establishment that rose on the ruins of monarchy, with the severity of which this latter was accused, they could readily perceive, that in the very worst periods of monarchy, no such barbarities had been exercised as since its abolition.

As facts are always more impressive than arguments and reasonings, however plausible, or even well founded, the multitude was forcibly struck with this difference, and paid little attention to the apologies that were made for the harsh measures that were pursued. Their barbarity was obvious; and no pretence of their necessity could screen them. Though strongly attached to the cause of freedom, the people sincerely regretted that such

means should be employed to maintain it. The only motive that induced the generality not to approve, but, in some degree, to bear with the system of terror and implacability now triumphant, was the apprehension that, were the formidable coalition, now acting against France, to prove successful, no mercy would be shewn to its opponents; and France, after being converted into a field of slaughter and destruction, would finally be parcelled out among the coallesced powers, in the same manner as the unhappy kingdom of Poland.

To such considerations may be imputed the tame acquiescence with which the French beheld the supreme power devolve into the hands of the most merciless tyrant that ever was, through an unforeseen concurrence of events, fortuitously raised, in reality, though not in name, to a dictatorial throne.

In the mean time, the cruelty of the ruling powers, and especially of him in whom all the power of the state became finally centered, had excited the adherents of the monarchy to unite with more vigour and firmness than ever in opposing the new system. Among those numerous opponents none signalized themselves so conspicuously as the inhabitants of that part of France formerly called Poictou; and in the new division of that country denominated La Vendée. As they acted with no less sincerity than zeal in the cause they undertook to maintain, nothing could exceed their activity and courage. Had not the strength and abilities they had to contend with been of the first rate, it is probable that the issue of the contest would

have been in their favour. But that strength and those abilities had overpowered the combined force of the most formidable coalition that had ever been framed against a state; and thus, notwithstanding the desperate resistance of men who knew that, if defeated, death would be their fate, and that in victory alone lay their security, the genius and military knowledge of those who acted against them proved ultimately successful. It was a considerable time, however, before that resolute party was subdued which took up arms for the royal cause in the department of La Vendée. All Europe beheld, with astonishment, the obstinacy and courage with which they maintained their ground, in defiance of the immense superiority of numbers and soldiery, and of every advantage resulting to their enemies from the support of a settled and powerful government, and an active and vigorous administration of its vast powers and resources.

The long and celebrated contest between royalty and republicanism in this province, had subsisted ever since the death of Lewis XVI. to whose cause and memory, the inhabitants bore the most fervent attachment. Their resistance to the established government was of a peculiar nature, and displayed in a singular manner the character of men invincibly attached to the political and religious system of their forefathers. No part of the French nation had beheld the alterations in the spiritual government of the kingdom with more disapprobation. They had remained equally attached to the ancient noble families of the province, and had zealously protected them

from that barbarous treatment which the noblesse had experienced in so many other parts of the kingdom. When the disobedience of such numbers of the French clergy had subjected them to the penalties enacted against them by the Constituent Assembly, they braved all dangers in affording them an asylum against persecution. So radically indeed were they attached to the former establishment, both in church and state, that they looked with contempt and abhorrence on every decree that thwarted them; and appeared constantly determined to seize the first favourable occasion of openly opposing them. Conformably to this disposition, they had, as soon as they were apprized of the King's flight from Paris, resolved unanimously to take up arms in his defence, and made themselves ready to join those who should espouse his cause.

These various considerations had rendered them particularly obnoxious to those who were in possession of the supreme power; while it pointed them out, at the same time, as the fittest instruments of their designs to those who were meditating an opposition to revolutionary measures. From the sentiments unequivocally professed by the inhabitants of La Vendée, that department had long been the receptacle of many of those daring spirits who had formed a resolution to avail themselves of the discontents of the people, to incite them to insurrection. The dethronement of the King, and his imprisonment, had filled them with the highest indignation; but this trial and execution had roused them to such a pitch of rage, that they were

no longer able to contain themselves within the bounds of discretion, necessary to gain time sufficient to prepare for the bold design instantly formed, and determined without delay to execute. The design was, to rise in a general insurrection throughout the whole department, and attack the republican party in every quarter. This measure was suggested to them by the numerous individuals, of various age and character, who had fled for the royal cause, and had taken refuge among them. These were no longer concealed themselves; they appeared in public, avowed their purpose, and openly encouraged the multitude to join them. They succeeded to the attainment of their wishes. The peasantry of the whole province unanimously submitted themselves to their direction, and immediately proceeded to action. Armed with pikes, pitchforks, scythes, axes, and other instruments, they fell upon the municipal soldiery with such fury, that these were unable to withstand so sudden and unexpected an attack. They were compelled to lay down their arms to the insurgents, who supplied themselves from the public magazines with all the warlike utensils of which they stood in need. Encouraged with their success, they spread themselves over the whole country, inviting all men to follow their example. They broke open the prisons, and set at liberty those who were detained there adhering to the royal cause. Members of the noblesse and clergy were thus delivered from confinement, and became a powerful addition to the Vendéans, from the vigour of their character, and the variety of their abilities. They

organized those raw but resolute multitudes, and by these means added immensely to their strength, and inspired them with fresh vigour. These transactions took place in the beginning of March.

This insurrection, which had in its commencement appeared no other than a mere ebullition of popular phrenzy, which timely firmness would easily suppress, assumed in a short time, an aspect of the deepest alarm. An extent of country, more than a hundred miles, had openly thrown off obedience to the Convention, and taken up arms against it. What was still more terrifying, all the discontented hastened from every part of France to their assistance; and these were the more formidable, that they consisted in a large proportion of officers and military men of all ranks, who had either been discharged on suspension, or had quitted the service out of disgust. The order and arrangement introduced by their means among the numerous and fierce peasantry that received them with open arms, contributed in a short time to reform them to a degree of discipline and subordination sufficient to qualify them to meet any troops that could at first be opposed to them. The regular forces of the nation were occupied on the frontiers against the coalited powers; and the Convention could provide no other troops against the Vendéans than such as were as inexperienced as themselves. Against armies of this nature the Vendéans marched with a confidence and resolution that constantly procured them the most decisive victories.

Among other measures adopted by the insurgents to preserve themselves

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selves from the vengeance of an irritated government, they transported into the remotest and inaccessible parts of their country, their wives, children, and aged relations, together with the most valuable of their property, and especially every necessary article of subsistence. Here they were guarded by a force of 50,000 men, stationed in those passes through which the enemy could not penetrate. Thus delivered from the anxiety naturally resulting from the dangers to which all that was dearest to them must otherwise have been exposed, their whole attention was employed in resisting and annoying their enemies. The heads of the Convention were fully sensible of the necessity of an immediate suppression of this dangerous insurrection. All the troops, and all the best officers that could be spared from the armies in Flanders and Germany, were sent against the Vendéans; but, however experienced and active, the soldiers and commanders who engaged these desperate insurgents, found them more than an equal match for all their courage and capacity. The accounts daily received from this quarter, and which found their way into all the countries in Europe, excited their universal astonishment. A particularity well deserving of notice, was, that in the midst of the continual successes attending the arms of these insurgents, it long remained undiscovered who were their principal leaders: the motives that led these to conceal themselves were equally modest and discreet.

Being persons of respectable families, and many of their relatives being in the power of government, they dreaded to become known, lest the vengeance of their enemies, unable to reach them, should be wreaked upon their friends and relations. Thus they sacrificed the renown they might acquire by their actions, to the generous feelings of humanity.

The more effectually to conceal themselves, they attributed the honour of their exploits to a fictitious chief, upon whom they conferred a name of great illustriousness in the annals of France. This name was Gaston, worn at different periods by some of the first and most celebrated personages in the kingdom. But the real truth was, that the principal instigator and actor in this great and formidable insurrection, was the famous and unhappy Charette\*. He was originally an officer in the navy, where his talents and character distinguished him conspicuously. He was at this period in the flower of youth, little more than eight-and-twenty years of age; but the opinion of his capacity was so well established, that all eyes were fixed on him as the properest person to assume the chief command. He was accordingly acknowledged as such; and in virtue of that character, on the 10th of March, 1793, he publicly erected the royal standard, and proclaimed the infant son of the unfortunate Lewis XVI. King of France, by the name of Lewis XVII.

This was neither a vain nor an ostentatious ceremony. It was per-

\* There are in Poitou, or La Vendée, a great many families of the name of Charette. In this country, as in the Highlands, and some other parts of Scotland, almost all the natives of some districts have the same names.

formed at the earnest desire of the Vendéans, and as a signal of reunion to all the friends of royalty. It operated with prompt efficacy. A resolute subaltern in that body of brave soldiers, formerly known by the name of Swiss Guards, followed the example of Charette. This was the well-known Stoffet. Another individual, less known, but not less intrepid, imitated them. His name was Catineau, and his rank in life no higher than that of sexton to a parish church: but the vigour of his mind, and the intrepidity of his disposition, elevated him above his station, and he derived from them a credit and authority to which birth alone could not have entitled him in such critical times. These were the three men under whom originally arose that formidable opposition to the republican government, which created more anxiety in its ablest and boldest heads and assertors, and cost a greater expence of blood to France than all the strength and exertions of the coalition itself. What chiefly intimidated the supporters of the republic, was the dread lest the unyielding perseverance of the Vendéans should raise up imitators in the many places throughout France, where their wellwishers abounded. This dread was founded on the consciousness of the hatred borne to the rulers of the nation, not only by the royalists, but by the more moderate of their own party; who deeply abhorred the sanguinary maxims they had adopted and continually practised without remorse or shame; and who, notwithstanding their partiality to a republican form of government, could not reconcile themselves to the means by which it was supported.

Notwithstanding their first successes, and the daily increase of their numbers, the insurgents soon found that they were surrounded on every side with difficulties of such magnitude, that, unless they were aided from other quarters, their own exertions could only serve to protract the date of their destruction. All the country round them was in the hands of their enemies, and the generality of the inhabitants in their interest. Numerous forces were advancing against them from every one of the adjacent provinces. In this perilous situation, after consulting on the means of facing the immense multitudes that were preparing to assail them, they divided their strength into three parts:—The first was stationed opposite the district of Nantes, and was put under the command of Charette, who, being born in the proximity of that city, was well acquainted with the people and the country, where he had numbers of wellwishers. The second division was posted in the neighbourhood of those districts that lie towards Rochelle, and was intended as a protection to the southern confines of La Vendée. The third took its position in the country bordering on Saumur, a city of great importance, and which it was foreseen the enemy would make his head-quarters, and the centre of his operations. These dispositions were allowed by the best judges to have been extremely judicious. They were the result of that zeal for the common cause in which they had embarked, and which had prompted the first leaders and promoters of the insurrection to devolve their authority upon those military gentlemen who either had

been rescued by them from prison, or had afterwards joined them. Out of those gentlemen a selection was formed of excellent officers; at the head of whom was placed as commander Mr. Delbee, a person of long standing and experience in the service. The vigorous frame of body of the numerous peasantry of which the Vendéan army consisted, and the lofty spirit and invincible courage of those multitudes of the young noblesse who flocked from all parts to the insurgents, gave an appearance of strength and of lustre to their cause, which inspired its defenders with the warmest hopes.

In the midst of these arrangements, they still remained alarmingly deficient in the most necessary articles of war. They wanted arms, and could procure none, but by taking them from their enemies: they wanted also ammunition, and every species of warlike stores. The first object, therefore, that engaged their attention, was to obtain these in a sufficiency to supply the vast numbers of their people. Herein they succeeded through incessant attacks on the republican troops, whom they constantly defeated. In a short time, through repeated victories, they became possessed of immense quantities of military necessaries; and at the same time struck a panic into the enemy, from which it was long before he recovered.

The plan they first adopted was entirely defensive. Swayed by those among them whose knowledge and experience in the conducting of war entitled them to proper deference, they avoided all unnecessary risks, and kept within the limits of their own country, sallying forth

only to procure arms, ammunition, and such implements of war as they absolutely needed. The face of their country being rugged, uneven, woody, intersected by marshes, and altogether difficult of access, secured them sufficiently against any sudden surprize from the enemy. The three divisions of their army were so advantageously posted, as easily to assist each other in case of need; and the many defiles and narrow passes, enabled men of genius to throw continual obstacles in the way of the most numerous foe. Notwithstanding the superiority of an enemy regularly supplied with all he might want for carrying on his operations, or to repair his losses, such was the activity and vigilance of those who commanded the Vendéans, that during the space of more than five months, from the middle of March to the end of July, they led them to perpetual victories, that succeeded each other with daily rapidity. History can hardly furnish a parallel to the career of success that so long attended this obstinate and spirited insurrection.

While the Vendéans were thus triumphant in the field, they endeavoured to establish a government among themselves, on the same plan that had prevailed under the old monarchy. The affairs of the province were managed by a supreme council acting under the authority of the crown, and acknowledging the late king's brother, the Count of Provence, the regent of the kingdom. The political views of this council extended no farther than to secure the country from the attempts of the republican government, and to protract the stand they were making against it, long enough to afford time to those among

among the coalesced powers, who were most able to give them aid to effect their purpose in the manner they judged most advantageous. At the same time, it must be observed, that the government they aimed to settle was very imperfectly organized; they were obliged, in many cases, to apply military law; and, by the want of regular government, a door was opened for the reception into their number of whole bands of vagabonds and highway robbers. It is the opinion of many, considering the numbers and courage of the insurgents, the natural strength of their country, the gradual influx of malcontents from every district around, many of whom were military men of experience, and the knowledge in warlike matters both officers and soldiers were continually obtaining, the probability that, had they remained firm and compact in such a situation, powerful succours would have been sent to them, from the prospect of their proving useful.— It is the opinion of many, considering all these circumstances, that, if they had uniformly adhered to their original plan, they might have maintained their ground to the present hour. But being elated with unchecked successes, and allured by promising circumstances, they began to relax from that caution which had hitherto kept them chiefly on the defensive. In the course of their operations they had frequently forced the entrenched camps of their enemies, cut several of their armies to pieces, stormed some of their towns, and acquired a prodigious booty both in money, magazines, and valuables of every kind. Among other places of note, they had, on the 12th of June, taken

the important city of Saumur, and, with it an immense deposit of every article necessary for war. The acquisition of this place was followed by that of Angers, on the 15th, and had been preceded by a dreadful battle, wherein vast numbers had fallen on each side; but which ended in the completest victory over the republican army. Here it was they should have stopped, and been satisfied with the fruits of so great a victory. But they were so intoxicated with this last exploit, that they began to look upon their enemies as no longer competent to meet them in the field. They were, at the same time, secretly invited by the inhabitants of some towns of note, to march immediately to their support, promising to join them as soon as they appeared. These invitations, with the likelihood of succeeding in offensive as they had done in defensive measures, were laid before the council, and canvassed with unusual heat. The moderate and cautious, strongly recommended a continuance of that conduct which had been productive of so much safety as well as prosperity; but numbers carried it in favour of a more enterprising plan of acting. They alleged that the further they advanced, the more friends they would find; and it was even hinted, that terrified as the enemy had certainly shewn themselves, a march to the capital might be attempted.

Though an enterprize so hazardous was laid aside, through the many prudent considerations that militated against it, yet it was agreed, not however without much dissention, that an attempt should be made on the city of Nantz. Hither a large body of insurgents marched,



marched, and assailed it on the 20th of June with their usual ardour: but the inhabitants were prepared for them. Supported by a large garrison, they made so resolute a defence, that the insurgents were entirely foiled, and compelled to abandon this rash undertaking. They retired after losing a number of their bravest men.— This was a check that restored, in some measure, the spirit of their enemies.

These transactions and others, sometimes prosperous sometimes adverse to the Vendéans, happened between the beginning of March and the latter end of August. They were of a nature to excite the utmost solicitude in the ruling powers, who clearly perceived that unless the insurgents were immediately suppressed, their successes would encourage others to follow their example, and raise at last such an host of internal foes, as would enable the foreign combination to recover itself, and shortly to renew its efforts against the French Republic with better hopes of success than before. It had happened, luckily for the republican interest, that by the articles of the capitulation of Mentz, when it surrendered to the Prussians, the garrison had only engaged not to serve against the combined powers; and was therefore at the French government's disposal in other respects. It did not fail to avail itself of this favourable circumstance, and ordered that garrison to hasten with all speed against the insurgents of La Vendée. This veteran body, reinforced by several others, some of whom consisted of tried soldiers, recommenced hostilities against the Vendéans in the beginning of September; when

these imagined they had nothing to apprehend till the spring of the ensuing year. They re-assembled, however, their scattered forces, and fell upon the enemy with such fury, that they could not resist it; and were defeated everywhere with prodigious slaughter. What rendered those defeats totally unexpected, the Vendéans encountered the troops acting against them with far inferior numbers. Five or six thousand of those resolute insurgents attacked and put to the route twenty-five thousand of the troops of the line; of whom they made a terrible carnage. Another body of them, consisting of much the same number, had the boldness to assail an army of forty thousand men; who were defeated with the loss of a great part of their artillery and baggage.

Equally exasperated and astonished at these endless disappointments of all their endeavours to crush this formidable insurrection, the French government now determined to adopt the most atrocious means to combat it with effect. Their Generals were commissioned to invade instantly the country of La Vendée at the head of all the troops that could be collected for that purpose, and to set fire to every thing they met with on their march. These sanguinary mandates were executed with a barbarous fidelity. Nothing was spared. What escaped the sword perished by the flames. The immensity of numbers, and the precautions taken by the republican Generals were such, that the Vendéans were no longer able to resist the destructive progress of their enemy, who moved forward deliberately, furnished with every engine of destruction, and guarded by

by all the art of tactics against the expected rage of the people whom they were coming to destroy. The Vendéans were not wanting to themselves in so terrible a crisis. They omitted no means of defence which they were able to provide; and they fought with their usual courage: but their enemies came upon them with such extraordinary preparations, that all their efforts to resist them were unavailing. They were compelled to abandon every post they occupied, and which they had hitherto considered as impregnable. They were gradually driven, step by step, from every position they took, in order to make a stand against this dreadful and merciless attack: but they could maintain themselves nowhere, and were forced to retire on every side; while they beheld, in their retreat, all the houses, habitations, and hamlets around them, committed to the flames.

In this desperate extremity their only care at last was to save themselves and their families from the fury of an implacable foe, determined to shew no commiseration, and to give no quarter. The number of the Vendéans collected for this purpose amounted to about one hundred thousand. They withdrew to the banks of the river Loire, almost destitute of provisions and necessaries. The most resolute would have stood their ground, and presented a front to the enemy, who was close upon their rear; but the majority advised to cross the river, as the surest method of securing the immense multitude of women, children, and aged people, by whom they were accompanied. This resolution was taken, and executed with all possible speed. They

had the good fortune to gain the other side, before the enemy had reached them. This escape was, in their forlorn condition, esteemed a singular and critical deliverance; and, though labouring under the extremes of want, they began to resume their spirits, and to form new plans of proceeding.

The only method that appeared practicable, and held out any reasonable prospect of retrieving their affairs, was, to make the best of their way to the sea-side, where they would be nearest at hand to receive those succours from England they had long been promised and expected. This was truly an arduous undertaking, as they had their way to fight through an hostile country. The length of the journey reached from the spot on which they were, at the banks of the Loire, to the northern coast of Brittany, a space above an hundred miles. But they were now recovered from the terror they had experienced on the sudden and unexpected manner of the irruption into their country by the republican army, and were prepared to encounter all dangers and difficulties in the execution of their present project. The greatest misfortune that had befallen them while contending with the republican army in La Vendée, was the loss of the three principal commanders Delbec, Bonchamp, and Leseure, who were mortally wounded in the last action that preceded the retreat to the Loire. They were highly esteemed and respected by the royal party, and no less dreaded by the republican. Barrere declared openly in the Convention, that the fall of these chiefs of the insurgents was equivalent to many victories over them.

them. They were replaced by Stoffet and Laroche Jacquelin. This latter was a young gentleman of respectable origin, and of great military talents. He was particularly noted for an intrepid coolness, that supplied him constantly with resources in the most desperate situations.

The flight of the insurgents across the Loire had been much disapproved by the two chiefs who happened to be absent when that transaction took place: but it was now too late to attempt the recrossing that broad and rapid river; of which all the passages were strongly guarded. They were of course compelled to follow the impulse of the multitude, and to guide it to the best of their abilities. Under their conduct a bold and rapid march was begun through the province of Brittany: they were opposed by a number of republican troops; but they quickly dispersed them, and overcame every impediment thrown in their way. When arrived at the place of their destination, which was that part of the north coast of Brittany which fronts the island of Jersey, they had no doubt of being speedily succoured from England. They knew that, in such case, the two spacious, rich and populous provinces of Normandy and Brittany, abounding in royalists, would have furnished the means of making a powerful impression on the republican interest in those parts; which was chiefly supported by the terror of the severities exercised everywhere upon royalists. After many consultations, the insurgents divided themselves into two armies: the one remained in Brittany, where it blockaded the strong town of St. Malo;

the other entered Normandy, where it besieged Grand Ville, a town upon the coast nearest to Jersey; but as they were not expert in the tactics relating to sieges, and were ill provided for such an enterprize, they were repulsed, and forced to abandon it. They rejoined that division which had been left in Brittany; and both of them waited with the utmost impatience for the long desired arrival of the English; but, to their heavy disappointment and alarm, they neither saw a single ship, nor heard the least intelligence of their motions. In the mean time, the destruction of La Vendée, and the punctual execution of the inexorable decrees of the Convention, had been publicly notified at Paris, and afforded the amplest satisfaction to the republican party, which now looked upon the insurrection as totally suppressed, and the insurgents themselves as entirely exterminated. It was with the utmost surprize and indignation they were soon after informed, that, after transporting themselves over the Loire, they had penetrated into Brittany and Normandy, and were waiting on the shores of those provinces for the assistance promised them from England. It behoved them without delay to obviate the danger of their being joined by the forces that were preparing at this time to make a descent in France, under the command of Lord Moira. They collected with all speed numerous bodies of troops, which were dispatched against them from all quarters. But the Vendéans encountered them with their accustomed bravery; and made such continual slaughter of them, that had not daily and hourly reinforcements arrived to

replace

replace the multitudes that were slain, the insurgents must indubitably have carried every thing before them.

But this incessant replacement of men, and repair of every loss sustained by the republican troops, did not daunt the insurgents. The only cause of complaint among them was, the delay of those succours so long held out to them from England. Their patience was at length exhausted; and the majority at last determined to quit the sea-shore, where they had met such continual disappointments, and had so long tarried to no satisfactory purpose, in order to march back into the interior provinces, where they might the more easily procure the provisions of which they now experienced so much need, and would probably be joined by the numerous adherents to their cause, who were secretly but firmly determined to declare themselves, the moment they could do it with safety.

Actuated by these motives, they quitted the positions they had taken on the coast, and which had been chosen with great judgment, to favour the landing of the English, and precipitated their march towards the inland provinces of Anjou and Maine. The plurality, as well as the most prudent of their chiefs, endeavoured in vain to stem the torrent of disobedience to their order, and slight of their advice, which hurried on their people with such thoughtless violence and impetuosity; but they met with the most mortifying and injurious repulse: they were charged with the base design of remaining on the coast for the purpose of securing their own escape on board the Eng-

lish fleet, and abandoning their people to the vengeance of the republicans. Notions of this kind spread to forcibly among the soldiery and subalterns of the insurgent army, that, without listening to their superiors, they directly began their proposed march in despite of all their entreaties and admonitions. Nothing could have happened more unfortunately for them than the impatience and precipitation they were guilty of on this occasion. They were hardly departed when the British Squadron of men of war, and a fleet of transports, with a large body of troops and immense quantities of provisions, made its appearance on the coast which they had left so imprudently. Every sign previously agreed upon was made from the squadron; but no answer was returned; and after waiting fruitlessly a due space of time, and finding its presence useless, it sailed back to England. The insurgents in the mean time had entered the provinces of Maine and Anjou, where nothing was able to stand before them. They defeated the republican troops wherever these opposed them, and spread consternation over all the neighbouring countries. Such was the terror they occasioned, that all the bridges over the Loire were broken down from Nantes as far as Blois; and the city of Orleans itself was filled with the most serious apprehensions for its safety.

The republican troops, intimidated by the successes of the insurgents, and the defeats they constantly experienced, kept within strong entrenchments, and carefully fortified all the passages over the Loire and the other river that lay

lay between them and the insurgents. In this position they remained, waiting for those immense armies that were hastening to their assistance from all parts of France. The executive department had ordered 30,000 of their best troops to be draughted from the army of the Netherlands; and, for greater expedition, they were conveyed in flying waggons to the place of their destination. The forces stationed in that peninsula where Cherbourg is situated, were commanded to repair with all diligence to the same spot; and the troops in the district of Brest, together with those in the other districts of Brittany, amounting to fourscore thousand men, received like orders. The insurgents were fully sensible of the dangers that surrounded them on every side: but unused to despond, they were taken up with deliberations how to act most to their advantage in this perilous situation. While they were thus occupied, an emissary dispatched from the British Squadron, found means, through a multiplicity of obstacles and perils, to make his way to the insurgents, whom he informed of the arrival of the English on the coast, and of the determination of the British government to give them the most effectual support. They were now convinced, though too late, of the error they had committed in forsaking the coast, and plainly saw the consequences of the false step they had so rashly taken; and expressed a readiness to be guided by those officers against whose better advice they had taken it. Laroche, the Commander in Chief, instantly seized this opportunity of proposing an immediate return to the coast, and to make directly for Cher-

bourg; which being a town of little strength, they might master with facility. Here they would be able to make a stand till joined by the English, who then would meet with no sort of obstruction in bringing them all the succours they thought proper.

This bold, but not injudicious proposal, was immediately accepted, as it appeared to carry as few risks with it as any that could be adopted in the very critical situation in which they now stood. Their scattered bodies being collected, they set forwards with great resolution and confidence in their schemes. They marched in three divisions; the last of which formed their rear-guard, and were intended to resist any sudden attack, and protect the junction of such of their own people as had not yet joined the main body; as also of those who were desirous to become adventurers in the same cause.

The republican Generals were completely aware that, if the insurgents succeeded in their design, they would become more dangerous than ever; and, aided by so powerful an ally as England, might seriously endanger the very existence of the republic. They exerted, of course, all their abilities, and observed every motion of the insurgents with a vigilance which nothing could escape. As soon as these had begun their march, they were followed on every side by the republican troops: a large body of which attacked the rear guard; but were quickly repulsed. Animated with this advantage, the royalists pursued them to a great distance, but unexpectedly fell in with one of those numerous reinforcements that

that were hourly arriving to their aid. Disordered and fatigued by their long pursuit, the royalists had no time to rally, and were unable to stand the charge of fresh troops. They were put to the rout, and a religious slaughter was made of them by the republican cavalry, which followed them in their flight far as the central division. Here the baggage, the provisions, and all the ammunition and stores of the insurgent army, with the sick, the wounded, and the division, unprepared for so unforeseen an attack, was instantly run through, and thrown into irreparable confusion. No quarter was given; and the massacre extended indiscriminately to young and old. Those who escaped to the division, threw it, by their retreat, into such consternation, that they lost all courage and presence of mind. Laroche and Stoffet united their efforts to re-animate them; but all was in vain: such a panic seized them, that they thought no longer of any thing but flight. In order to be the less encumbered, they even threw away their arms, and dispersed on all sides over the face of the country. But they were chased with the most barbarous fury to every spot where they had sought concealment, and miserably slaughtered, without distinction of age or sex. According to accounts reputed authentic, the inhuman execution extended to more than one hundred miles. The space through which they were pursued was strewn with the dead bodies of those unfortunate men; and the computation of the numbers slain amounted to more than 70,000, which was nearly two parts in four of their whole

number. So eager were the victors in this work of destruction, that the searching out and execution of this multitude was completed in fifteen days. The manner in which numbers of them were put to death was so atrocious, as almost to stagger belief. They were shut up by hundreds in barns, wherein they were burnt alive; others were thrown by whole companies into rivers; and such of them as kept above water, or got ashore, were shot.

General Westerman being now called to the bar of the Convention, informed them, that of the rebel army, which had been 90,000 strong in the district of Mons, not a single combatant had escaped. "Chiefs, officers, soldiers, bishops, Countesses, Marchionesses, and Princesses, had all perished by the sword, by the flames, or by the waves." This report was heard with applause in the galleries, mixed with bursts of laughter.

Some part of the insurgents, who had, through more coolness and determination than the rest, effected a retreat, and escaped the fate of their companions, finding it impracticable to return to their country by crossing the Loire, made the best of their way to the district of Morbihan in Brittany; of which the inhabitants were well known to be in the royal interest. But the destiny of their unhappy companions overtook them. They were, after a variety of adventures, assailed and overcome by numbers, and perished altogether, as the others had done before them.

While the insurgent army under Laroche and Stoffet were suffering so many disasters, that body commanded by Charette, had successfully

fully attacked the island of Noirmoutiers, lying opposite to the coast of Poitou: but as soon as they were apprized of the misfortune that had befallen their associates, they were so terrified, that they immediately disbanded. Out of twenty-five thousand men, of which his force consisted, Charette saw himself at once reduced to little more than four thousand. They were men, however, on whose fidelity and valour he could rely, and who, knowing that they had no mercy to expect, were all resolved to die with arms in their hands, rather than be passively massacred in the field, or submit to an ignominious death. With this handful of men he took the intrepid resolution of confronting his numerous foes, and of disputing every inch of ground in his possession. But in despite of his invincible spirit and the courage of his adherents, he was not able long to retain Noirmoutier. The importance of this island was too well known, for the republican Generals to suffer it to remain in his hands. The dread of its falling into the power of the English, induced them to assault it with all possible speed. After as brave a defence as the inconsiderable strength he had would allow, he was compelled to abandon it, together with the hopes he had formed of being able, through means of the English, to make it a place of arms; from whence the

royal party in the neighbouring parts might derive a variety of the most important advantages. The loss of this island exposed him and his followers to unceasing dangers. His conduct and their unconquerable courage, afforded constant employment to the republican troops; and it was not without the utmost exertions they succeeded at last in putting a period to their resistance, and compelling them to disperse. This was not effected without many combats and much effusion of blood. Forced at length to yield to inevitable necessity, his brave and faithful band was obliged to disperse for individual safety; which could no longer be preserved while they continued in a body. Both he and they parted with the most extreme reluctance; nor did they consent to this separation, until their numbers had been so reduced by the sword, that those who remained could not, without the most blameable temerity, hope for success in any farther resistance. It was at this calamitous period that the barbarity of the French government was carried to an excess that disgraced it throughout all Europe, even with the warmest wellwishers to the republican system; and that affixed in the imaginations of men a stigma to the national character\*, which will require many years to be obliterated. The cruelties that sullied the successes obtained over the in-

\* Though not perhaps altogether, it is alleged by some, with justice. Whether at this period (the question has been put) are we to look for the French character among the royalists, or the republican government? When the Romans groaned under proscriptions, they were to be considered rather as an unhappy than a cruel people. Yet it cannot reasonably be supposed that such a tyrant as Robespierre would have found in Britain, Germany, Poland, Denmark, or Sweden, so many prompt executioners of his bloody purposes.

urgents were such, that had not the Convention, struck with their horrors, deemed itself bound, in compliance with the general feelings of their friends as well as their foes, to bring to open justice the principal agent of those atrocious proceedings, the world, however inclined to hold their conduct in abhorrence, would not have given credit to the horrid reports that were circulated of the abominable treatment experienced by the royalists, after their insurrection had been suppressed, and the republican administration felt itself at liberty to give an unbounded loose to its rage. The only extenuation, if it be one, for the inhuman fury that actuated the whole of their conduct, was, that it originated in one of the most execrable characters that ever held the reins of government in that or in any country. The decrees that either authorized or gave occasion to the atrocious transactions of those bloody times, were ascribed to Robespierre and his associates. The gloomy and inexorable disposition of this infamous tyrant, is certainly well known: but had there not existed an aptitude in the instruments of his enormities for the perpetration of any inhuman deed, he could have suggested; and had not these vile instruments proved as numerous and willing to obey him as his sanguinary temper required, France would not have seen so shocking a proportion of its inhabitants acting cheerfully the part of the most unfeeling executioners, and betraying, as it were, a native propensity to sport with the lives of their fellow-creatures.

In a country and nation hitherto

respected for its civilization, its hospitality, its manners, and its eminence in arts, its knowledge, and whatever adorns and refines human life, Europe beheld, and posterity will learn with astonishment and horror, that for the space of several months a tribunal existed in the large and populous city of Nantz, legally commissioned by public authority, to exercise the most merciless and cruel despotism, and to condemn to the most unfeeling and scandalous modes of destruction, whole tribes and districts of their fellow-citizens. Allowing that they had been guilty of rebellion against the constituted authorities of their country, and that their lives had been forfeited by the law of the land, still the world must recoil with detestation at that strict and indiscriminating severity which excluded all species of compassion, and could at one breath sentence to perdition whole multitudes of men, women, and children, congregated for this purpose before that horrible tribunal. Death, sufficiently awful of itself to human nature, was clad in every additional terror that could appal the firmest mind. Thousands at once, in pairs of different sexes, were lashed to each other naked, and sent in this manner to be shot or drowned, in derision of every sentiment of humanity. These dreadful executions were styled Republican Weddings. Another species of execution, equally terrifying, was also adopted:—A boat, contrived to drop its bottom at will, was filled with crowds of those unhappy people, who thus were sunk in a moment. This was denominated the Patriotic Navigation, or Bathing. But these frightful deeds were still exceeded

by



by those that were perpetrated in La Vendée. Here the vengeance of the republican party was glutted in a measure far beyond the other. After having said this, to enumerate the cruelties committed here would be equally painful and needless: it must be left to the imagination to conceive them. Ingenuity was exerted to secure the perpetuation of calamity and wretchedness in this unfortunate country: it was literally devoted to universal and everlasting ruin. The houses and habitations of mankind, and of the very cattle, were committed to the flames: the fruit-trees, and all that was combustible in gardens and cultivated grounds, were set on fire.

When we reflect on this spirit of death and devastation, and consider at the same time that it raged in the centre of Europe, in the heart of Christendom, we

lancholy indeed must the fate of nations appear which neither arts can soften, nor religion humanize. It may without partiality be added, that in the scale of comparison between the French and their long noted rivals the English, no deeds of equal enormity can be imputed to the latter. During those civil wars in the last century that afflicted the three kingdoms, the contending parties were mutually satisfied with the blood that was shed in the field of battle. The very few heads that fell on the scaffold were undoubtedly respectable and eminent, and their fall is lamented to this day; but no cruelty or indecent treatment attended their latter hour. The enthusiasm of the victorious party was tempered with moderation, and the British nation still preserved its reputation of humanity.

## CHAP. VI.

*Second Insurrection in La Vendée. Junction of Charette, Stoffet, and La Roche Jaquelin. They expel the Conventional Troops from La Vendée. First Appearance of the Chouans in Brittany. Their Progress and Resolution in contending with Hardships and Difficulties. Joined by Numbers, and become formidable. The Vendéans begin to recover Strength. Manner of fighting practised by the Insurgents of La Vendée. Their desperate Valour in Battle. Prodigious Slaughter made in the Vendéan Insurrection. Quicksness in the Military Movements and Operations of the Vendéans. Their Neglect of Artillery. Their Manner of seizing that of the Conventional Troops. Their want of Cavalry. Their Military Accoutrements and Method of proceeding to Battle. Dishonourable Conduct of the Prisoners. Patience and fortitude of the Vendéans in their second Insurrection. Strength of the Motives and Principles that actuated the Vendéans. Zeal and Courage of the Clergy that joined them. The Enthusiasm of the Vendéans compared with that of the Conventional Troops. Influence of the Women of Distinction who took refuge among them. Attachment of the Insurgents to their Chiefs. Honours paid to their Remains. Death of La Roche Jaquelin. Base and cruel Treatment of the Insurgents by the Conventional Troops. The Virtue, Piety, Honour, and Fidelity of the Country People in France during the Revolution. Principal Cause of this laudable Conduct. Convention*

*entia decrees that Generals condemned to Death for Treason shall be executed at the Head of the Army. Abolishes the Practice of Flogging in the Navy, and substitutes other Punishments. Admits Two Malattoes and One Negro as Deputies to the Convention from St. Domingo. Abolishes Slavery. Establishment of the Maximum, and Speech of Barrere on this Occasion. New Powers granted to the Committee of Public Safety. Devotion against reputed Enemies to the Revolution. Answer to the Declaration of the British Ministry. Conduct of Robespierre, Danton, and Barrere. Enmity between Robespierre and Danton. Mischinations of Robespierre against the Cordelier Club and its chief Leader Hebert. Character of Hebert and of the Cordelier Club. Designs and Conduct of Hebert. He is arrested and brought before the Revolutionary Tribunal. Charges against him. He is condemned and executed, together with Anacharsis Clootz, and sixteen others. Danton and Camille Desmoulins unite in a Project for a milder System of Government. Robespierre suspects their Designs. Intermixture between him and Danton. Fabre d'Eglantine and other Members of the Convention arrested. Danton's Conduct on this Occasion. He and Camille Desmoulins arrested. Legarde defends him in the Convention against the Attacks of Robespierre. Accomplices in the Conspiracy attributed to Fabre d'Eglantine. Trial of Danton, Camille Desmoulins, and of the other Prisoners by the Revolutionary Tribunal. Invektives of St. Just in the Convention against Fabre d'Eglantine. Bold Behaviour of Danton on his Trial. He is condemned to Death and executed. His Character.*

THE unnatural excesses committed by the republican party in La Vendée, produced an effect quite contrary to what had been proposed. By the unmerciful ravages of that country, it was intended to crush for ever the possibility of all insurrection. But in destroying the property of the wretched inhabitants, they had not been able to involve them all in the same destruction. Multitudes had escaped, and lay concealed in the vast forests of that woody region, in the many marshy tracks with which it abounds, and in the numerous and almost inaccessible parts. Animated with rage and resentment at the deprivation of every means of subsistence, and being no longer any thing to lose but their lives, they were now determined to sacrifice these, in order to be revenged of their oppressors. VOL. XXXVI.

The intrepid and vigilant Charette, who, from the various concealments in which he had lain hidden, had indefatigably watched the transactions daily taking place around him, instantly seized this opportunity of rousing once more the royal party into action. He secretly visited those in whom he could place confidence, and through them prepared all the others to unite again for their common defence. He collected in a short time a body of twelve thousand men, endeared to each other by the misfortunes they had participated in the same cause, and rendered desperate by the consideration that their sustenance must henceforwards be procured at the point of the sword. At the head of this body, not less resolute from necessity than from principle, he fell upon a considerable force of republicans,

republicans, who, not expecting an attack from men whom they looked upon as entirely subjugated and dispirited, were taken by surprise, and near totally destroyed.

This was a signal for a new insurrection: all that remained of the royalists scattered over the province, repaired immediately to Charette. He was joined soon after by Laroche and Staslet, who brought with them all they could collect of their dispersed followers. Their strength gradually increased to nearly forty thousand men; and they began to entertain hopes of renewing their former successes. They proceeded accordingly, to clear the countries around them of all the republican troops, whom they attacked everywhere with their former resolution, and with additional rancour for the miseries they had experienced from their barbarity. They quickly expelled them, and regained possession of their country; but it was in a state of desolation. Their villages were in ruins, the fields stripped of their produce, their families fled, and themselves deprived of all those domestic comforts for the defence and preservation of which men are most ready to venture their lives. The chief motive remaining to inspire them was revenge. They had no other choice but of submitting to the foe, or of bidding him defiance. Submission and death they experimentally knew to be the same thing; and it was certainly preferable to die like soldiers in the bed of honour. Such was the language of Charette and his fellow-chiefs; and they found no kind of difficulty in persuading their followers to adopt those sentiments; which indeed were founded on the strictest propriety, as no

others could be sulted to their present condition.

They were not, however, entirely destitute of favourable prospects. It was precisely at this period, that the Chouans began to make their appearance in Brittany. They took this name from three young men, the sons of a substantial owner of several iron-founderies, who had put themselves at the head of a number of men, whom they had prevailed on to take up arms for the royal cause. This happened at the time when the royalists, defeated by the republicans, had crossed the Loire, and entered Brittany. They at first shewed themselves in the neighbourhood of Fougères, and, emboldened by the example of the Vendéans, were emulous to imitate them. Like these, they fell with great courage on the republican troops, over whom they obtained many advantages: but on the approach of the numerous forces dispatched against them by the Convention, those whom they had defeated were enabled to rally, and, together with those reinforcements, composed a strength which the Chouans could not resist. They were put to the rout, and compelled to take refuge in the woods and fastnesses thickly spread over that country. The terrible overthrow of the royalists near Mons, and the subsequent disaster at Savenai, by dispersing the Vendéan army, helped powerfully to recruit the Chouans. Unable to rally, and closely pursued by the republican army, the fugitives saw no other means of safety than to direct their flight to Brittany, and join the Chouans. But their numbers united were not sufficiently strong to cope with the republican troops; and they were  
a while

a while reduced to such straits for want of clothing, provisions, and all kinds of necessaries, that, contrary to their primitive designs, they were forced to adopt such methods of supplying their wants as brought them into universal disgrace. They became plunderers and highway-robbers; and when they wanted provisions, they fell, in large companies, upon those places in their proximity, where they procured a hard-earned subsistence, and courageously persevered in having every difficulty, in hope of meeting with better fortune.

These hardships, however, were of such a nature, that the Chouans must have been quickly destroyed, had not they been relieved more speedily than was at first expected. The decrees of that oppressive combination which governed France at this time, were daily becoming so intolerably severe, that numbers of people chose to run all hazards rather than remain passive under them. The constant requisitions of men and money, the domiciliary visits, the suspicions incurred by many, the dread of being accused of disloyalty, the harsh treatment attached to such a situation: these, with a detestation of the conduct embraced by the ruling powers towards those whom they disliked, drove numbers of the inhabitants, both of the towns and country, from their habitations, and added them to the Chouans; who, strengthened by these daily and numerous additions, began again to make a formidable appearance, and to attract the notice of the districts around. The gentlemen in their neighbourhood, and even at a distance, viewed them in a more respectable light; and several did not

disdain to join them. As their force increased, many reputable individuals, urged by their fears, and conscious that their disaffection to government was no secret, determined to place themselves under their protection. By those means, they acquired at length a regular consistency, and adopted a proper organization. Such are the accounts circulated by those who were eye-witnesses of the assemblage of men so long known and so much dreaded, under the denomination of Chouans.

At the time when Charette again drew together the Vendéans, and was joined by La Roche and Stofflet, the number of the Chouans were computed to about 30,000. They occupied, in detached parties, that part of Brittany reaching from Fougères, an inland town, to Vannes, a sea-port on the southern coast of that province. Their positions were in woods and places difficult of access. In this manner they stood their ground successfully, and frustrated the incessant enterprizes formed against them by an army of more than 80,000 men.

During these transactions in Brittany, Charette and his two colleagues, La Roche and Stofflet, were exerting their united abilities to form their people to such habits of discipline and subordination as might qualify them to confront, in a soldier-like manner, those regular troops whom they soon expected to encounter. He had the good fortune to provide them with a sufficiency of tents and other necessaries taken from the enemy; and they assumed an appearance of good order and regularity; which, combined with their bodily

vigour and invincible resolution, afforded him the strongest expectation of rendering this second insurrection in favour of the royal cause, of more efficacy than the first.

Certain it is, however, that with very little admixture of tactics, the Vendéans had, in their first insurrection, performed such feats of arms, as excited the utmost surprize of all the military men who witnessed them. Their manner of fighting was peculiarly their own. It was by no means framed in conformity to any of those modern plans, so learnedly described and recommended by the most celebrated professors of the art of war. It arose from the circumstances of the moment. Their constant aim, in every engagement, was to close in with the enemy, and to fight man to man. For this they were admirably qualified by their bodily strength, and the vigour and dexterity with which they exerted it. Fearless and almost ignorant of the danger they were about to encounter, they rushed with all the rapidity and violence they could collect, into the ranks of the enemy; and, without employing scientific movements and evolutions, fought only by main strength and courage to break and throw him into disorder. Such a mode of engaging was necessarily attended with great bloodshed; but this was no object to the Vendéans. Their animation in battle arose from their detestation of the enemy, and the conviction that to destroy him was the noblest duty they could perform.

In consequence of this persuasion, the battles fought between the Vendéans and the republican

troops were dreadfully destructive, as both parties fought with extreme obstinacy. The slaughter was prodigious. The regular valour of the republican troops, and their cool dexterity in the use of their arms, always occasioned a terrible loss of men to the Vendéans before they could engage them so closely as to decide the contest by personal strength and resolution. But here it was that the Vendéans were sure to triumph. Fired with rage and fearless of their enemies, they fell upon them with a confidence of victory and a torrent of exertion, to which these were utter strangers in all the other scenes of their warfare, and which never failed to surprize and put them in confusion. The carnage that followed was unavoidable. Mixed with their enemies, the Vendéans dealt the surest destruction among them; and it was with the utmost difficulty that these could disentangle themselves and have recourse to flight. In no theatre of the war was so much destruction known as in La Vendée. In less than a twelvemonth it was complained of in the Convention, that through the mismanagement of their Generals, the republican armies were diminished by two hundred thousand men. Of the royalists also vast numbers fell. The fact was, that La Vendée was the ground chosen, as it were, to decide the contest between the republicans and the royalists. Hither these eagerly repaired from all parts of the kingdom. The majority of the officers and commanders of the Vendéans came from thence; and of common men an immense proportion consisted of those who flocked to them in crowds from the neighbouring provinces.

vices, and even farther, and essentially contributed to repair their losses.

One of the most effectual causes of the surprizing successes of the Vendéans, was the method of conducting their movements, whether to attack the enemy or to avoid him. The face of their country, broken, uneven, and boggy, was peculiarly unfavourable to the transporting of heavy baggage. For this reason they encumbered themselves with none. Every man carried what was indispensably necessary for himself; and a few horses were sufficient for such luggage as was not portable otherwise. Thus equipped, their marches and their retreats were equally quick. They could surprize, attack, or escape from the enemy with great celerity; to which he was wholly inadequate. When victorious, they were able to pursue him to what distance they pleased; and had only to guard against ambuscades. When overpowered, they soon were in safety, from the quickness of their motions unimpeded by the necessity of securing their baggage and artillery. It was commonly owing to the quantity and weight of these, that the republicans, after obtaining advantages, lost them immediately by following the Vendéans with their cannon and heavy baggage. The Vendéans, on purpose, retreated to narrow passes and marshy grounds, whither the enemy could not pursue them, or where, if he attempted it, his guns and carriages stuck fast, and afforded an opportunity of re-engaging him to advantage. Their local knowledge enabled the Vendéans also, when routed, to rally from all parts without opposition, while favoured by

darkness, and to renew the conflict at break of day, totally unexpected by the enemy; whom, for that reason, they frequently found unprepared to receive them. Often too, when a blow of importance was meditated, would the royalists disperse at the approach of the republicans; who, seeing no enemy, and apprehending no danger to be near, were apt to be less on their guard. When the appointed hour was come, which was always on those occasions a little before the dawn, they rushed from all sides on the encampment of the enemy, who seldom was able to resist them.

Such were the methods practised by the Vendéans in their warfare with the republicans. They so rarely failed of success, that, during a long time, the numerous bodies dispatched by the Convention to suppress the insurgents, were usually either destroyed, or put to flight. So disheartened at length were the republican troops, that it was with the utmost reluctance they marched against the royalists of La Vendée; whom they dreaded much more than any other enemy. What is peculiarly remarkable, amidst the surprizing advantages daily obtained by the Vendéans, they had neither cavalry nor artillery. As their first victories had been gained without these, they were never very solicitous to procure them, until they found that sieges could not be undertaken without the one, nor a victory completed without the other. Having, however, no expert engineers among them, they continued very inattentive to the utility of cannon; and though they frequently took immense trains from the enemy, they

they hardly made any use of them, though taught by fatal experience what destructive engines they were in hands that were dexterous in their management. This, indeed, rendered them very alert at the commencement of an action, to deprive the enemy of his cannon. Their manner of doing this was singular: — Ten or twelve stout bodied and resolute men were selected for the taking of each gun. Armed only with cutlasses, for the greater expedition, they ran circuitously with the utmost speed towards the piece they were to seize. The moment they saw the match applied to the touch-hole, they flung themselves on their faces, and when the report was heard, they arose and proceeded in the same manner, till they had reached their intended object; which rarely escaped being spiked, if not taken.

As, from the want of cavalry, they found themselves unable to improve their victories to the full extent, they used their endeavours to procure a sufficient number of horses for this; but herein they never succeeded. Those which they collected from their own stock were taken from the plough, or other heavy and slow work, and of course were almost useless for the field. The only proper horses they could find, were what they took from the enemy; and of those they never possessed more than about five hundred, — so careful were the republicans when defeated to save their cavalry; well knowing the dreadful consequence of their horses falling into the hands of the royalists. The insurgents owed in fact not only their

arms and implements of war, but — even their very clothing, in short all they had, to the booty they became masters of by their amazing successes. They took near 300,000 stand of arms from the republican troops and magazines; and had no other powder, and generally no other provisions, than such as they had the good fortune to seize in battle, or in the republican stores. A singularity in the military dress of the Vendéans, was, the relation it expressed to the cause for which they professed to have taken up arms. Over their uniform they wore a garment of white cloth, breasted with a large black cross, and fringed at bottom with relics of saints, or the smaller bones of fellow royalists slain by republicans. Round their necks hung their beads. Thus accoutred, they appeared like soldiers of the ancient crusades; and this strange admixture of war and religion carried a look of fierceness and enthusiasm which perfectly corresponded with their real character. It was chiefly when going to battle that they displayed this in all its terrors. With a slow pace, a downcast eye, their muskets slung over their shoulders, their heads uncovered, and their beads in their hands, they leisurely advanced towards the enemy, reciting together psalms and prayers. This pious ceremony ended, they joined in a tremendous shout, covered their heads, grasped their muskets, and rushed on the enemy with loud vociferation, of “Long live the King, and down with the republicans.” Those who were witnesses of their first charge, concur in representing it as the most terrific scene they ever beheld. No

words

work could express their rage and fury, and the outrageous violence with which they broke in upon their foes.

But, notwithstanding their animosity against the republicans, they were not backward in giving them quarters, and setting them at liberty, until these had basely broken the terms on which it had been granted; which were, to serve no more against the royal cause. At the reduction of Saumur, 15,000 prisoners who had been dismissed by the royalists on that condition, were a few days after found in arms against them. They were recognised by the precaution that had been taken to cut off their hair before they were set at liberty, by way of setting a mark upon them. When the royalists, overpowered by the republican troops, were obliged to cross the Loire, they were encumbered by about 12,000 prisoners, on whom a retaliation was proposed by those royalists of whom the relations had been inhumanly massacred: but they were saved through the generous intercession of Bonchamp, one of the three commanders in chief of the royalists, who lay at that time expecting of a mortal wound. But his generosity was repaid with the nearest ingratitude:—they were no sooner dismissed, than they were perceived acting in conjunction with the enemy. In consequence of this treacherous conduct, the royalists came to the determination to adopt the severest reprisals, and to make no more prisoners. The prudence and fortitude displayed by the Vendéans, during the whole course of this terrible warfare, never was exceeded in history. As their country, through continual

devastations, became at length unable to furnish them with subsistence, they had no other resources than the fortunate casualties of the day; and were literally reduced to live from hand to mouth. When they had crossed the Loire, and made an irruption into Brittany, they encountered every hardship that human nature can endure: they lay on the bare ground in the open air, and fed upon a small pittance of corn boiled in water. The extremes of want, and the impracticability of procuring a sufficiency of food for their numbers, obliged them at last to separate; and this separation broke at once their strength, and was the immediate cause of their overthrow.

Previously to the extreme scarcity which compelled them to disperse, they conducted their marches with an art and dexterity that astonished the enemy, and confounded all his endeavours to waylay and surprise them:—they marched in three columns, at about two miles distance from each other. Upon any hostile appearance between these columns, a signal was given, and they all three closed in upon the enemy. Two remarkable defeats of the republicans were due to this plan: the one at Fougères, the other at Dinant; both towns in Brittany. They had penetrated between two of these columns, and imagined they were broken asunder and unable to reunite; but the Vendéans quickly undeceived them, by attacking them on both sides. Thus placed between two fires, they were almost all cut to pieces. After the reunion of the remaining bodies of the royalists under Charrette, Stofflet, and La Roche, and the second insurrection in La Vendée,



dée, their distresses in this desolated country were such, that the main object of their operations was to procure themselves a sufficiency of provisions for their existence. Many a bloody engagement took place from this sole motive. It was an absolute struggle for life, much more than for victory; but as before this was obtained, the other could not be secured, the Vendéans were necessitated to conquer or to die. As men thus circumstanced, and thus resolved, must naturally become formidable to their enemies, the Vendéans renewed the terror with which they had been viewed by the republican troops antecedently to their late disasters, and became as much dreaded as ever. They revived their former system of combating; and notwithstanding the immense number of enemies surrounding them on every side, they continued vigorously and successfully to maintain their ground, and to bear up invincibly both against the indefatigable efforts of their enemies, and the still more insupportable pressure of that privation of necessities, which is so apt to overcome the resolution of the firmest minds.

When we consider this invincible courage under the greatest sufferings, and this determination to persevere in resisting their enemies to the last breath, our admiration cannot be refused to the power and influence of those principles that inspired them with so much heroism. Those which actuated the people of La Vendée, had the strength of ages in their favour. They had been traditionally handed down from father to son for a long succession, and were not of a nature to be easily eradicated: genera-

tions past had cherished the the greatest comfort of life, and most powerful support in its trials: nations around had ad them; and even those who lukewarm in their attachment not deny that they were a of the brightest hopes and cotions. These principles were, belief in the tenets of the R Catholic persuasion, and a cation that the King had been u ly dethroned, and that his so lawful heir to the crown. Fa to these maxims, they look the Convention not only as to the King and monarchy, l enemies to the christian rel in abolishing its legal establish and persecuting its ministers fusing to comply with their u tions,

Such were the foundation which the Vendéans erected resistance, and the resolute perish rather than embrace t publican system, or submit i gious matters to the decrees Convention. What contr in the highest degree to c the Vendéans in those dete tions, was the influence of spiritual pastors, and the vast bers of ecclesiastics who had refuge among them. Their rity in the cause for which contended could not be do they had sacrificed all worldl siderations rather than fori and had shewn themselves re lay down their lives in its fu They accompanied the int to the field of battle, expc the same dangers as the comb They comforted the dying attended the wounded, an formed every pious and h office that religion and charit

dictate. Men thus employed, and thus behaving, could not fail to command the sincerest respect and attachment; add to this, that many of them were men of eminence for their birth and talents, and possess of those insinuating manners and powers of speaking that have such authority over men. Hence arose that enthusiasm in the cause they had espoused, which distinguished the Vendéans from all the other insurgents in France: their motives were pure and disinterested: they sought the restoration of monarchy, and of the ancient religion, unmixed with any other views. The honesty and simplicity they displayed in all their proceedings, won them the admiration and confidence of all those neighbours who entertained the same opinions; and procured them a constant supply of whatever they could afford for their assistance and relief.

The vigour and spirit displayed by the republican armies contending against the coalesced powers for the defence of the nation, forms the most striking contrast, when compared with the very different spirit with which they generally acted against the insurgents of La Vendée. The enthusiasm of these was always far superior to that of the republicans;—it was the enthusiasm of religion, the most powerful and the most terrible that can move the human breast: all other motives of action shrink before it; and, in all ages, it has invariably produced the most wonderful and stupendous effects. Animated with this enthusiasm, the Vendéans rose above all the ordinary rules of acting. The republican soldiers, inspired with the noble ideas of liberty, may be said to have behaved

like men; but they had to deal with adversaries whose principles had rendered them more than human. Nor should it pass unnoticed, that among other motives for behaving bravely, a number of ladies of illustrious families and distinguished characters, had repaired to La Vendée, in order to avoid the merciless fury of the French government, and place themselves under the protection of the insurgents. They were received with the warmest affection, and treated with the respect due to persons who had committed themselves to their faith and honour, and had, like them, renounced the enjoyments of grandeur and opulence, to follow the dictates of their conscience. This kind reception was amply required by the emulation which arose among the many young gentlemen of family among the insurgents, to attract the notice and praise of those ladies, who gradually became the judges and rewarders of the brilliant deeds that were done, by the approbation and applause they bestowed upon them, and their gracious behaviour to all those who signalized themselves by their valour.

Another powerful inducement to the bravery of the insurgents was, the close and affectionate connexion subsisting between them and their chiefs. The Vendéans, especially, had long been implicitly devoted to the upper ranks in their country; who justly deserved it by the gentleness and equity with which they treated their dependents and inferiors. The zealous attachment of the commanders appeared in every engagement, in the readiness with which they obeyed their orders, and the solicitude they

they manifested for their safety. But no testimony of the high opinion and veneration in which they held their chiefs, could be stronger than that which was paid to their memory when they were no more. The bodies of those two brave officers Bonchamp and Latiere, who died of their wounds a few days before the retreat of the insurgents across the Loire, were carefully embalmed, and inclosed in coffins, which were carried with them everywhere by the royalists, and always, in action, placed at the foot of the royal standard. When they were compelled by the irresistible superiority of the enemy to have recourse to dispersion for their safety, they were anxious to provide a place of concealment for those respected remains; dreading, that if they fell into the hands of the republican party, they would be treated with all manner of indignity. The death of that gallant young warrior Laroche Jacquelin, was accompanied with no less lamentation. After the total defeat of the royalists, on their march towards Normandy from Lemans, Stoffet and he, after many escapes from the republicans, had found means to cross the Loire, and to join the royalists under Charette. Here he continued to exhibit his courage and capacity, and was considered as an officer of the most promising virtues and talents. Unhappily for his party, he did not long survive the reputation he was daily acquiring by his many exploits. He was slain while reconnoitering the enemy, and making preparations for an attack. Together with him fell a young lady, so strongly attached to him, that unable to bear his loss, and impatient

to revenge his death, she rushed at the head of his followers into the midst of the enemies; where she soon met her fate.

Those losses of their chiefs were more fatal to the royalists than any of their defeats. These had constantly been repaired by the skill and valour of their commanders; but when those were fallen, the want of them was speedily experienced. Out of five excellent Generals only two remained, Charette and Stoffet:—and however great their abilities and merit, they could not alone supply the places of those that were lost.

It was not without the greatest reason they so sincerely deplored the loss of those brave and experienced leaders, under whom they had so often triumphed over their enemies, and whose judicious conduct so fortunately preserved them from what they deemed the worst calamity that could befall them, that of falling into the hands of the enemy. If the various reports may be relied on, which persons of rank and credit among the royalists have circulated, certain it is that the state of those who were made prisoners by the republican troops, was peculiarly lamentable. They were thrust together, as it were, by heaps, and threatened with immediate death on the least noise or stir among them, or upon the approach of any body of royalists. Sometimes they were tied to stakes, and exposed to the derision of the republican soldiery. In order to insult at once their religion and politics, effigies of the King and Pope were sometimes produced before them, decorated with mock insignia of their dignity. They were loaded by some with every species of

abuse,

shale, and reminded by others of the outrages they had committed on the native rights of man, by taking up arms against liberty; and how necessary it was that their guilt should be expiated by making public examples of them. After shooting as many of them as it was thought proper, a selection was made of those that remained, in order to be sent to the neighbouring towns, where they fell by the ax of the guillotine, by way of impressing public terror.

During these horrors, it is peculiarly deserving of notice, that the most striking instances of disinterestedness, honour, and fidelity were found among the rustic classes \*. The religious and moral virtues seemed, as it were, to have taken shelter there. Whoever was persecuted for his politics or religious opinions, fled to the peasants; and was sure of being carefully concealed, and of meeting with every comfort they could afford. Gentlemen, noblemen, and clergymen, were hidden in this manner in the obscurest parts of the country, and securely evaded, through their charitable care and dexterous management, the barbarous intentions of the ruling powers. Here too the adherents to the ancient religion of the land enjoyed the celebration of its rights without molestation or fear. Numbers also of the royalists, dispersed after their defeats, had nowhere with the only shelter they could find from the pursuits and research of their implacable enemies. In justice to those who essentially contributed by their pious

exertions to keep alive this spirit of humanity and compassion for the afflicted, truth requires that the most honourable mention should be made of the French clergy. In defiance of the conventional edicts, and in contempt of the hourly danger to which they were exposed by their disobedience, they zealously and intrepidly visited every recess throughout the country, wherever they thought their ministry would be acceptable and useful. They made use of their influence to the most beneficent purposes. Innumerable were the deeds of kindness and generosity due to their interference. The number of lives they helped to save, and of sufferers they were instrumental in relieving, will do them everlasting credit, even with every disapprover of their politics and religious tenets, that is not dead to every feeling of humanity, and that has the sense to know and the courage to avow that the practice of this is a duty paramount to all the obligations laid upon them by the mere hand of power.

The Vendéans, it clearly appears, performed all that human contrivance, hampered by extreme necessity, could imagine,—and all that human courage could dare to attempt. But they laboured under disadvantages which mere contrivance and courage were unable to surmount.

The revolution, from its first beginning, was an object of discontent and dislike to the greater part of both the nobles and the clergy. The first of these orders had, for the most part, when the insurrection

\* ————Extrema per illos  
Justitia excedens terris vestigia fecit.

Virg. Georg. Lib. 11.

broke

broke out in La Vendée, migrated from their own country, and joined the Prussian and Austrian armies, whose aim it was to restore unlimited monarchy. The insurgents, though they raised the royal standard, were not exactly of the same party with the royalists in the exterior of France; being composed of the discontented of various classes; among whom were constitutionalists, federalists, those who had escaped from the scaffolds of the national Convention, and others. This mixed party was headed by chiefs of the greatest courage and bravery; but incapable of forming and acting on such a system as might support itself and extend its influence. The task of drawing up manifestoes was committed to the priests who were of their number; who in their declarations expressed the sentiments of missionaries, not the principles and views of statesmen. They denominated their army the Catholic Army, at a time when the Pope, the Catholic faith, and all monastic ideas were regarded with general indifference, and too general contempt. Thus they wore an appearance of fanaticism, which exposed them to the popular and trivial eloquence of the Jacobins, who laboured incessantly to render them objects either of hatred or derision. If they had styled themselves the army of the proprietors of France, they would have comprehended, and might probably have attached to their party a greater number of the people; and of course proved more formidable to the Jacobins. By the aid of women, monks, and ministers of religion, it is probable to make enthusiastic and martyrs. But it is only by a just and profound calcula-

tion of the resources of a country, the modes of directing public opinion to the same object,—of forming an union of the most general interests, and, in a word, of raising all the various supplies, ways and means of war, that it is possible to make successful resistance against a government already organized and in possession of the national territory. The inhabitants of La Vendée, after fighting and conquering the republican troops, were interrupted in their career, by the want of camp-equipage, and military stores and provisions. These they expected from England; but, in their stead, received a number of Generals and other officers from the army of the French princes.

It was an opinion very generally entertained at this time by the loyalists in the interior of France, that the coalesced powers were under some apprehension; lest, if the Vendéans should succeed in their enterprize, they might be induced to proclaim a constitutional king under similar restrictions to those that limit and define the royal authority in England, or that of the Stadtholder in the United Provinces; and that, in order to obviate such a resolution, they had judged it necessary to accompany any succours they might send for their support, with such commanders as might incline their mind and direct their efforts to the re-establishment of the ancient monarchy: the only mode of government that suited the views of the coalition. The sentiments of the military chiefs sent to the aid of the Vendéans, did not well accord with those of that people. The measures that depended on the co-operation of England were wholly defeated

defeated or abandoned. France lost a great number of inhabitants the best disposed to peace with their neighbours; and the enemies of the revolution were proportionably diminished.

The prospect of a favourable termination of the dangerous contest with the insurgents of La Vendée, was the most auspicious circumstance that accompanied the opening of 1794. The Convention now indulged itself in forming a variety of regulations for the better accomplishment of those purposes which it doubted not its ability to execute whenever it should have no other enemies to contend with than those that formed the foreign coalition. As they had experienced a number of treacheries in several of their principal officers, they resolved that their punishment should be made as public and impressive as the case would admit. With this view, they passed a decree on the first day of this year, importing that every General condemned to death for treason, should in future be executed at the head of the army which he had attempted to betray. In order, at the same time, to cherish that devotion of the army and navy to their interests, which was to be their main support, they abolished the punishment of flogging, as unworthy of freemen, and derogating from the dignity of their character. Other modes of punishment were adopted less ignominious, but not less effectual:—Stopping their pay, reducing their rank, imprisonment, public reproof, and others of a like nature. To convince the world of their determination to extend the rights of liberty and equality to all mankind without exception, they pub-

licly admitted to seats in the Convention three deputies from St. Domingo, as representatives of that colony; two of whom were mulattoes, and one a negro. This remarkable admission took place on the 3d of February; and on the 4th, the deputies began the exercise of their functions by laying before the Convention an account of the affairs of that island. It was proposed on this occasion, totally to abolish the practice of slavery in every part of the French dominions; and the proposal was immediately converted into a decree to that intent. A negro woman who was present fainted, it is said, with pleasure at the honour done to her countrymen by the French nation. On the ensuing day, however, after representing the inconveniences that might arise from so sudden a transition from slavery to liberty, it was moved by Danton, that the decree should be referred to the committee of public safety; that they might frame such regulations as should render it effectual and safe.

The scarcity which had lately afflicted France, induced the Convention to exert itself to the utmost pass, for the cure of an evil which, if not timely remedied, would probably be productive of many others. It was notoriously a scarcity that many of the calamities which had attended the first periods of the revolution, and in some measure that the revolution itself, were due. A committee was appointed to investigate the means of obviating so great an evil, and providing for the future subsistence of all classes. —This committee, on the 17th day of February, laid before the Convention a list of the highest prices that

that should be affixed to all the necessities of life. It was much applauded, as setting bounds to avarice and monopoly. Barrere, in particular, was warm in his encomiums on the pains taken by the committee for the service of the community. Some parts of his speech on this occasion were remarkable. Let the rich, says he, resign the superfluities of their tables, where luxury and vanity alone are fed; let them cease to consume in one day the food of many months; let us all impose on ourselves some civic privations; let us suppress all delicacies, calculated for voluptuaries, and not for republicans.

But the public was divided in its opinion of the propriety of this measure. Heavy taxes on the superfluities, and encouragements to the importers of necessities, restriction on the sale of young cattle, bounties for the largest quantities of indispensable necessities brought to market, severe discouragements of costly entertainments, prohibitions of culinary refinements, a reduction of horses kept for mere parade, confinement to the plainest food in the domestic fare of families:—these, and other regulations of a similar kind, were deemed by many better calculated to reduce the price of provisions, than limiting the rates at which they were to be sold:—a measure that must ultimately tend to discourage both their growth and importation.

However detrimental the decree that established the maximum might be deemed, that which was afterwards enacted on the 26th of February, for the extension of the powers of the committee of public safety, was evidently of a much

more dangerous tendency. It invested that committee, already too powerful, with the right of setting patriots at liberty. Such were the words of the decree. But as they had been previously empowered to arrest and imprison individuals denounced to them as disloyal, it was clear that this privilege of liberating them at discretion would produce much oppression, by inducing them to deprive people of their liberty, in order to extort money from them for restoring it.

Much worse was that decree which was enacted, at the same time, against those who were deemed enemies to the revolution. It confiscated their effects for the use of the republic, and condemned them to imprisonment until peace was restored, and then sentenced them to perpetual banishment.—This was a stretch of power that indisposed numbers against the government, who were in other respects sincere friends to the revolution. It was a virtual spoliation of all property, as no man could be safe from the pretence of suspicion.

A declaration had been published by the British ministry, stating the motives for continuing the war against France. This declaration had been carefully circulated in all those countries of which the sovereigns were in alliance with Great Britain, in order to let the public see that views of ambition and conquest did not operate with this power; but that it sought only to replace the system of Europe on the footing on which it stood previously to the troubles which now agitated it. It asserted that a majority of the French nation was desirous of a restoration of monarchy; and expressed a fervent  
with

with for an opportunity to re-establish peace. It disclaimed all right of interfering in the settlements of the former government in France. But it promised friendship and protection to all Frenchmen who, by declaring for a monarchical government, should shake off the yoke of anarchy.

The French answer to this declaration, charged it with a manifest avowal of a design to restore despotism in France, and of countenancing it in the rest of Europe, by inviting the French to co-operate in re-establishing the monarchy, and by acknowledging that Great Britain fought for the preservation of that civil state of society already established. But the monarchy to be restored had undeniably been despotic, and the state of society to be preserved was almost everywhere absolute slavery. In order to attain these ends, France was to be reduced by fire and sword, to the slavish condition from which it had been emancipated. The assertion that the return of monarchy was desired by most of the French was groundless. In La Vendée, Lyons, and Toulon, the insurgents were crushed by the superior strength of their opponents, though supported with money, and supplied with arms by the English.—These opponents were all Frenchmen, and constituted an indubitable majority of the nation. The protestations of the British ministry, that they ardently desired peace, were mere pretences. Peace was at their option whenever they chose it. They had only to recall their fleets and armies, and leave the French to settle their internal affairs as they thought proper, without assuming that interference

to which they could not help acknowledging they had no right.—But, contrarily to these pretences, they laboured to foment the quarrels between the supporters of the established form of government and its opposers; who were evidently the minority of the people in France. With what face, after this, could the British ministry deny their averfeness to the employment of violence, in order to compel the French to submit to their dictates. France was now in the ferment of a revolution, making a continual and violent progress towards liberty. In such a situation laws arose from the necessity and impulse of the moment; and lenity or rigour, recompense or punishment, were applied to the demand and conveniency of existing circumstances only. It was not equitable, therefore, to require the same precision and regularity in the conductors of such a state, as in those who had only to manage the affairs of a country in a state of tranquillity. Great Britain knew from experience the vast difference between these two situations. It had also undergone its revolutions, and was now enjoying a calm after a storm. But it was not yet arrived at that degree of improvement which opportunities had afforded the means of obtaining. It had not profited by the severe lessons that had been so repeatedly held out. The laws of England, notwithstanding the struggles that ought to have ameliorated them, still continue barbarous and tyrannical. They were full of inconsistency and improprieties, and their uncertainty was so notorious, that it was a national complaint: it was not for the rulers of such a state to condemn



condemn the legal proceedings of their neighbours; but such was their arrogance, that they reprobated whatever differed from their own, without considering the difference of times and circumstances. The style of the British ministry was in consequence no less presumptuous and inconsistent. They demanded for themselves and their confederates what they must be conscious would never be granted, indemnity for the past, and security for the future. They required a just and proper government to be settled in France; as if such a government were not already established by the nation, which at once was entitled and competent to decide on so weighty a subject. The period was fast arriving, when France would be requested by Great Britain to listen to terms of peace. But the French republic would in its turn insist on the establishment of an equitable government in the British nation, wherein the rights of the people should be properly considered. The French would then look upon the rulers of England in the same light as they now view the republican governors of France, as an association of usurpers; and the people of France would refuse to treat with any but the people of England.

Such was the substance and purport of the French answer to the declaration of the British ministry. It was received with great applause, not only in France, but also by that numerous party in England which disapproved of the ministerial measures, and reprobated the war with France as pregnant with the most fatal consequences to Great Britain. Whether France remained a re-

public or relapsed into a monarchy, the loss of blood and of treasure would still be immense, and not reparable but by a long course of years. Should France again become a kingdom, it would naturally resume its former system of politics. The gratitude of princes was proverbial, but not to be depended on; and the ambition of the House of Bourbon had long been notorious. But were the popular party to prevail, and the republic to be settled on firm foundations, what would the resentment be which the French would bear to the English for having endeavoured to deprive them of that form of government which they preferred to all other, and to reduce them to their preceding state of slavery and wretchedness. Such a resentment would not probably lie dormant and inactive: it would continually break out in their discourses, and lay the foundation of inextinguishable hatred. Through means of treaties, public hostilities might a while be prevented; but war would only remain in a state of suspension. The spirit of inveteracy would always be looking forward to opportunities of exertion. When these arrived, they would animate the French nation against the English. These would not be actuated by a similitude of motives, and could not therefore be supposed to feel the same antipathy to the French; who would, of course, come into action with a much greater degree of vigour.—Doubtless, the English would behave with their usual courage; but they would have an enemy to encounter much more formidable and dangerous than heretofore, from that desire of vengeance which is

one of the most powerful stimulants in nature, and often inspires the commonest men with the most extraordinary energy.

The answer to the British ministry's declaration was penned under the direction of that celebrated triumvirate which assumed the powers of government shortly after the King's death, and the overthrow of that party known by the name of Gironde. Robespierre, Danton, and Barrere, who formed this triumvirate, were men peculiarly calculated for this period of difficulty, and endowed with those qualities that would most effectually remove the terror that had seized a great part of the French nation, when it considered the strength of those mighty powers that formed the coalition against them, and in the spring of 1793 obtained such brilliant and decisive advantages over the armies of France. They certainly were individuals of the greatest political abilities, and perfectly acquainted with the character of their country. These they brought forward in a manner that equally astonished and appalled its enemies; who, tho' well apprized of the strength of France, had never imagined it could have been called forth on so unprecedented and formidable a plan.

The junction and concord between these three famous leaders continued about the space of a twelvemonth: but as it arose from ambition, and the fear of being supplanted by the heads of those various parties that were striving against each other for pre-eminence and power, it lasted no longer than they were influenced by those apprehensions. After the entire destruction of the Girondists, the chiefs

of whom, all men of eminent talents, perished by the guillotine, the connexion between Robespierre and Danton began to lessen. The envy borne by the former to all men of whose capacity he stood in awe, and whom he suspected of a disinclination to be subservient to his measures, led him to consider Danton as the most dangerous rival, and to harbour a determination to rid himself of so formidable a competitor.

But, previously to the execution of this design, he thought it necessary for the accomplishment of the many ambitious purposes he secretly entertained, to defeat the schemes that were in agitation among the leading members of a society of men, who had risen to almost equal celebrity with the famous Jacobin Club, of which in fact they were a branch, and from whence they had originally sprung. The chief conductor of its operations at this time was Hebert: a character well noted for his enmity to the Christian system, and his zealous endeavours for its abolition in France. He was a man of an intemperate warmth in whatever he undertook, and remarkable for his propensities to uncommon undertakings. He had occasionally proved highly serviceable to Robespierre; and was a principal actor in procuring the downfall of Brissot and his party, when they were arrested through the machinations of that more popular and active party, stiled the Mountain, on the famous 31st of May, in the preceding year. Hebert was at that time the promoter of the insurrection at Paris; which enabled him to carry their violent measures into execution.

The success which then attended him inflamed his ambition, and he meditated from this time how he should raise himself to a greater participation of the power he had to be so instrumental in procuring to Robespierre, than the pride of this latter would suffer him or any man to possess. The Cordelier Club, over which Hebert now exercised the principal influence, was ready to second him. Robespierre was no favourite there; nor did they enjoy his countenance. But the circumstance which emboldened him to set them at defiance, was, the laxity of their principles in religious matters, and the dangerous maxims they had adopted and laboured to propagate in civil affairs. They now insisted upon equality among men in the most unqualified extreme: they even went so far as to uphold in their public meetings the propriety of an equal distribution of property, by passing an Agrarian law. Robespierre and Danton had both been members of this club; but abandoned it. Its tenets did not suit their inclinations nor designs, and might have prejudiced their characters in the general opinion; which was unfavourable to the notions and maxims inculcated by the club of the Cordeliers. This club was, in fact, a sect of the most disagreeable cynics. They affected a slovenliness in their dress, in order to captivate the attention and partiality of the lower classes, by a conformity of appearance; and a studied familiarity of behaviour and language accompanied their intercourse with the meanest of the populace.

Hebert, who probably relied on the popularity that he and his associates had acquired by these means,

had seen sufficient proofs how ready the people of Paris were to receive impressions to the disadvantage of the ruling power, when insinuated with art and plausibility. Nor was he without apprehension that Robespierre, who spared none that stood in his way, might become jealous of his credit in the Cordelier Society, and among their many adherents; and that, suspecting him of intentions incompatible with the despotic authority he was at all events determined to retain, he might sacrifice him to his ambition. Actuated by these considerations, and not improbably by that thirst of power which appeared inseparable from the views of every head of a party among the French, he resolved to bring about an alteration in public affairs. He began this attempt by endeavouring to asperse the characters of Fabre d'Eglantine and Camille Desmoulins, and other members of the Convention. He represented them in a journal, wherein he assumed the fictitious name of Pere du Chêne, as accomplices in the designs imputed to Brissot and his associates.

Fabre d'Eglantine and Camille Desmoulins, had both acted a conspicuous part since the meeting of the Convention. The latter was a man of spirit as well as ability. It was he that excited the people to rise in arms when the Bastille was taken; and he had been highly instrumental in effecting the revolution. The former had made himself known chiefly by his antipathy to the established religion. Robespierre had long lived in habits of intimacy with Camille Desmoulins, and employed his pen on this occasion against Hebert; who, not content with the attacks he had made

made in his journal, had proceeded so far as to procure a black crape to be thrown over the table of the Rights of Man, set up in the hall of the Cordeliers. This was a manifest insinuation that the ruling powers were guilty of infringements on the liberty of the public. He had even the boldness to make a formal speech in the Tribune at a meeting of the club, where he openly and unequivocally declared, that tyranny existed in the republic.

This assertion of Hebert was converted into a denunciation of Robespierre and his party; who determined instantly to sacrifice him to their vengeance and security, as a man who, if suffered to proceed in the plan it was clear he had adopted, might ultimately effect their ruin. He had already excited an insurrection in one of the sections into which Paris was divided: and it was not without some pains that others were prevented from joining it. To obviate further consequences, he was arrested on the 15th of March, with his principal associates, and brought before the revolutionary tribunal. Here he denied the intention of implicating Robespierre in his denunciations of the other members of the Convention, against whom his publications were levelled. But his fall was decreed, and a long catalogue of treasonable actions produced against him and his party. They were accused of conspiring to restore a despotic government, and to dissolve the Convention: and in this conspiracy it was alleged, they were the agents of the coalition, by whom they had been promised pecuniary rewards, and the highest promotions. The chiefs of the conspiracy had assigned a part to

each of the conspirators. A material part was, to explore the houses of arrest, and collect the names of those prisoners who appeared the most proper for the execution of their designs. Hebert, in particular, in conjunction with another, was charged with calumniating indiscriminately good and bad citizens; the more readily to prejudice the public against the former, by involving them in the same accusation with the latter, of causing a scarcity of provisions which was in reality occasioned by the conspirators themselves, to the great injury of the service. They had, with a malicious design, procured the table of the Rights of Man to be covered with a black veil. They frequented public places, in order to make defamatory speeches against the Convention and the Committees of Public and General Safety, and to inculcate the necessity of a new representation. In conjunction with such public functionaries as abetted the conspiracy, they prevented Paris from being duly supplied with provisions, in order to accelerate, by scarcity and discontent, the period they were aiming at for the completing of their designs, which they intended to execute by means of the revolutionary army. This artificial scarcity they found means to increase daily, and to attribute it to the Convention, in order to expose them to the rage of the people. One of the conspirators had formed a plan to vilify the Convention, by dressing out puppets in the conventional habit, and exhibiting them to the populace as perfect resemblances of the national representatives, who, while they recommended simplicity of manners and

apparel, contradicted their words by their own appearance. Some of the conspirators had been so daring as publicly to mention the names of those representatives whom they deemed deserving of death, and to circulate bills in the capital and its vicinity, instigating people to rebellion, and to break open the prisons for the procuring of assistants and accomplices. The guards at the prisons were to be massacred, and the mint and treasury seized: but happily, at the moment which the conspirators had fixed for the execution of their plot, it was discovered, and frustrated by the seizure of the conspirators.

Such were the allegations against Hebert and his party. They have been enumerated, to shew the suspicious temper of the times, and with what facility people could be induced to believe the most inconsistent reports. They prove also the sanguinary dispositions of the parties opposed to each other, and the atrocious means they employed to effect each other's destruction. It appeared on the trial, that none of those charges could be properly supported. All that was proved amounted to no more than rash and violent expressions, uttered in the moment of unguarded passion. But the slightest imputations were admitted as valid proofs before the Revolutionary Tribunal, which was wholly composed of individuals predetermined to find every person guilty that was pointed out as inimical to the ruling party. Out of nineteen persons who accompanied Hebert as his accomplices before this tribunal, several of whom were of a low class, and one of them a woman, only one was acquitted.

Among those who were thus condemned was the noted Anarchist Clootz, a German by birth, but a Frenchman by choice. He was the only man who had the courage to speak firmly in his defence. The others seemed spiritless, and were wholly silent. This extraordinary man, whose wild notions had led him to assume the title of Ambassador and Orator of the Human Race, solemnly appealed to his fancied constituents from the sentence passed upon him, and met his fate with uncommon fortitude. His fellow-sufferer Hebert, did not behave with the same firmness, and betrayed a debility of mind that accompanied him to the last. He died unpitied. His pernicious principles, and the various scenes of mischief in which he had participated, rendered him an object of abhorrence to all but his own party. The Parisians, whom he had considered as friendly to his designs, did not seem afflicted at his destiny: and yet there had been a time when he stood high in their favour; so fickle and feeble is the attachment that is produced thro' the violence of popular commotion.

This execution of persons whose guilt at most was problematical, and whose fall was beheld with so much apathy, now convinced Robespierre that he might proceed without fear of much opposition, in completing the scheme he had in contemplation; which appears to have been no less than that of rendering himself supreme and uncontrollable ruler of the state. There still stood however between him and the accomplishment of such a scheme, some individuals of talents and resolution, of whose subserviency to his views he had no reason to think himself

himself secure, and whom he therefore determined to remove on the first opportunity. To this last expedient he soon judged it necessary to recur, in order to rid himself of a man of whose capacity he had often made use, and had even just availed himself against Hebert. This was Camille Desmoulins, who had often done him the greatest personal services. But there were forgotten the moment he found him inclined to disapprove of the violent measures he was pursuing. It seems that Camille Desmoulins had concurred with Danton, who disapproved them no less, and with whom he was in habits of intimacy, to unite their talents and credit in the Convention, in order to put a stop to the excessive severity of the present administration, by terminating the revolutionary system of government, diminishing the terror it occasioned, and forming a constitution which should reconcile all parties, by admitting them to a common participation of power.

In pursuance of this object, Desmoulins boldly condemned, in a periodical paper of his composition, the frequency of arrests, and other practices encouraged by the revolutionary system, which he compared to the tyranny exercised of old by the Roman Emperors. He ventured next a personal attack upon St. Just, the bosom confidant of Robespierre; who, judging from his publications and his intimacy with Danton, that something inimical to him was concerting between them, resolved upon the ruin of both with all convenient speed.

A secret enmity had long subsisted between Danton and Robespierre, the two celebrated chiefs

of the party called the Mountain; though it was more inveterate on the part of Robespierre than of Danton, who had befriended him on some critical occasions, and greatly forwarded his exaltation to the power which he now possessed. But the gloomy and unfeeling character of Robespierre could neither allow of competition, nor even of contradiction. It has been reported, though without appearance of probability, considering the character of the parties, that Danton, desirous of living upon amicable terms with Robespierre, had some time previously to his arrest, had a long interview with him, wherein he used many arguments to shew that their mutual interests required an unfeigned reconciliation: but that Robespierre stood aloof, and treated him with great pride and indifference. Danton, it is said, was deeply afflicted by this insulting behaviour, and told him at parting, that he plainly perceived his intentions; but beware, said he, that if you destroy me, you will shortly be destroyed yourself.

But these words, upon the supposition only of their having been spoken, proved ultimately prophetic, made no impression upon the ferocious mind of Robespierre, already hardened by habitual cruelty, and inexorably bent on the destruction of every man that stood in his way. Previously however to the ruin he was meditating against this dreadful rival, he determined to wreak his resentment on some persons, who either had opposed the passing of decrees moved by himself or his partisans in the Convention, or whom he considered as secret enemies; and whose characters were at the same time in

such little esteem, or so odious to many, that he ran no risk in sacrificing them. Prompted by these considerations, he procured the arrest of Fabre d'Eglantine, and of other deputies to the Convention, on a charge of peculation and bribery in the official situations they had held in the republic; of which there appeared sufficient proof. Their conduct was, by inference, represented as treasonable to the state, by the scandal it threw on the Convention, through the delinquency and infamy of its members. It was even construed into a crime of a revolutionary nature. But Amar, the reporter of the two committees of Public and General Safety, carried his accusation of them much further. He charged them with the receiving of pay from the powers at war with the republic, and of carrying on a criminal correspondence with them. But neither this charge nor several others of a strange and inconsistent kind, were corroborated by any legal proofs.

Among the persons imprisoned, besides Fabre d'Eglantine, were Chabot the ex-capuehin, a member of the Convention; where he had long made a disreputable figure, and incurred general contempt. Basire was also one of them. He too was a member of the Convention; where he had signalized himself by supporting that decree which denied to the members the privilege of being heard in their own defence. So little favour was shewn to these three by their fellow-members, that they were spoken of in the Convention in the most disparaging terms. The partisans of Robespierre insisted on this occasion, on their trial; that the committees of Public and General Safety, the first of which was

empowered to arrest whomsoever they thought proper, ought to possess the highest confidence and credit in the performance of their functions, and that the greatest deference ought to be shewn to their opinion and assertions. This tended directly to invest at once the executive department with exclusive and boundless authority, or, in other terms, to constitute Robespierre sole and supreme judge in all matters referred to those committees, the members of which, however indirectly, were of his own appointment. It was observed on this occasion, that, whether through inadvertence or a desire to conciliate Robespierre, Danton expressed his approbation of the sentiments uttered by his enemy's partisans. This was the more astonishing, that Danton by such unreasonable and imprudent condescendence, put himself unresistingly into the hands of a rival whom he knew to be implacable. Ten days only after espousing his cause in this decided manner, he was, together with his friend Camille Desmoulins, arrested in the night of the 30th of March. Two others were also imprisoned at the same time, Julien de Thoulouse and Phelippeaux, become odious to Robespierre, on account of the faithful relation of the barbarities committed in La Vendée, whither he had been sent as a commissioner. Danton was warmly defended in the Convention by his friend Le Jendre, a man of great intrepidity; who moved, in contradiction to Robespierre, that Danton and La Croix, his fellow-prisoner, should be heard in their defence at the bar of the House. But Robespierre argued with the most unqualified virulence against both. He represented La Croix as venal, vicious, and corrupt

rupt in the extreme; and spoke of Danton as one that, having conspired against the state, had no farther claim to his regard; and whom he referred to the justice of his offended country, as he had done Brissot, Petion, and others of whom he ceased to be the friend, the moment they became enemies to the state. Chabot, Fabre d'Eglantine, and Bazire, who had been members of the Convention, had, he said, been refused the privilege of pleading their cause before the Convention; and it would be violating the laws of impartiality to grant to Danton what was refused to others, who had an equal right to make the same demand. This answer silenced at once all solicitations in his favour.

In the conspiracy attributed to Fabre d'Eglantine, among the persons accused as principal accomplices, were Herault Sechelles, who had been president of the Convention on the famous 31st of May, the preceding year, when the Gironde party was overthrown: another was Chaumette, procureur of the commerce of Paris; well known by his brutal behaviour to the King on his trial. Among them was also Gobat, who had been constitutional Bishop of Paris, and had about twelve months before publicly renounced his functions and religion. Of the same number was likewise General Westerman, who commanded the popular insurrection on the celebrated 10th of August, 1792; and who had so lately reported, with such inhuman insolence and derision in the Convention, the barbarities committed by the republicans in La Vendée.

The 2d of April was appointed for the trial of the prisoners before the Revolutionary Tribunal. The charge preferred a-

gainst Danton, was, that he has engaged in a conspiracy to destroy the republican form of government, together with the national representatives, and to effect a counter-revolution in favour of monarchy. Camille Desmoulins, La Croix, Phelippeaux, Herault Sechelle, and General Westerman, were involved in the same accusation. Fabre d'Eglantine and Chabot, with the two Frays, his brothers-in-law, both of them bankers of opulence, and five persons of less note, were accused of speculation and corrupt practices. In order to blacken the character of Fabre d'Eglantine, but more probably to recommend their own, he was by the partisans of Robespierre in the Convention, described as a professed Atheist. St. Just, one of his principal intimates, insisted chiefly on this circumstance in the official report concerning d'Eglantine, presented by him to the members on this occasion, and dwelt upon it as a sufficient motive for his condemnation. He made a long speech on the subject of irreligion and immorality, wherein he laboured with affected warmth to impress those who heard him with a persuasion, that persons now at the head of affairs were the sincere friends and supporters of the doctrine inculcating the belief of Providence, the immortality of the soul, and the necessity of a public worship of the Supreme Being. Whether the speaker expressed his real sentiments, as well as those of his party, or whether he courted popularity for himself and for them by displaying a zeal for religion, certain it is, that the baseness and cruelty of which they were guilty at this very period, and in the very instance which occasioned this very remark-



able speech, fully belied those pretensions to piety and reverence for the Deity, of which they had the insolence to make so ostentatious a parade.

The trial of Danton\* and of his fellow-prisoners, was attended with circumstances peculiarly memorable. When questioned, according to the usual forms, respecting his name and abode, "my name," he answered, "will live in history for ever; but my abode will soon be nowhere." Herault Sechelles answered to the same questions in a similar strain. Being asked what his station had been previously to the revolution, he replied that he had once filled a place of note in the very spot he now stood; and was at that time held in abhorrence by his colleagues for the principles of liberty he had the courage to avow.—Both he and Camille Desmoulins forcibly exposed the absurdity of the charges against them. Danton, by the keenness of his remarks, and the severity of the reproaches he cast upon the proceedings of the ruling powers and their agents in the present bu-

siness, struck the judges with surprise, and put them to a stand; nor was it with words alone that he perplexed them. He had the boldness to sling paper-bullets at the president, by way of shewing his contempt; and he peremptorily refused to answer interrogatories, unless he was confronted with his accusers. Herein his fellow-prisoners resolutely concurred, alleging, that when the governors of a nation conspire against individuals, these had a right to conspire against their iniquitous conduct, and by detecting it to their faces, to bring them to open shame.

Robespierre and his coadjutor Barrere, who were the persons alluded to, refused to appear against the prisoners, on pretence that a plot had been formed for their assassination. On this refusal, the prisoners persisted in their determination to answer no interrogatories, insisting they were illegal, unless their demand was complied with. The embarrassment of the tribunal at this resolute denial was such, that, averse to proceed without being

\* The following is the remarkable outline given of Danton's public character in the report of the committee of public safety, upon his arrest, and that of the other deputies:—"From one end of Europe to the other, the style of patriotism is assumed; let us see, Danton, what the style of patriotism is? You conspired with Mirabeau, Dumourier, Hebert, and Herault. You sought the protection of Mirabeau; and during his life you remained mute. This faction-monger knew the value of your audacity, and displayed against the court a menacing front. He perished; and his death again plunged you into obscurity. You appeared again in the Champ de Mars; and it was then in the Jacobins you supported the motion of Laclous, and drew up, with Brislot, the celebrated address. You soon after, however, contrived to enjoy tranquillity at Arcis-sur-Aube; but on the night of the 10th of August you returned, and it required all the persuasion of your friends to keep you out of bed. When minister of justice, you were surrounded by knaves; and, speaking of Noel, one of your agents, you observed that you knew him to be a good-for-nothing fellow, but you had him watched. Upon Fabre D'Eglantine you heaped riches; and it was by your influence that both he and D'Orleans were chosen for the Convention. In this Convention you were the friend of the Brissotines, with whom you concerted attacks to be made on yourself; and while you demanded your accounts, you presented to them the olive branch of peace."

factioned,

inflicted, they sent notice of the difficulty they were in, to the Convention. St. Just immediately moved that a decree should pass, empowering the tribunal to proceed without hearing them, against those who insulted the national justice. This enabled the tribunal to execute the commission with which they were entrusted. Danton did not fail, however, to continue making an able and spirited defence, not indeed from any expectation of saving his life, but in order to lay before the public the tyranny of the revolutionary tribunal, and the barbarity of those who supported and directed its operations. He spoke on this matter with such boldness and vehemence, that the president, instead of a liberty to which he was not accustomed, enjoined him to silence, by ringing the bell used for this purpose. But Danton paid no regard to this injunction; and when reminded of it, "President," said he, "the voice of a man defending his life and character, ought to silence your bell." Then, turning to the audience, that seemed to disapprove of the freedoms he had assumed, "Citizens," he cried with a loud voice, "judge me not till you have heard what I have to say. Not only you, but all France, ought to know it. Before six months are past, you will tear to pieces those who now sit in judgment on me, as well as the villains by whose orders I am brought to trial." To these prophetic words he added many others; and it was with difficulty he consented to retire out of court to take, as he was told, some refreshment. When, by virtue of the decree against refractory prisoners, sentence was passed upon him, and on the others who had been brought

before the tribunal, the jury having found them guilty of the several charges laid to them, out of sixteen, one only was acquitted. This was Lallier, a person of the least importance among them.

This sentence was pronounced at three in the afternoon; and they were all executed at six in the evening:—so expeditious were the judgments of this bloody tribunal, in depriving of their lives all those whom it condemned to lose them. The prisoners submitted to their fate with great firmness. The intrepidity of Danton was remarkable. He retained the cheerfulness and pleasantry of his disposition to the last moment, and met the stroke of death with an air of dignity that was long remembered.

The various discourses and arguments used by Danton on his trial, were carefully circulated by the many friends who adhered to him in secret, and who lamented their deprivation of a man, by whose courage and talents they had hoped to be powerfully assisted in the project they were already forming for the destruction of Robespierre; in whom they had long discovered a character so sanguinary, and so fraught with suspicion and rancour, that the smallest difference of opinion was sufficient to convert him into an enemy to his most faithful intimates, and to induce him to sacrifice them without the least hesitation.

The character of Danton, though sullied with unpardonable blemishes, was, when compared to that of his rival, deserving of respect. His temper was open and sociable; and he was not inclined to deceive those in whom he found a readiness to trust him. Like those who promoted

moted the revolution, he had his private views : but they were mixed with public considerations. His conduct respecting the King, cannot in any manner be exculpated ; but he would not possibly have gone the lengths he did on this occasion, had he not been convinced that his opposition would have been fruitless ; and that he must have perished as all those ultimately did, who ventured to oppose the party of the Mountain. As ambition was his predominant passion, he joined that iniquitous faction, through which only his discernment pointed out the attainment of power and of riches ; to the latter of which he frequently paid a criminal attention, and of which he seldom lost sight in any of his projects. In other respects, he was neither of an oppressive disposition, nor wantonly cruel ; though it must be acknowledged, to his shame, that to serve his political ends, he occasionally countenanced great cruelties. As soon as he became possessor of power and consequence, he shewed himself adequate to his exaltation, and displayed abilities that equally confirmed the attachment of his partizans, and struck his enemies with dread. Yet even to these, he neither acted with inveteracy, nor shewed himself irreconcilable. His courage on great occasions, seemed precisely calculated for them ; and he excelled in the greatest of political arts,—that of inspiring others with his own sentiments and animation. Difficulties never daunted him, and only drew forth the latent resources of his fertile and intrepid mind. Danger seemed the element wherein he was most himself. He encountered it with so cheerful and unaffected magnanimity, as to lessen its

appearance and terror to all who were concerned with him in repelling it. When the Russian and Prussian armies had invaded France, and were advancing through Champagne towards Paris, he stood foremost among those who resolved to abide the enemy, and bury themselves in the ruins of the capital : sooner than abandon it. This determination, through the powers of his eloquence, became that of all men ; and he had the honour of preventing the disgrace that would have fallen upon the French name and character, had Paris, at this critical period, been deserted by those on whom it was chiefly incumbent to behave with unyielding firmness ; and to give those examples of patriotism to their countrymen, which were then so much needed. He became, during a considerable time, the moving spring of the Jacobin and Cordelier Clubs, which then directed the motions of all France ; and though he frequently excited and made use of their fury for the accomplishment of his ends, he also restrained it occasionally. Though he lived at an æra of dissimulation, he practised little : the boldness of his disposition set him above it. He had a peculiar talent in discovering the talents and virtues of men ; and so quick was his perception, that he looked through them, as it were, at a glance, and seldom was deceived in the instantaneous judgments he so shrewdly formed of their character. Rapid and decisive in all his resolves, when once he had formed them, he was uncontrollably expeditious in their execution. To this may be ascribed the criminal activity with which he co-operated in the King's trial, and the impetuous violence with which he

he assisted in converting the monarchy into a republic. In the many daring transactions wherein his enterprising genius involved him, he never shunned a middle course, nor ever stopped at little means to compass great ends. He moved boldly forward towards the object before him, removing without exception every obstacle, and employing exertions equal to the magnitude of his plan. When the European powers formed that coalition against France, which the world at first thought irresistible, he first conceived that grand idea of raising the French nation, as much as possible, in arms; which, matured and realized through his sagacity and judicious regulations, enabled France to contend victoriously with all Europe. The revolutionary institutions that contributed so essentially to the preservation of the republic, were no less due to his exceptions. Though they became engines of cruelty and despotism in the tyrannical hands that seized the management of them, yet their original plan was of evident utility at the tempestuous season that gave it birth, and certainly required an instant and powerful barrier against the daily attempts to overturn the new order of things; which, without either approving or condemning those who had established it, thought themselves authorized to maintain. Among the many qualifications that contributed to Danton's celebrity, was his eloquence. It was the gift of nature, and not the acquisition of art or study. It supplied him on all occasions with a formidable, and generally a successful weapon.

Though it flowed from him without forethought or preparation, the impression it made was deep and strong, and seldom failed to overcome the arguments of his opponents. His expressions were truly the representatives of his ideas, and, like them, were singular and striking. Often has he been known, with a few words, to have completely foiled the purpose of long and deliberate speeches. But the powers of his oratory were not merely verbal; his look, his voice, his gesture, equally commanded attention and deference. His aspect, especially, carried such authority, that with a cast of his eye he was able to disconcert some of the most artful of his antagonists, and to derange all the ideas they had premeditated. Endowed with all these qualities, it was not surprising that his partizans were numerous and warmly attached to him, as a man upon whose abilities and firmness they could place a sure dependence. The only instance wherein want of penetration was imputable to him, was the unguardedness of his conduct towards Robespierre; whose violent proceedings he disapproved, and against whose resentment, on account of this disapprobation, he ought in prudence to have duly prepared himself. Had he suspected the intentions of Robespierre, it is highly probable that he might have easily counteracted them; the envy, and still more the hatred, borne to his sanguinary rival by those over whom he arrogated such undue power and pre-eminence; the fears they began to entertain of his ambitious and cruel disposition; the inveteracy of

\* See reflections on this subject, page 66.

those who had suffered through his tyranny, and the manifest proofs of its daily increase, and of his determination to exercise it without moderation or controul, and to retain it at any cost,—these motives would have furnished Danton with ample means of defence. His personal resolution would have engaged numbers to join him. The remains of those parties, destroyed by the barbarous faction of which Robespierre was the head, and the measures of which Danton had never approved, would have seized the opportunity of revenging their friends and securing themselves, by rallying round so spirited a chief as Danton. The two clubs of the Jacobins and Cordeliers would not have deserted one who had acted so conspicuous a part among them. In the first, his credit stood high; and the latter was full of resentment for the loss of their principal member and director, Hebert, who had been recently sent to the guillotine. Through the support he would have derived from these various quarters, and his own courage and abilities, he might not only have intimidated his rival, and have prevented his own fate, but raised the standard of insurrection

against him and his party, and, instead of being destroyed himself, have brought them to destruction.

The probability of such an event was fully countenanced by the readiness testified on the death of Danton, to speak of him with respect, and to commemorate with warmth the many essential services he had rendered the republic. The accusations brought against him were so improbable, and so destitute of truth, that all discerning people readily perceived what must have been the real causes of his condemnation, and united in regretting his hard destiny. But those who, by their situation, stood nearest to the danger of sharing in it, were sensible that, unless they made a common cause, and joined in a firm and speedy union against the oppressive power through which he fell, their own fall would in all likelihood be soon or late effected. Considerations of this nature produced a confederacy of the most resolute and able members of the Convention. Their designs however never transpired. As the profoundest secrecy was necessary to their success, no indication of them appeared that could subject them to the least discovery.

## CHAP. VII.

*Confederacy formed in the Convention against Robespierre. General Dillon arrested, tried, and condemned, together with the Wife of Desmoulins. They are both executed with Gobat, Chaumette, and others. The Convention orders every Member, on Pain of Death, to give an Account of his Revenue before and since the Revolution. Robespierre's Conduct in pecuniary Matters. Conventional Decrees against Ex-nobles and Aliens. Decrees relating to Law Suits. Decrees against Anti-revolutionary Discourses. Decrees against Aged and Nonjuring Clergymen. Decree prohibiting the Marriages of the Wives of Emigrants with Foreigners. Attempt to defame the Memory of Louis XVI. Farmers-General tried by the Revolutionary Tribunal,*

*banal, and several of them condemned and executed. Trial and Execution of the Princess Elizabeth, Sister to Louis XVI. Terror occasioned by the cruel Administration of Robespierre. His Endeavours to retain and increase his Popularity. His affected Zeal for Religion. Decrees of the Convention relating to Religious and Moral Subjects. Various Festivals decreed. Festivals in Honour of the Supreme Being. Attempts to assassinate Robespierre and Collot D'Herbois. General Discontent at the Cruelties of Robespierre. He remains inflexible in his Conduct. Robespierre arrives at the Plenitude of his Power. Prepossession of the lower Classes in his Favour. Dreaded by his Adherents. His numerous and severe Decrees. Dangerous State of Society occasioned by them. Encouragement of Informers. Revolutionary Tribunal and Committee of Public Safety entirely under his Orders. His Organization of Juries. His Method of directing their Verdict. Extensive Powers granted through him to the Revolutionary Tribunal. Powers of the Committee of Public Safety enlarged through his Means, in Order to serve his Purposes. That Committee made Permanent. Through the Subserviency of that Committee, his Power becomes uncontrouled. Submissiveness of the Convention to his Authority. He procures a Revolutionary Army, and encourages a sanguinary Spirit. His Persecution of the Royalists. Through his Instigation, the Jacobins petition and obtain, that Terror should be declared the Order of the Day. He procures a Repeal of the Decree by which the Members of the Convention were entitled to be heard in their Defense, before the Passing of an Accusation against them. His Severity encreases. Situation of Paris at that Period. Exaltation of the lower Classes. Depression of the better Sort. Abjection and Degradation of the French under Robespierre. Wretched Condition of the People. Adulation and Homage paid to Robespierre. His Speech to the Convention on the 27th of May. That of Barrere on the 13th. Decree against giving Quarter to the English, or to the Towns taken from France on refusing to surrender in Twenty-four Hours. Power, Popularity, and Influence of Robespierre in Paris. Means by which he retains it. Reflections on his Conduct at this Time. Execution of Lamoignon, Malesherbes. Conspiracies imputed to Persons imprisoned by Robespierre. Execution of Baron Trenck and Colonel Newton. Imprisonment of Thomas Payne. Barbarous Treatment of Prisoners. Number of Persons imprisoned at Paris.*

**R**OBESPIERRE, whatever satisfaction he might reap from the destruction of the only rival he dreaded, soon perceived that he had left a party behind him, which would require his utmost vigilance. The defence made by Danton before the revolutionary tribunal; the invectives with which he had loaded his judges and their constituents; his admonitions to the people; the boldness with which he had fore-

told the downfall of the present rulers; the interest which numbers seemed to take in the magnanimity with which he met his fate; the circumstance, so particularly insisted on, of his resemblance to Socrates when going to die,—all these particulars were proofs to Robespierre, that the death of Danton had not rid him of all his enemies, and that his power still remained precarious and unstable. This however he re-

solved

solved to maintain at all events, and to cement it with the blood of every one that opposed him, or even approved of what they knew must offend him. Conformably to this inhuman determination, which his conduct clearly evinced he must have taken, he proceeded immediately after the death of Danton, to exercise his rancour upon those who had applauded his behaviour, and that of his fellow-prisoners, before the revolutionary tribunal.

Among the many unfortunate individuals confined in the prisons of Paris, were Simon, a member of the Convention; and General Arthur Dillon, who had the command of a division of the French army when the Prussians were repulsed in their attack of it in the forest of Argonne. He was connected with Camille Desmoulins; and upon hearing that the people present at his trial had testified their approbation of the demand he and Danton, with the other prisoners, had made, that they should be confronted with their accusers, he also approved it with warmth; and expressed a wish that the Parisians would insist upon its being complied with, and employ force, if necessary, to compel an acquiescence: this he did in presence of another prisoner, whose name was La Flotte, and who had been agent of the republic at the court of Florence. The General had also, in discoursing with Simon about Danton and the other prisoners on trial, confessed in presence of La Flotte, his fervent hope of their deliverance. In expectation of obtaining mercy, La Flotte informed the committee of public safety of the words spoken by General Dillon; who was, on this information, brought before the re-

volutionary tribunal, by which he was condemned to death on this charge, and for having sent a letter to the wife of Camille Desmoulins, inclosing an order for 1000 crowns, with which he was accused of intending to hire a mob for the purpose of overawing the revolutionary tribunal. This unhappy woman never received the letter: but she was, nevertheless, condemned as accessory to this intention, and executed, together with General Dillon and the door-keeper of the prison; who suffered with them for having neglected to inform the committee of public safety of this fatal letter. They were accompanied on the scaffold by Chaumette, Gobat, and General Bayssur, charged with treasonable practices while at the head of the forces employed against the insurgents of La Vendée. The two former were implicated in the charges against Fabre D'Eglantine. The wife of Hebert was also a sufferer on this occasion. She and the wife of Desmoulins, a very beautiful woman, were the only persons who excited the commiseration of the public. General Dillon left a doubtful character: he was strongly suspected of intended treachery in the affair of Argonne; and the advantage gained over the Prussians on that occasion, was powerfully claimed by another officer. These executions took place two days after that of Danton.

The peculations and corrupt practices laid to the charge of several members of the Convention at these trials, occasioned a decree to be passed on the 6th of April, that every deputy should be obliged, on pain of death, to give an account of his revenue before and since

since the revolution. The necessity of preventing the discredit accruing to the representative body from the shameful conduct of its members, was the motive assigned by Couthon, the mover of this decree, and the ultimate friend of Robespierre. It ought, in justice to this latter, to be acknowledged, that if he possessed any quality deserving the name of virtue, it was disinterestedness. He prided himself in the utter contempt of money, and of those who laboured to enrich themselves; and he always an eye to their future punishment whenever he discovered their delinquency in this respect, which he always considered as an unpardonable crime in a public man. So vigorously was he inclined to discourage the accumulation of wealth, that he was used to assert that 3000 livres was a sufficient annual revenue for any man in France. It was upon this incorruptibility of disposition in whatever related to pecuniary matters, that Robespierre chiefly founded his claims to popularity. The fame of his integrity in those respects, which is certainly a merit of the first order in all who are in high stations, had procured him the warmest attachment of the inhabitants of Paris, and indeed of all France. It was, in fact, very natural for them to draw comparisons between their present rulers and past; and when they recollected the avarice and rapacity of former ministers, and contrasted it with the very limited allowance with which a man was satisfied who held the reins of empire in a state that triumphed over all its enemies, and struck the sovereigns of Europe with terror,—well might they view him with the admiration which impartiality must knowledge to have

been due to him in this particular.

After passing this severe decree, which was levelled at himself in common with his fellow-members, Robespierre now thought himself at liberty to act with his usual severity against the royal party. Conformably to this determination, his agent in the convention, Couthon, procured the passing of another decree on the 16th of April, by which a number of restrictions were laid upon all individuals in any manner connected with the enemies of the republic. Aliens that were subjects to the powers at war with France, and all ex-nobles were enjoined to leave Paris, under the severest penalties, and forbidden to reside in fortified places and sea-ports, in order to prevent them, either from framing conspiracies, or joining with conspirators. A variety of regulations was made respecting the methods of proceeding against them, on this occasion, by the two committees of public and general safety, and the powers with which they were to be invested for those purposes.

This decree contained also several ordinances for the better and more speedy administration of justice in the civil courts. They were ordered to decide upon all pending suits within three months from the publication of this decree, under the penalty of being deprived of their functions. This order extended to all future law-suits. The passing of this act afforded great satisfaction to the public. The length and tedious formalities attending private litigations had long rendered them a cause of the justest complaint; and though objections might be made to so short a term as three months, the few cases requiring more time, were not an object



ject of sufficient weight to balance the general inconveniences arising from their long duration.

Among the severities of this decree, persons convicted of holding discourses inimical to the revolution, were to be denounced by those who heard them; and who, in case of omission, were punishable themselves. The offenders were to be tried by the constituted authorities of their district; and, if under sixty years of age, and enjoying health, they were then to be sentenced to transportation to Guiana, a French colony on the northern coast of South America. This decree was looked upon by the generality of the people as too harsh, as it tended to convert familiar acquaintances into spies upon each other, by the punishment it threatened to those who, from sentiments of generosity, would wish to conceal the unguarded effusions to which men are liable in the warmth of conversation.

A few days after, an act took place, by which all aged and non-juring ecclesiastics were ordered to reside in the departments to which they belonged, in houses appropriated for their future abode. The punishment of exile was enacted for concealing or entertaining clergymen condemned to punishment or confinement. The occasion of this act was the dread of that spiritual influence which the ecclesiastical order exerted so diffusely throughout France, especially over the rustic classes, who still remained as entirely devoted to them as ever. The jurisdiction they exercised was the more difficult to be prevented, that it arose from the sole consent of those who submitted to it, and who thought themselves bound in conscience to such a submission in

whatever related to religion. The powers thus possessed by the ecclesiastics, were, through the zeal of their numerous adherents, exerted not only in spiritual cases, but in temporal matters of the highest importance. They were, not without cause, reputed the movers, or the abettors at least, of every insurrection and attempt that had been made in favour of royalty. As they had been deprived of their possessions by the ruling powers, it could not be expected that they should bear them no resentment. Actuated thus by private motives, no less than public principles, they were considered as domestic enemies; the more dangerous that, under the appearance of performing ecclesiastical duties, they governed the minds of multitudes with the most absolute sway; and could at any time impel them to execute whatever was proposed to them, by representing it as a duty, which to neglect would be highly sinful. The more orderly clergy were the most active and zealous. Long habituated to the maxims and doctrines of former times, they viewed and represented the revolution and its consequences in the most odious light. As their age and long standing procured them proportionable attachment and respect, their influence was much greater than that of their juniors; and they were listened to with more attention and deference. Neither was it to be expected that men, grown grey in the belief and profession of the doctrines they had been accustomed to inculcate with so much care, and to maintain with so much zeal from their youth, would be prevailed upon to remain silently passive amidst the daily wrecks they witnessed.

ted of religion, and of those politics, of both which they had so long been the avowed and the official propagators; and from which they had, during a long course of years, derived so honourable a maintenance, and so extensive a credit and influence over every class of society. These were motives too powerful, in men strongly persuaded of the rectitude of their principles, and feeling so keenly the injurious treatment they had received, to suffer them, while they had the liberty of acting, to let pass any opportunity of following their inclinations.

The tempestuousness of the times, and the necessity of taking every precaution to prevent insurrections against the established government, were no improper plea for this decree; though it was greatly displeasing even to many who were well-wishers to the republican system. They were of opinion that conciliation would effect more than terror; and that, by treating the clergy with lenity, those over whose consciences they had so much influence, would the more readily be reconciled to the present measures; that their spiritual directors, finding themselves humanely used, would feel the less propensity to excite the discontent of their followers, the dangerous consequences of which would fall on themselves.

The foregoing decree was speedily followed by another of a singular nature, and which strongly indicated the rancour of the republicans towards the royalists. The wives of those that had emigrated, weary of their forlorn and unprotected state, and desirous of being with their husbands, found it how-

ever extremely difficult to escape from the involuntary detainment they were held in, and which was accompanied with so much peril. They were looked upon as pledges for the peaceable behaviour of their husbands, on account of whose hostile attempts against the republican government, the ferocious resentment of its rulers might easily find pretexts to sacrifice their wives.

Urged by these motives they employed every method that female dexterity could devise, in order to forward their evasion; but they were so narrowly watched, that their endeavours were usually fruitless. An expedient was at length suggested, which they readily embraced; and which for a time proved successful. They contracted pretended marriages with foreigners who were in the secret; and by whom they were carried out of the country as their husbands. This contrivance did not long remain concealed; and as soon as it was known, a determination was taken to frustrate it. With this view, a decree was made, prohibiting the marriage of the wives of emigrants with foreigners, under the heaviest penalties.

To this rancour against the partizans of royalty, was farther added the hatred that pursued the memory of its last possessor. On the 27th of April the Convention was informed that François Germain, locksmith to the late King, had declared that he had constructed, by his orders, a secret closet, in a wall of his apartment in the Thuilleries, with an iron-door. In this closet were deposited those papers, of which he gave information after the 10th of August 1792, and of which such use had been made against the

King. This man also declared, that while he was at work, the King brought him a bottle of wine: after drinking which he was seized in a few hours with violent pains, which terminated in an illness that lasted fourteen months, and rendered him unable, ever since, to follow his business. In consequence of his patriotism, in discovering the papers thus concealed, and of his sufferings and inability to work at his trade, he petitioned for a support from the Convention. The Convention readily admitted this man's application, and decreed that the depositions he had made, after due examination, should be preserved in the archives of the Convention, as lasting proofs of the wickedness of the late King, and should also be made public to the world, in order to shew him in his proper colours.

This decree proved highly offensive to the discerning, as well as humane, part of society. The former reprobated it, as founded solely on the testimony of an individual interested in framing such a declaration. But it accorded so little with the character of that unhappy monarch, that it was even destitute of plausibility, and carried all the marks of a forgery, either proceeding from Genain himself, or suggested to him by others who sought, by his means, to vilify the late King. The compassionate and humane thought, that having expiated all his errors on the scaffold, it was ungenerous and inhuman to call them back to remembrance.

But the ruling powers felt no remorse in pursuing with the utmost virulence, not only monarchy, but every offence committed under that form of government. One of

the chief abuses that had characterized the three last reigns, was the oppression of the people by the farmers-general. The extortions, of which some of them had been guilty, were undeniable, and had been duly proved by a strict examination of their proceedings. Still however it appeared inequitable to the moderate to call them to account for misdemeanours committed under a system of government that was no more; and of which the delinquencies ought, in good policy, to be forgotten, as the too merciless prosecution of them might probably tend to make enemies of many, who but for the severities they dreaded, were their past conduct too strictly scrutinized, would warmly support revolutionary measures. But the enmity of the people to the very name of Farmers-General, pointed out a road to popularity, which was too inviting for the ruling party not to follow, when they felt so deeply the need of the multitude. In compliance with those clamours against the farmers-general, which had been so loud and so universal in France for a number of years, and were become in a manner traditional, the Convention, on the 5th of May, passed a decree by which they were consigned to the revolutionary tribunal, where many of them were condemned to die, and executed accordingly.

But these were only ordinary victims of that strict and necessary justice, as it was now called, which visited with unbiassed impartiality the iniquities of the past as well as of the present day. In order to exhibit the most striking specimen of that equality in the inflicting of punishments, to which it was determined to reduce all individuals without

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without distinction, Fouquier Tinville, the public accuser, a man well fitted for the bloody office with which he was invested, formally demanded that the Princess Elizabeth, sister to the late King, should be cited to appear before the revolutionary tribunal, on a suspicion of being concerned in counter-revolutionary practices. The utter impossibility that a woman under the strict confinement in which she was held, should be accessory to any proceedings of such a tendency, was so obvious, that all Paris was struck with amazement when told that she was to undergo a trial. Her character was in every sense unimpeachable. Her piety and resignation to the hard and undeserved treatment she had so long endured, had rendered her an object even of popular commiseration. When brought before the revolutionary tribunal, she replied to the questions put to her with such unaffectedness, calmness, and precision, that every one present was convinced that she spoke the strictest truth. To the various charges urged against her, she made the most apposite and satisfactory answers, and completely cleared herself of every accusation. To that of having encouraged her nephew to hope that he would be one day King of France, she frankly and innocently replied, that in the familiar intercourse between them, she had employed every motive to comfort him in his melancholy situation. This ingenuous answer was immediately interpreted as an acknowledgment that she had really encouraged him in that expectation; and sentence of death was passed upon her. She suffered, in company with twenty-six others; and was executed the last. She behaved in her

last moments with great dignity and decency.

These numerous and merciless executions filled all France with terror. This was the very end in view. But this terror was accompanied with equal horror; and prepared all men to look with impatience and anxiety for an alteration of affairs. The sentiments of the public were not kept in such secrecy as not in some measure to transpire. In order to preserve, in the meantime, the attachment of the multitude by that ostentatious display of religion which is so captivating to the unreflecting and the unwary, Robespierre now adopted an idea which he doubted not would be of the highest utility to his designs. This was to set apart the tenth day for religious and moral observance, in imitation of the seventh in the Christian system. He resolved therefore, without delay, to increase the popularity he had already acquired, by introducing the subject of religion into the Convention, as a point of the greatest importance, and making such additional regulations in the matters relating to it, as might impress the people with a conviction that he was sincere in his professions.

Full of this project, on the 7th of May he ascended the tribune, and made a long and elaborate speech, replete with the most turgid and fulsome description of the same and grandeur which the French nation had attained. The victories of the republic, he said, were celebrated in every quarter of the universe. An entire revolution had taken place in the physical order of things, which would indubitably produce another in the moral and political. One half of the globe had already

felt this change, and the other would soon feel it. The French nation had anticipated the rest of the world by 2000 years, and might be considered as consisting of a new species of men\*. He was warm and enthusiastic in the praise of republican morality and a democratical government, describing every other form of government and species of morality as deserving of detestation. He justified the sanguinary measures which had produced the present system, and that now supported it. After this prefatory discourse, he brought forward the religious and moral plan he had prepared; which, being laid before the Convention, was digested in the following heads, and formed into a solemn decree.

The French nation thereby acknowledged the existence of a Supreme Being, and the immortality of the soul. It acknowledged that the worship of the Supreme Being consisted in the practice of the duties of man to man. It ranked among those duties the detestation

of treachery and tyranny, the punishment of tyrants and traitors relieving the unfortunate, assisting the weak, the defence of the oppressed, the doing to others all the good, and the avoiding justice towards all men. Festivals were to be instituted, in order to recall men to a recollection of Divinity, and the dignity of human existence. These festivals were to be named either after the moral events of the French revolution, or the virtues the most useful to mankind, or the most conspicuous benefits of nature. The following days were annually to be celebrated as festivals: the 14th of July, the 10th of August, the 21st of January, and the 31st of May. The tenth day of the month was to be celebrated as a festival. The objects of these festivals were the Supreme Being, nature, the human race, the French nation, the factors of mankind, martyrs, liberty, liberty and equality of the French republic, the freed world, patriotism, the j

\* The distinguished excellence and glory of the French, was a very fashionable and popular topic of declamation. On the 6th of September, 1794, the Geraud, in a long harangue in the Convention, insisted on the glory of the whole nation, so as to render them worthy of liberty. France, he observed, was elevated to the very pinnacle of earthly splendor; the eyes of mankind were upon her doctrines, and fourteen centuries of ignorance, degradation, and slavery were now effaced. The slaves of despotism had been struck with a mortal blow; a protecting Divinity had elevated her empire on the smoking ruins of a throne; on the bloody remnants of expiring factions. "Mandatories of a great nation be, "let us consecrate a durable monument to the rising generation; the Armies of Europe ought now to consolidate the majestic edifice of our immortal republic on the immovable basis of public instruction. Before we abandon the management of public affairs, let us announce to our constituents with a true republican boldness, France, and to all Europe, that we contemplate with enthusiasm one in common maxim,—without public education, the empire of morals must be destroyed; if the fury of new Vandals shall aim at the destruction of the republic; if the calamity of this horrible calamity diffuses consternation among the passionate friends of liberty—but I here pause, and consign my reflections to virtue, to the principles of the French senate, to the cogitations of the learned, and to the meditations of philosophy."

ment of tyrants and traitors, truth, justice, modesty, glory and immortality, friendship, frugality, courage, sincerity, heroism, disinterestedness, stoicism, love, conjugal affection, paternal affection, maternal tenderness, filial piety, infancy, youth, manhood, old age, misfortune, agriculture, industry, ancestors, posterity, and happiness.

By this decree the freedom of religious worship was confirmed; but every aristocratical or other assembly, subversive of public order, was prohibited. In case of disturbance, the motive or occasion of which might be any particular mode of worship, those who should excite them by fanatical discourses and counter-revolutionary insinuations, and those who caused them by unprovoked outrages, were both to be punished with equal severity. The last article of this decree, that wherein Robespierre was personally interested and had most at heart, was the solemn celebration of a festival in honour of the Supreme Being, which was appointed for the 8th of next June. This famous decree was received with great applause, and unanimously passed by the Convention, which ordered it to be translated into all languages, and dispersed throughout all nations.

The grand festival appointed in honour of the Supreme Being, was intended by Robespierre to be a day of triumph to himself and his party. Every preparation was made use of that could render it magnificent. The relations that have been given of the manner in which it was conducted, represent it as equally solemn and brilliant, and perfectly calculated to please the people of Paris, and indeed of most Frenchmen, who are particularly

delighted with scenes of this description.

What most particularly claimed the attention of the public on this memorable day, was, the attendance of the Convention in the most imposing formalities, and decorated with all the symbols of the duties annexed to their station. In front of the Thuilleries, and facing that superb garden, a spacious amphitheatre was erected, in the midst of which was placed a tribune; wherein Robespierre, as president of the Convention, and as the head in fact of the French nation, held forth, with great solemnity, on the business of the day. A variety of ceremonies and singular transactions took place in the course of this remarkable festival, which closed with hymns and musical compositions in praise of the Deity. In the midst of this ceremony Robespierre seemed particularly intent on the enjoyment of his own consequence, and in displaying it to the eyes of the multitude. Forgetful of that republican equality which he always so vehemently insisted on, and of the jealousies that naturally attended the vast pre-eminence he had attained, he gave a loose to the native vanity of his disposition, and affected a personal superiority over his fellow-members, by some circumstances in his behaviour that gave them great offence. All things considered, this proved to him a most inauspicious day.

The new religious creed and institutions of Robespierre, naturally became a subject of much speculation. Among the most active and formidable enemies of the dictator, he reckoned those men who were most conspicuous for their philosophical and literary talents, and who were also most notorious for Athe-

ism, or Materialism. Condorcet had written an epigram upon him full of sarcastic truth, which was published in the news-papers, and much admired, before the power of the tyrant had risen to such a pitch as to restrain the French from expressing their sentiments. At the time when he instituted his new calendar, for the purpose of effacing, if possible, the very remembrance of Christianity, what he dreaded most was, an attachment to monarchy and the ancient ecclesiastic establishments. He began now to dread the influence of a spirit of philosophy, which, when genuine, naturally tends to moderation and justice to all men, and orders of men; and to reflect that it was possible to recede too far from the principles and sentiments of religion, which the murmurs of so great a part of the people at the abolition of Sundays and other religious festivals, convinced him were the sentiments of nature. He therefore resolved to pay some homage to religion, by way of humbling the minds of the people at the expense of the philosophers. In the same spirit we shall by and by find him endeavouring to raise the lowest classes into consideration, by degrading talents and accomplishments, as well as other former marks of distinction. It will not fail to attract the attention of moral observers, that Robespierre took care in his religious creed to interweave all the passions that were uppermost in his own mind. In the middle of the fourteenth century, Italy, having no steady government, was wasted by bands of robbers. It was particularly wasted by a military leader,

of the name of Warren, an adventurer from England, who, as we are informed by more than one Italian writer, wore on a tunic embroidered with silver, words deserving the Deity as well as his liege, the Pope; and inspiring horror. — Robespierre, though still the enemy of mankind and of society, deemed it good policy no longer to set Heaven at defiance, but to effect some small degree of reverence for God and religion.

Not long before the festival of the 8th of June, an event happened, which ought to have warned him of the precariousness and danger of his situation, and prevented his assumption of unreasonable pride. A resolution had been taken to assassinate him and one of his intimates, Collot d'Herbois, a member of the committee of public safety, by a man of the name of Ameral; who, weary of life, and labouring possibly under misfortunes, had determined to put an end to his own existence; but previously to the execution of this design, had resolved to signalize his death by accompanying it with some meritorious deed.

The destruction of two such men as Robespierre and Collot d'Herbois, would, he thought, be rendering a service to his country; and he attempted it accordingly; but not meeting with the former, and finding an opportunity of executing his design upon the latter, he fired a pistol at him in open day as he was crossing a street. Being immediately pursued and seized, he confessed the above particulars, and gloried in his intentions, regretting only that the attempt had failed.

\* Duca Guarnieri, Signior della Campagna, Nemico di Dio, di Pietà, e di misericordia.

On the very day this transaction happened, which was the 25th of May, an attempt of a similar nature was made on Robespierre himself, by a young woman of twenty years of age, of the name of Cecilia Regnaud. She went to his dwelling, and asked for admittance. Being told he was absent, she expressed much disappointment, saying that, as a public functionary, he ought always to be in the way of seeing those who had business with him. Her air and deportment occasioning suspicion, she was stopped and carried before the committee of general safety. But she had betrayed herself on the way, by exclaiming, that while the King was living, he owed himself to none of his subjects; and that she would lose her life to have another King. She was assigned to the revolutionary tribunal, where, on being questioned respecting her business with Robespierre, her only answer was that she was desirous to see what sort of being a tyrant was. No weapons were found upon her that could be deemed offensive; and she appeared rather wanting or disordered in her mind. However, she was, together with her family, against whom nothing could be alleged, sent to the guillotine with Ameral, and above ten other persons.

These two attempts against his life, were alarming proofs that the popularity of Robespierre was accompanied with more exceptions than he might be willing to admit, in the sanguine persuasion he cherished of the attachment of the people to a cause which he so earnestly laboured to convince them was their own. But they could not fail to observe that his severity increased

every day, and that the number of victims, continually sacrificed to his suspicions, were indiscriminately taken from the lowest as well as the highest and middling classes, and that the revolutionary tribunal seldom acquitted any one brought before it, though nothing could be more notorious than the insufficiency of those proofs of guilt upon which they took away so many lives. But whether he still confided in the extent of his popularity, and looked on those attempts as accidental instances of private rancour, noways derogatory to his general credit, or whether, like many others in possession of great power, he was resolved to retain and exercise it at his own discretion, and at all hazards,—Robespierre did not seem inclined to relax from the severity he had so steadily adopted ever since his first entrance into power. He possibly thought this, at a period when all parties appeared so implacable to each other, the safest policy. Were his own party to be oppressed, he made no doubt that, like those whom he had exterminated, he would in his turn meet with no mercy. Judging of others by himself, and being unhappily without commiseration, he indulged his propensity to shed blood as the surest means to prevent the shedding of his own.

He was now arrived at the plenitude of his power. What, through prepossession in his favour, from the ignorance, the prejudices, the violence of the lower classes in the capital, and what through the terror which his power and severity everywhere diffused, he acted without controul; and even his most intimate adherents stood in continual



awe of his unrelenting and sanguinary temper. The dreadful decrees continually following each other, with hardly a day's intermission, reached in the boundless extent of their application, not only to the public and open conduct of individuals, but even to their most private and domestic recesses. No man was safe from the malice or capriciousness of an inmate, or of an acquaintance. Society was in a manner at a stand; none dared to trust another, unless indeed long-experience of his fidelity, or an evident similitude of sentiments, removed all suspicions of intended treachery. The practice of this was become the less infamous, that informers were secured from detection, by the manner of receiving and of proceeding upon their information. No person denouncing another was called upon to allege his motives, or to discover his name, profession, or dwelling. Thus, the person accused had no opportunity of confronting, or of knowing his accuser; whose denunciation, however, was allowed to carry the greatest weight, and was attended to as absolute and undeniable proof.

The revolutionary tribunal, of which the judgments were final and without appeal, decided at once on the reputation and life of every one that had the misfortune to be brought before it. An accusation, an arrest, and a sentence of death, were now reputed the same thing; and by those who could not refrain from indulging their fancy or levity in the midst of these horrors, were called the Revolutionary Trinity. The tribunal that went by this name, was the ready instrument of the committee of public safety; and this was devotedly subservient to the suggestions of Robespierre

and his agents. The forms of justice were, in the unpenetrating of the multitude, properly obfuscated but the jury, that fountain of real justice, was constructed on a basis far removed from the dictates of equity. Their fit was official and permanent; they were not to be challenged by the accused; nor could they be said, with any propriety, to be authorized to deliberate on the claims laid before them. The victims be sacrificed were pointed out to them: one of the assassins of the revolutionary tribunal, waited in the morning upon Robespierre, to list of the prisoners in a state of accusation and trial; and it was a custom to mark with a cross the names of those that were to be condemned.

The jurisdiction with which they had taken care to invest this tribunal completely answered every purpose he had in view. The vast multiplicity of cases in which the committee was competent to decide, involved almost every occurrence in the land and their powers of interpretation as well as of decision, were so extensive, that they were able to oppose the principles on which the revolution was founded; to gratify its friends and supporters with countenance and abetment; to lay liable to punishment; to lay perverting the ideas of the revolutionary tribunal,—these were sentences, a general imputation which subjected the accused to the most vigorous prosecution; the proofs required were of an unprecise nature, that hardly possible to escape conviction.

The committee of public

which was authorized to order the arrest and trial of individuals, was at first so limited in its authority and duration, that Robespierre soon discovered its insufficiency for the execution of his designs, unless both were extended. The members of this committee at its institution, were to be renewed every month; but on his being appointed a member, and perceiving of what use he could make it, he immediately availed himself of the influence he possessed over the Convention, and procured a decree by which it was rendered permanent. Those who composed it, being thus through his interest elevated to the highest rank and dignity, became wholly subservient to his views; and, through them, he ruled with an authority more despotic than ever had been exercised by any King of France, or indeed of any kingdom in Europe. In the mean time, his party, being uncontrollably predominant in the Convention, every decree which they proposed was carried with every latitude he could require. In a short time the authority of the Convention was totally absorbed in that of Robespierre. Through the suffrages of that body, now implicitly acquiescent, he gradually obtained every species of power in favour of the committee of public safety, which, in fact, became superior to the Convention itself. In virtue of the power with which this committee was invested, he disposed of all places of any consequence; he appointed national agents in every part of the country; their commissions were unlimited by any instructions but his own; and no other accounts were given to the Convention of the committee's secret reasons for

their proceedings, or rather his own, than he judged convenient. The servility of that assembly became at length so notorious, that it was publicly spoken of in terms of contempt and derision. The ministerial reports laid before it, which were in fact those of the committee, were listened to with scandalous complacency. They tamely registered the decrees moved for by the ruling party; and they passed much oftener by acclamation than after any real deliberation, as it daily became more dangerous to thwart them. On these occasions, the firmness of the parliaments in opposing and refusing to register the royal edicts was well remembered; and recalled to the attention of the public, in a style no ways favourable to the Convention. The inconsiderable numbers to which this body was now reduced, was also noticed with much disapprobation. The House when complete amounted to seven hundred and fifty members; but very rarely more than two hundred were present. Various were the causes of this paucity. Some had fled, some were employed in committees, others in provincial commissions: but the fewer they were the greater was the influence exercised by Robespierre, who always found means to procure the absence of those in whom he did not place the most entire confidence.

Armed with such power, it was not surprizing that he made himself, if not the nominal, still the real Sovereign of France. He was not only the executive but the legislative power of the state. He obtained the passing of any decree that he thought proper, and executed it discretionally. In order to perpetuate

perpetuate his authority, a decree was made, declaring France under a revolutionary government until peace should be restored. The distance at which this plainly appeared, was a sufficient earnest that he should long continue in the supreme power. Under pretext of consulting the general security, he studiously encouraged a spirit of ferocity, and blood-thirstiness of disposition. He collected a number of Russians, who were decreed to be a revolutionary army, and whom, by procuring them a large pay, he secured in his personal interest. They acted, as it were, as his body-guards, and terrified all people into submission. Such a propensity arose at last to shed blood, that an address was presented to the Convention by one of the sections of Paris, petitioning the sacrifice of nine hundred thousand individuals, as necessary to complete the establishment of the revolution!

Intoxicated by his power, and infuriated by his hatred to monarchy and its friends, he let loose such a persecution of them, as proved no less disgraceful to the French for abetting it than to himself for promoting it\*. They were sentenced to imprisonment and deprivation of property, banishment

or death, as it seemed most suitable to their supposed guilt. But that which best proved the conformity of the times to his own disposition, and the devotion or rather imbecility of the Convention in coinciding implicitly with all his demands, was, the requisition of the Jacobin club, formally preferred by that body, that terror should be declared the standing order of the day. Numbers of the members were well known to disapprove of the terrific measures used to keep the public in subjection; and such a requisition was manifestly intended as an insult to their feelings. But that furious club was ready to enforce with all its weight the mandates of Robespierre; and he was highly desirous to let the Convention see that he had another assembly at his command, little less formidable than their own, and that might, in case of need, counterpoise their opposition to him, were their sentiments to alter in his disfavour.

But a trial of their complaisance much more humiliating, and attended with much more serious consequences, was, that decree extorted by the clamours of this outrageous club, by which they divested themselves of one of the most valuable privileges that was

\* Though it be impossible to vindicate a very great portion at least of the French nation, who were as willing to execute and even prompt, as Robespierre, with his revolutionary tribunal, to enact bloody decrees, from the charge of a ferocious and blood-thirsty disposition, yet this disposition did not by any means appear in the French armies; which cherished even, in the bloody reign of Robespierre, ideas of military pride, honour and gallantry. While a whole section of Paris petitioned for the inhuman sacrifice of near a million of their fellow-citizens, the armies refused to carry the decree for granting no quarter to the English and Hanoverians into execution. Why did not the French soldiers turn their arms against the tyranny of Robespierre? Probably they would have done so, if they had not been actuated by a dread, and occupied in efforts to repeal external aggression, and the dominion of foreign masters.

attached to their station. Robespierre, whose aim extended to the entire enslavement of the Convention, had long borne with impatience that law by which the members were entitled to be heard in their own defence, before the passing an accusation against them: projecting to remove by degrees every member obnoxious to him, he clearly saw the difficulty of accomplishing such a design while that law existed. The capacity and eloquence of those whom he was chiefly bent to destroy, formed an impediment which might easily frustrate his attempts against them; and experience had shewn, that this privilege had been of essential utility to members in the most critical positions. He employed therefore his interest with the Jacobins to suppress this privilege, knowing their inveteracy to those members whom he proposed to attack after its suppression. The Convention could not certainly be unaware of his motives for making so bold an attempt; but either the number of his partizans in the metropolis was so great, and the influence of the Jacobins so extensive, that they apprehended an insurrection in favour of a measure that seemed equitable to the people, and placed them upon an equal footing with other citizens; or they refused to render themselves suspected by a man whose talents for intrigue and artifice were such, that even under the protection of this law, those who feared his machinations might not think themselves secure, and durst not therefore openly oppose its repeal, lest, if he could carry his point, which they much apprehended he would, not-

withstanding their opposition, he might immediately convert against them the success he had obtained, in despite of their endeavours to prevent it.

Whatever motives may have swayed the Convention at this time, the motion to repeal this privilege was warmly approved and recorded; and a decree was made to this purpose, to the great surprise of the public, which might well express its amazement at the readiness with which their representatives gave up one of the strongest safeguards of their freedom, and delivered themselves, as it were, into the hands of a man who was justly suspected of plotting the destruction of many of them, and, in order to accomplish it, had framed the very measure wherein they so passively acquiesced.

This compliance did them great prejudice in the public mind. Not only their personal freedom, but their official dignity was lost in the eyes of the multitude, as well as of him who had thus succeeded in degrading them, and who, emboldened by their want either of sagacity or of firmness, determined to stop at no measures in carrying into immediate execution the many others he now projected in consequence of his success in this one. He now unfolded the sentiments he had in some degree wrapped up before in the dark recesses of his mind: he explained himself with less ambiguity on those subjects that lay nearest to his unteasing heart: he unequivocally asserted, that the republic could not be preserved without the destruction of all its oppressors; and that to pity those who were condemned to suffer for their inimi-

cal attempts to subvert it, was to participate in their treason. Death without mercy ought, he explicitly insisted, to be the portion of all those who contributed in any shape to thwart the present system. Whoever afforded refuge or concealment to persons accused of conspiracy; those who corresponded by words or by writing with persons imprisoned on this account; jailors who aided or connived at this correspondence, were involved by him in the like punishment: and those who expressed dissatisfaction at revolutionary measures, he threatened with transportation.

The atrocities, of which the enumeration has filled so many pages in the various publications of those tempestuous times, became gradually so familiar to sight, as to be almost lost to feeling. The deprivation of relations and friends was submitted to, with a patience and resignation that arose neither from reason nor religion, but from an unmanly apathy that debased the soul and the understanding. Indifference to the public and selfishness, seemed to have extinguished both magnanimity and commiseration. The hourly evidence of the danger to which every one was exposed from capriciousness or cruelty, was not sufficient to open the eyes of men to the necessity of running all risks, in order to put an instant stop to horrors that threatened to involve, with little discrimination, individuals of all parties in one common scene of destruction.

To judge from the conduct of Robespierre, after he had obtained unlimited power, he was of no party. The enjoyment and the exercise of this power without fear or controul, was evidently the

sole object of his restless endeavours to attain it. Ambition alone, deeply tinged with political fanaticism, actuated him: it was not only the predominant, but almost the sole passion that characterized him; if he had any others, they were so subservient to this one, and so intimately blended with all its operations, as not to be distinguished from it.

Paris, that celebrated seat of gaiety, refinement, and elegance, was now become the residence of wretchedness and war. Scenes of distress were continually passing before the eyes of its inhabitants, without dividing the day from the night. Executions took up the one, and arrestations the other: yet, strange to relate, no man lifted his voice against the author of these calamities: only the calamity itself was deplored, and no one had the courage openly to vent his indignation at these barbarities. So thoroughly were people frozen with terror, that they beheld those processions of death move along the streets, in silent dread, that they themselves might shortly make part of them. Every individual trembled for himself, and hardly dared to bestow a tear on the fate of his neighbour. This cautiousness and timidity was the natural result of the dangers that hovered incessantly over every member of any genteel class of society: only the lowest, or rather the vilest of human beings, were exempt from them. The commonalty was now exclusively exalted into all that was respectable and worthy of respect: they alone were asserted to be not only the strength, but the honour of a nation. The meanest occupations were placed above the most polite and liberal; and superiority

variety of intellectual talents counted more dangerous than useful. The populace, in short, shielded under the honourable name of people, restricted all merit, esteem, and consideration to those branches of the community whose labours and ingenuity supplied it with the necessities and conveniences of life; all others were held useless or frivolous, and only tending to raise the artful and designing over the plain and well-meaning. These notions were daily spreading with extreme rapidity: and it was among the vilest of men that the most violent and outrageous partizans of Robespierre were found. The more decent conditions lived, of course, in continual apprehension of the others, whose envy and enmity was bent hand in hand to effect their humiliation. But it was not among the lower sort only that the basest of his instruments were selected: the more decent ranks supplied him with the less furious but still more despicable tribes of spies and informers that infested every social circle, and extinguished the enjoyments of friendship and intimacy, by rendering men suspicious of each other, and putting them on their guard against every face with which they were not perfectly well acquainted.

It was at this horrible period that the French rulers and their numerous abettors sunk to the lowest degradation that ever disgraced the character of any nation. The ties of domestic confidence and of family affection were so completely loosened, that servants thought they acted a meritorious part in betraying their masters; and, horrid to tell! the nearest and most dear relations became the victims of that trait which arose equally from na-

ture and necessity. Brothers were denounced by their brothers, parents by their sons, and sons by their parents. Such were the effects of that patriotism which taught mankind to trample on filial and paternal duties, and to stifle every sentiment of natural tenderness, whenever it stood in competition with the ordinances of the law. The abominable deeds of this kind, said to have been perpetrated in France, are so shocking as to remain almost incredible; and none but ocular witnesses have a right to relate them. On the other hand, in the midst of this horrible gloom were seen the brightest examples of courage, generosity in friendship, and constancy even to death, in various modifications of affection and love. Children exposed themselves to death for their parents, and parents for their children; husbands for wives, and wives for husbands; friends afforded an asylum to persecuted friends; and families of the emigrants, at the peril of their lives, made remittances for the support of their proscribed relations. The aspect of France at this calamitous period, very forcibly recalled to mind the description that is given of the Roman Emperor in the reign of Nero; when acts of despotism in constant succession, continual accusations, the treachery of friends, the ruin of innocence, and trial after trial, ending always in the same tragic catastrophe, are gloriously contrasted with the virtue of relatives and friends, bold and daring in a generous sympathy; mothers accompanying their emigrant sons; wives following their husbands into exile; and the fidelity of even slaves defying and spurning at the severest torture\*.

\* *Vide Tacit. Hist. cap. 2, 3.*

An apology for the enormities of the French at this time, commonly made by their friends and abettors, for such they had in our own as well as in other countries, is so singular, and truly characteristic of the insanity of party-rage, that it is worthy of being recorded. It was said that the excesses were no more than proportionable to their former oppressions; and the vicious habits and dispositions they manifested, were only the natural traits of an education under despotism; but that they or their descendants would be better members of society when they should be ameliorated by a republican government: so that the very atrocities committed by the Jacobins, were brought to bear against the fabric of the ancient monarchy.

The world at the same time ought to be reminded, that all these evils were produced by tyranny; which, whether in the hands of one or of many, never fails completely to subdue the noblest feelings and propensities of nature. Nations great and illustrious, when crushed by tyranny, have lost all those lofty sentiments and splendid qualities that dignify mankind, and induce the most mortal enemies to regard each other with a degree of esteem and respect. Long before the French, the Romans had given the most terrible examples of a murderous disposition, contracted by men exalted to despotic power through civil commotions; and of the servility and abjectness to which they had reduced mankind by their oppressions and cruelties. Were it not that history had recorded them in too circumstantial and authentic a manner to be denied, they might be justly reputed the fabrications

of calumny and of rancour: the victorious party.

In the mean time, the situation of the people, if credit may be given to persons of veracity, and counts not suspected of inclining to falsehood, was wretched and miserable in the extreme. Notwithstanding the general poverty and hard course of living to which the French had long been habituated, the vulgar now complained that their condition was become intolerable. They laboured under a want of the commonest necessaries. Of bread, their chief and only support, there was almost continual scarcity: meat was at an exorbitant price; and every article of sustenance and comfort, fuel especially, of constant difficulty to procure. When, by hunger and the extreme domestic distress, they laid their piteous case before their unfeeling rulers, they were to think of the victories and glories of the republic; and manfully endure their sufferings, while conducted to such noble exertions. True patriots, they were ought cheerfully to submit to temporary inconveniences for the honour and welfare of their country.

If such was the language to their acknowledged adherents, well might those who pleaded compassion to the suspected, with the sharpest reception meet a great number of women, husbands, brothers, or sons had arrested and thrown into jail, applied with the utmost humiliation to the Convention for their pity, those unhappy individuals; their entreaties and tears made a deep impression on the callous breasts

Robespierre

**Robespierre.** He loaded them with abuse and scurrility; charged them with counter-revolutionary projects and flying in the face of the Convention; and ordered them to depart in silence and submission to his decrees. Notwithstanding the repeated instances of his barbarous and brutal disposition, the adulation of his numerous partizans and admirers extolled him as a prodigy of patriotic virtue. The epithet of Incorruptible was always annexed to his name; he was styled the shield of the republic. He was described as possessing the firmness of a Roman, the self-denial of a Spartan, and the eloquence of an Athenian. He was compared to the Messiah, sent by Heaven to reform the world, and manifesting his mission by miracles. These, and a variety of other specimens of the basest adulation that could possibly be thought upon by the most sterile and worthless miscreants of the human race, were continually offered up as an homage due to his supereminent merit!

It is not surprising that the mind of Robespierre should have been incited by the incense of so much flattery; and that his vanity should have induced him to accept it as a tribute to which he was fully entitled. It was difficult, indeed, for him to deny himself the gratification arising from flattery, especially on such incessant invitations to indulge it. Exclusively of the numerous addresses pouring upon him, as it were, from all quarters, he seldom appeared abroad without a crowd of dependents surrounding him on every side, and vying with each other both in verbal and personal demonstrations of attachment. His looks were watch-

ed, and his smiles courted like those of a monarch; and when he spoke the profoundest silence and attention ensued. He wanted nothing, in short, of royalty but the formalities of a court; and those were amply supplied by the submission and deference which he commanded, both in private and public. In this career of intoxication he could not refrain from displaying the high opinion which he entertained of his deserts, and of how much importance he thought himself to the public. To this intent he repaired to the Convention on the 27th of May, two days after a supposed attempt against his person, and in a set speech of some length, dwelt with great fervour on the services rendered to the common cause by himself and his friends. He thanked God that these services had pointed him out to tyrants as an object of their vengeance. Unable to reach him by their own prowess, they had employed the dagger of domestic traitors and assassins. The French republic had now risen, he said, to the summit of its glory. Standing on the brink of conspiracies ready for successive explosion, the intrepid representatives of the nation claimed the united attention of heaven and earth: with one hand they offered up to the Almighty the homage of a great people; with the other they launched their thunderbolts with the greatest vengeance against the tyrants that were so bold, and without provocation, to molest against them.

This speech was perfectly suited to the temper and taste of a French audience, ever prepared to listen with applause to ideas that place them at the head of all mankind;

and



and represent their strength and, valour as fit to contend with the combined power of the universe. It was by representations of this kind that Robespierre had so frequently confirmed his popularity, and gained the applauses of the Parisians, who were peculiarly delighted with those affected and bombastic strains of oratory, that filled them with lofty notions, and soothed their national vanity.

But the speech made by Barrere on the 30th, tended much more directly to inflame the French against the British government. He explicitly attributed to it every sinister attempt against the Convention; and concluded by moving an address to the French armies, conceived in the most rancorous terms. England, he said, was capable of every outrage against humanity, and of every crime towards the republic: it attacked the rights of nations, and threatened to annihilate liberty. He exhorted his enemy to the British monarch in the most unqualified language. He laid a variety of charges to him, which amounted to no more than acts of hostility, committed since France and Great Britain were at war. But the inference he drew was truly savage and inhuman.—Addressing himself to the French soldiers: “When the event of battle,” he said, “shall have put in your power either English or Hanoverians, bring to your remembrance the past tracks of country that English slaves have laid waste; carry your views to La Vendée, Toulon, Lyons, Landrecy, Martinique, and St. Domingo, places still reeking with the blood which the atrocious policy of the English has shed. Do not trust to their artful language,

which is an additional crime worthy of their perfidious character and their Machiavelian government. You ought, therefore, republicans, when victory shall put your power either English or Hanoverians, to strike:—not that they ought to return to the torous territory of England, be brought into France. Let English slaves perish, and let France be free.”

Such were the preposterous contemptible effusions of Barrere against the English! They afford a genuine specimen of species of eloquence, and of veracity of representation, filled the mouths of those declaimers against the English occasionally started up in the Convention. The avidity with which those speeches were received by the generality of the French even by the Convention itself did no honour either to the discretion or probity of that people. It betrays an unpardonable readiness to admit as truth whatever tends to disparage an enemy, and render him odious. It is to be lamented, that men are prone to adopt such measures to vilify their foes, as are founded upon falsehood and misrepresentation. Natural enmity is enough between nations, without studying to encrease it by equally base and unwarrantable and which men of generous sentiments in all countries have always condemned, and held in horror.

In default of that proper behaviour and sentiments, so notoriously wanting in the Convention, that very class of men they sought to pervert to  
scan

audacious directions addressed to them, evinced by their conduct that they had a better sense of their own duty, and entertained more proper notions of the treatment reciprocally due to each other by nations at war, than their barbarous rulers, or rather indeed than those sanguinary men by whom they basely suffered themselves to be ruled. The bloody decree that was made, in consequence of this inhuman treaty, prohibiting quarter to be given to the English, was never carried into execution by the republican armies. The very contrary happened to what had been proposed by Barrere. When, thro' the events of war the English fell into the hands of the French, they treated them with the wonted humanity long practised by both nations.

But, notwithstanding the disinclination so positively manifested by the French military to obey instructions repugnant no less to the sense of war than to their own feelings, a decree of a similar nature was shortly after passed in the Convention, by which no quarter was to be given to the garrisons placed by the allies in the towns they had taken from France, if they refused to surrender within twenty-four hours after they had been summoned. This decree also met with the same disobedience as the other.

The power of Robespierre was now raised at such a height, that he was generally considered as fixed upon unshakable foundations. His popularity increased proportionably with the intelligence daily arriving of the victorious progress of the republicans; which was in a great measure attributed to his sagacity and the appointment of proper com-

manders. The municipality of Paris was implicitly at his devotion,—the places at his disposal,—and to which he nominated them preferably to others, were effectual means to secure their attachment. The revolutionary tribunal contained a large portion of them. That immense body, the Parisian national guards, were wholly at his orders, as he had the naming of all the principal officers in the forty-eight sections into which the metropolis was divided. This and that other military body, styled the Revolutionary Army, formed such a support, as seemed to place him out of the reach of all attack, founded on violence. The tide of popular opinion ran strongly in his favour; and his influence in the revolutionary societies was irresistible. That called the Jacobin Club, was totally under his management; and its numerous affiliations zealously propagated its principles throughout all France. The Cordelier club, which had ventured to displease him, he had suppressed; and no private or public assembly seemed inclined either to oppose or to differ from him.

The opinion of numbers of the most discerning individuals at this period was, that Robespierre had now a fair opportunity of perpetuating his power, by relaxing from his severity. He had destroyed a sufficient proportion of the enemies to the predominant system, to secure it from the attempts of those that remained. Had he laid aside that plan of proscription and terror by which, not only the foes to the revolution, but even its friends, were kept in a continual state of intimidation, the various parties into which the revolutionists had been split, were become so weary

of the confusion and uncertainty of the schemes wherein they had been bewildered, that they would gladly have united under such a one as would have embraced their general interests, and allowed every man, professing himself a republican, to claim and to exercise an undisturbed freedom of opinion and speech on that form of a republican government he might think most conducive to the public welfare; without being constrained to adhere to the ideas and measures of the present, or of any ruling party. This was the reputed scheme of Danton; and looked upon by judicious people as the most eligible in the actual circumstances of the nation: but as it did not seem to favour that perpetuity of power which Robespierre sought to fix in his own party, and held up maxims that might have weakened his personal interest and defeated his private views, his unbounded ambition, and settled determination to retain the sole power in his own hands, induced him to crush at once that scheme, by the destruction of its author, and to persecute, unrelentingly, all that appeared desirous to adopt it. Thus he continued the system of terror and tyranny without the least relaxation, or rather indeed with additional violence.

Among the many unfortunate individuals who were yet destined to be the victims of his barbarity, was that truly great and respectable man Lamoignon Maleshierbes. The justice due to his transcendent merit, had been shewn him at a time when France was governed solely by corruption and intrigue, and when the court consisted almost entirely of men without principle,

and whose views were directed in the most shameless and scandalous manner, to oppose the influence and exaltation of any man whom they suspected to be capable and inclined to set his face against their practices. The unhappy Louis XVI. who, if not a prince of very eminent abilities, was certainly the most virtuous man in his court, had however discernment enough to perceive, and equity to single out Maleshierbes as a person deserving the royal favour, and promoted him to a ministerial post of the highest dignity and importance. No choice ever did that monarch more, if so much honour. Maleshierbes justified it not only by the talents he displayed, but by an uprightness and integrity of conduct that won him the admiration and applause of a court sunk in all manner of vices; and his contempt and reprobation of which, he was above concealing. But that part of his character which will transmit him to the veneration of posterity, is the gratitude and intrepidity with which he undertook the defence of that unhappy monarch, when it was accompanied with the highest danger to himself, and when he must have been conscious that the party he thus had the spirit to oppose would watch him ever after with an eye of rancour, and that he would probably pay with his life for the magnanimity he had shewn. He was accordingly dragged from the retirement, wherein he had proposed to spend his latter days; and, upon some of those frivolous charges which were always at hand for the sanguinary purposes of the day, this venerable man, verging towards fourscore, was condemned to die by the guillotine.

many pretexts on merciless condemnation, was the correspondence with emigrants an unpardonable crime in the nearest relation, no less effectual, as of conspiracy; to persons imprisoned and accused, when no could be fabricated. sufficient, in cases of be suspected of a real the conspirators. A man, whose husband, ill, had warmly espoused of the revolution, finding a circumstance in favour, doomed to the presumption that mainly have taken part in, of which some in confinement were acting assisted each other in, though she made her trial that she was a traitor when the supposition was formed.

multitudes that suffered the tyranny of Robespierre foreigners of note; were Germans, and

Besides Anacharsis was mentioned, we remember, the celebrated man, who had fled to the hope of escaping the fate, of which he had, a portion of his life, the woful effects in arches;—he too fell at the guillotine, on a counter-revolutionary day. The two Englishmen Colonel Newton, in this rank in the his valour and service on the scaffold

for vindicating the conduct of the Brissotine party, and reprobating the other as oppressors and murderers. The other, the famous Thomas Payne, a man whose writings have made as much noise, and produced more conspicuous effects than those of any writer on similar subjects. As he was well known to be averse to the tyranny of Robespierre, he did not fail to incur his hatred; and was imprisoned on pretence of enmity to the state. He probably would have been sacrificed as well as many others, had that tyrant lived long enough to accomplish his and their destruction.

Were we to relate the barbarities of Robespierre, we would of necessity make them the subject of a separate volume. The following, which we have from unquestionable authority, is an indication of such complete callousness to all the feelings of humanity, that we cannot forbear giving it a place in this summary of the History of Europe:—A lady of the name of St. Amarante, thinking to secure the safety of her family by polite attentions to Robespierre, invited him to dine with her and her family and friends. Robespierre accepted her invitation, and was accompanied by one of his greatest intimates. Next day his friend told him, that, he (Robespierre) having drank more freely than ordinary at dinner, had let fall some things which it had been better to conceal. Having paused a little, he required a list of the names of all who were of the company, and also of the servants who waited at the table. A list of all these was immediately sent to him. In four-and-twenty hours Madame St. Amarante, her family, friends, and domestics, all perished

by the guillotine. The only wonder is, that his friends, through whom this fact afterwards transpired, was not included in the number. In the mind of Robespierre, all the sentiments of nature were so overborne and superseded by political fanaticism and phrenzy, that he regarded human beings merely as geometrical figures on which he could form systematic reasonings by abstraction, without the smallest emotion of humanity.

The conspiracies continually imputed to the unfortunate individuals shut up in the numerous prisons in Paris, afforded a fresh opportunity and pretence to treat them with the utmost rigour and barbarity that malice and inhumanity could jointly invent. They were deprived of every comfort of life. The more exalted and elegant their style of living had been, the more ready were their oppressors to make them feel the reverse of their condition. They were, without discrimination of rank or sex, thrust into the most horrid dungeons,—fed with the coarsest and most loathsome food,—exposed to the vilest taunts, raileries, and reproaches of their insolent and pitiless keepers. There was not, in short, a species of misery and horror left uncontrived and unexercised over the victims condemned by the cruelty of the ruling powers to those lamentable abodes. Every affliction that can

beset human nature, and render death preferable to life, was here daily and hourly experienced; and the reality of that vulgar but significant expression, *a hell upon earth*, was here exhibited in the most horrible extent.

While these tragic scenes were acted within the prisons of the metropolis, the reign of terror was spreading its baleful influence without, and filling all classes of the community with consternation. All party and principle were daily ceasing to be safeguards to the warmest partizans of liberty, people hardly knew what maxims to avow, and what political persuasion to embrace. They were all equally dangerous, unless they were accompanied with an unreserved submission to the governing power, and an implicit acquiescence in the multitude of all its measures. The terror infused by those atrocities began however to be attended with commiseration. The prodigious increase of the number of prisoners was a sufficient motive for general alarm,—no one knowing how soon his name might be added to the list. It was at this time enormous, amounting to near 8000 persons, inclosed within the jails of Paris only. Hence may be conjectured what the number must have been of those confined in all the prisons of France!

#### C H A P. VIII.

*Motives of Submission to Robespierre. These Motives begin to cease, and Discontents to arise. Party formed against him. Robespierre increases the Power of the Committee of Public Safety, and of General Security. The Decree to this Intent opposed by Bourdon de l'Oise, and others. Opposition to Robespierre gathers Strength. His Conduct, in order to counteract it, and preserve his*

*with the People. He procures the Passing of three Popular Decrees for the speedy Payment of Prince Monty to Schmin,—the Second, with Impartation of forged Assignats,—the Third, to encourage Mining—and the Fourth, for the Relief of the Poor, and People in Distress of the Party forming against Robespierre. His Conduct is the Death of the Jacobin Club. Designs of which he is suspected. was intruded by him. Conduct of the Party formed against him. Denunciation presented by the Jacobins to the Convention of Robespierre. He makes a Speech in the Convention in his Enemies and Opposers. He is resolutely opposed by the Convention. His Cause violently espoused by the Jacobins. His Address of St. Just to the Convention. Speeches and Debates, of Billaud Varannes, and of Barrère.*

NOT the campaign of 1794, and the first months of 1795, the uncertainty of the fortune ultimately to result from the terms of France, full of dissensions and fears but related to the subjugation of the French. To impede those plans then formed, and were in a stage of execution for a defence, they felt only the safety of the country; contrary domestic, however preferable to a foreign war. To this motive, added the prospect of their prosperity of their country be attributed the part which they submitted of hardships and inconvenience of all kinds oppressing the people, and particularly to the severity of their government. But when the dangers threatened from a foreign war to vanish, and they were delivered from the prospect of a conquered nation, they began also to turn their eyes to their domestic situation. They continued to the ruling powers, and were viewed by the people as

their conduct at home with a more observant and criticising eye. Though this change in the disposition of the public did not immediately manifest itself in a glaring manner, yet it was very perceptible to attentive observers, and accelerated those measures that had been some time in preparation among that party which, though checked and intimidated by the fall of several on whose co-operation they had depended, still continued in the determination to put a stop to the progress of the present system, as soon as an opportunity offered of attempting it without evident hazard of ruin.

This party consisted of the most able and resolute men in the Convention; they read their own destiny in that of Danton, Camille Desmoulins, and Fabre d'Eglantine. No members of that body had served him with more efficacy. To the first he owed his primary elevation to power; and had long been supported by his great courage and capacity. The wit and address of the second, and the unwearied activity of the third, were well known, and had occasionally enabled him to overcome great opposition, and to overthrow very dangerous enemies.

mies. Nevertheless, he destroyed them on suspicion of their seeking to relax the system of terror; by which only, it seems, he thought himself secure. The destruction of three such men, convinced their friends that no safety remained but in the removal of Robespierre; and that if they were not expeditious, he would anticipate them. Full of this conviction, they determined, at all events, to carry their point, and, if necessary, to put him to death in the Convention, and trust to their country for an approbation of the deed.

This however seems to have been the last remedy they proposed to apply to, for a cure of the evils resulting from his tyranny. They resolved in the mean time, before coming to this extremity, to undermine his influence gradually, and to place him in such a situation, as to render him amenable to the formal justice of his country. They had vigilantly waited for an occasion of doing this with propriety, and without seeming to intend a rupture with him. One at length presented itself, precisely of such a nature. Whether Robespierre had any particular measure in contemplation, to the execution of which he might not think the powers of the two committees of public and general safety fully adequate; or whether he only intended to supply them with additional powers for any occasion that might occur, he thought it necessary they should be enlarged. With this view he procured a decree, by which they were empowered to consign to the revolutionary tribunal whomsoever they might think fit objects of national severity. This decree was made on the 9th

of June, the day after the festival, wherein he had in pompous a figure; and it as many other decrees of imposing had done, without dictation, and with very little deliberation.

But the following day a new scene. This decree clearly intended to rivet the of the Convention, that th in opposition to Robespier the necessity of repelling it diately: they saw no less opportunity of exposing the rantable designs he was against the authority of the Convention. A man of great int undertook, on this occasion, forward in asserting the rig the dignity of the Convention. This was Bourdon de L'Oise firmness had already been d in some very critical instance demanded of the president v by the power vested in the committees, they were authorized to bring the national deputies before the revolutionary tribunal?

This question roused at the whole Convention. Surprised indignation at the treatment paring for them was expressed by numbers, who had not pretended at first to the consequences involved in that decree. Bourdon de L'Oise did not neglect to encourage the spirit that he lived in the Convention. He congratulated the members on the proof they had given of their which they entertained privileges and of their Presuming, therefore, that they could never have intended to vest the committees with the power of bringing the national deputies before the revolutionary

It proposed, that the Convention should formally decree, that the committees, while they preserve the right of arresting the members of the Convention, should not however consign them to the revolutionary tribunal until a decree of accusation had been passed against them by their fellow-deputies. It was additionally moved by another member, of great conspicuity and importance, Merlin of Douai, that the right of passing acts of accusation against its own members, and of directing the tribunals to try them, was exclusively lodged in the Convention.

The passing of these motions was the first check to the power of Robespierre that he had ever experienced in the Convention. It was a mortification which, from the recent display of his consequence two days before, he had little expected. He seemed, from this day, to have lost much of his confidence. He neither shewed himself in the committees, nor in the Convention. Here a large and spirited party was decidedly forming against him. The committee of general security was no less hostile; and in that of public safety, the most considerable part of the members were no less his enemies.

This was a mortifying reverse of his former situation. He bore it, however, with great coolness of temper, and employed himself in devising means to counteract the schemes of his adversaries; of which, through the numerous tribes of spies and informers at his command, he had sufficient intelligence. Though personally absent from the Convention, he was highly solicitous, through the medium of his two most intimate and trusty agents,

St. Just and Couthon, to labour for the preservation of his popularity, by procuring a number of salutary laws to be passed. Those which principally deserve mention, were the regulations in favour of seamen entitled to prize-money; the equitable distribution of which was very judiciously provided for. Another national service of importance, was the prevention of the pernicious effects to the public finances, so much dreaded and expected from the deluge of counterfeit assignats now poured into France from foreign parts. Thro' the arrangements made to obviate their circulation, they proved of little detriment where it was intended they should have done most. Not more than 6000*l.* sterling of these forged notes found their way to the treasury. The remainder fell upon the people at large.

A decree was passed for the regulation of military promotions. One-third of the posts, from a sub-lieutenant to a chief of battalion, were, by this decree, appropriated to those who had signalized themselves by their bravery; one-third was to be conferred according to seniority; and another third by election. By this arrangement the first vacancy in every corps was given to seniority, the second by election, and the third was disposed of by the Convention. A list of those preferred for their valour and services was ordered to be published every decade, and distributed throughout the army. The effect of this regulation was prodigious: it instantly excited a spirit of emulation, that pervaded all the armies of the republic. To the enthusiasm that already animated them, the prospect of remuneration was



now added. Those whom the former motive did not so much influence as the latter, found the recompense they desired; and no man henceforth would have to complain of neglect, or of unequitable usage.

A law was also passed for the relief of mendicants, and the prevention of mendicity. The multitudes who subsisted by the begging of alms, were prohibited from appearing in the public roads, and bound to reside in houses appointed for them, and where they would be provided with employment suitable to every one's age and capacity for labour. Blindness and other calamities that claimed the humanity of the public, were also taken into consideration. The decrees for the above purposes took place in the course of June and July.

During these two months, the victories obtained by the French over the powers combined against them, in every country wherein the war was waged, seemed to cast a lustre on the administration under which they were so triumphant, that would induce the public to look with indulgence on its errors and deficiencies in other respects. But the cruelties of Robespierre were of a nature not to admit of exculpation. They came home to every man's feelings so acutely, and with so tremendous an aspect, that the whole mass of society was evidently interested in providing speedily against their continuance. In the persuasion that such was the disposition of all reputable people, the party that had been some time busied in concerting measures against the ruling powers, proceeded with additional vigour and celerity in

bringing them to maturity. The head of this party were D<sup>h</sup>Herbois, Tallien, Freron, Bourdon de L'Oise, and LeG. They were all men of noted a and intrepidity. The latter ha the intimate friend of Dante lamented his death so bitterly many were astonished at the bearing of Robespierre, in ing a man to exist whom he to be his inveterate enemy, live in the strictest union w it. In opposition to him. Nor less surprising that, know he did, the intentions har against him, he should ha mained inactive himself, and to the exertions of his pa. Even they condemned his from the scenes of cont wherein they were involved account; and thought it wou been more becoming the so formidable a party to hav ed it in person, than to h involved upon them alone the confronting his enemies, th ber of which was hourly inc. The more decent classes beheld his conduct with a fil secret detestation, that wait for an occasion to shew it whatever zeal the lowe espoused his cause. The gre bers among them who had through his tyranny, had les and relations, whose resent could not stifle, and who w wanting in the means, as we inclination, to represent an odious light. Thus he guard against the low as the better sort; and he m seen how imprudently he b by indulging that pronene elty which had created b mics in so many different q

The insidious with which he was tainted at this time was, however, more apparent than real. He absented himself indeed from the Convention and the committee during six weeks; but this interval was taken up in devising every possible method for counteracting the designs forming against him, and in forming plans to unite all his partizans for his and their defence in the critical hour that was approaching, and which, he strongly represented to them, would decide their fate no less than his own. But while he estranged himself from the committees and the Convention, he did not neglect the Jacobin club. In the former he possibly thought that his presence might involve him in altercations, which he chose to avoid till the measures he was taking for himself were completed; but in the latter, he knew himself to be possessed of so decided a majority, that he apprehended no contradiction or censure upon any proposal he might think proper to make. Here it was therefore that he chose for the present to use his principal exertions. He appeared in the Jacobin club on the 1st of July, where he made a long speech relating to his conduct. He observed that he was equally persecuted by domestic and foreign enemies. The misrepresentations and calumnies retailed against him in the Parisian papers, were seen at the same hour in the London publications in the pay of the British ministry. He insisted that a conspiracy existed in the bowels of the republic for its subversion, and pointed out the party, known by the name of Indulgents, as accessory to the treasonable designs in agitation,

Certain it is, that a variety of reports, highly detrimental to his interest, had been industriously circulated. Some of them were improbable and inconsistent; but others appeared so much in conformity with his character, that they gained general credit. He was accused of intending to procure himself a nomination to supreme and absolute power, under the title of Dictator; and to appoint St. Just and Couthon his coadjutors. Whether such a triumvirate was really or not in his contemplation, is hard to decide. Though his ambition was boundless, and his vanity excessive, he was not, probably, so deluded by it as to imagine that the French were so enfeebled by terror as passively to admit of an explicit and formal establishment of tyranny. While they beheld the forms of a republic, they might, as had often happened in other countries, submit to the most real despotism; but to assume the name, as well as the authority of an absolute master, would be an insult which the nation would not bear. It is not likely therefore that he should entertain such ideas. He was already possessed of sovereign power; and the mere addition of a title could only have endangered his authority, together with his life. But another report was abroad and firmly believed. In the committee of public safety a powerful combination had been formed against him. Having discovered the parties, and resolved to destroy them, he had, according to custom, inserted their names in a list of persons whom he intended to proscribe. Unhappily for him, this list was found upon a member of the revolutionary jury, who had been arrested. The proscription

scription included thirty national deputies. A report of this nature alarmed the whole of that party which was leagued for his destruction; and they immediately determined on its quickest acceleration.

Robespierre, though checked in the Convention, still relied on his associates in the clubs and popular societies, but especially in the municipality of Paris. He hoped, at the worst, that were he to lose his influence over the Convention, he would be able to overawe it in the same manner as had happened in the preceding year, when the citizens of Paris rose upon the Convention, and compelled it by force to yield to their demands. He had been so fortunate in all his contests for power, that he entertained little doubt of success in the present struggle; nor was it doubted at the time that, had he prevailed over his opponents, they would have been sacrificed in the same manner as Brissot and his party.

The nearer the day of decision drew, the more unsettled and uncertain appeared the determinations of his adversaries. Their inimical resolutions were the same; but how to execute them was now the question. They knew not how far they would be supported without doors; and even in the Convention they knew not precisely their own strength. What they chiefly depended on was, that the moment a considerable number of members of the first respectability had declared themselves, they would instantly be joined by a great number, probably a majority, if not the whole Convention, with the sole exception of Robespierre's chief intimates and immediate agents,

This expectation they looked upon as so justly founded, that they built upon it as a certainty. Had they not indeed deemed themselves in such a situation, it would have argued unpardonable temerity to encounter such an enemy on mere presumption; unless indeed one should suppose that, conscious he had devoted them to destruction, they saw no other way to escape it than by risking their lives, which otherwise they must lose at all events.

It appeared however on the 23d. day of July, that they were not finally prepared how to act. Barrere, who headed the party in the committees, found himself obliged on that day to assume the mask of dissimulation, and to speak a language very different from what he would have held, had he thought himself at liberty to express his sentiments. He warned the Convention to be on their guard against conspiracies, and to adhere faithfully to government.

The enemies of France, he said, were labouring to plunge it into trouble and confusion; but the Convention, he hoped, would not slumber on its danger, though in the midst of victories. The government established in France was odious to all crowned heads from its energy: they saw with equal rage and impotence, that the French armies were irresistible, and had humbled everywhere the enemies of the republic; while at home, conspiracy and rebellion were constantly frustrated. Two days after, he made another speech much to the same effect; wherein he mentioned the existence of a counter-revolutionary plot, and the delusion of some misguided or perverted citizens, who were seeking

to renew the disorders of the 31st of May in the preceding year. He compared the triumphant state of France, under the present administration, to the situation it was in when convulsed with factions.

Whether these speeches answered the end for which they were calculated, which was, it may be presumed, to deceive Robespierre and his party into security; or whether, being apprized of the machinations against them, it only served to increase their vigilance. It appeared by their proceedings, that they placed no farther confidence in the Convention: the Jacobins were now their main support. Here it was that an address to the Convention was procured, of a more inflammatory nature than had ever been penned by this audacious society. Herein the Jacobin club formally denounced a domestic faction, framed and conducted by the intrigues of foreigners, and aiming at the ruin of the Convention and the committees. This denunciation, however vague and inaccurate, was clearly levelled at the parties opposed to Robespierre; and shewed in what manner he proposed to act against them. It was time they should come to a decision how to proceed for their own safety; and yet it does not seem that, to the very moment when he began his attack upon them, they had concerted any fixed mode of attacking him. Probably they imagined that his assurance and vanity would afford them more advantages than they could derive from any preconcerted scheme. It may be presumed therefore that they waited vigilantly for such an opportunity, which soon offered itself.

Emboldened by their apparent backwardness, and thinking perhaps they were beginning to shrink from the contest, Robespierre first entered the lists, and dared them, as it were, to the encounter. On the 21st of July 1794, the day that followed the denunciation by the Jacobin club, he resolutely mounted the tribune of the Convention, after an absence of six weeks from that assembly, and delivered a long and affected speech on the state of affairs, not forgetting to take notice of the accusation that he aspired to the place of dictator. He violently disclaimed such an idea, and studiously reviled the imputation; which he attributed to the malicious enmity of the British ministry. He bitterly complained of the calumnies cast upon him, both by his foreign and domestic foes. The former he said were the avowed enemies of the republic, and well known; but the latter he would not name. They might however be recognized by the virulence with which they combated his endeavours to establish religion and morality. He severely blamed the neglect of those on whom it was incumbent to carry into execution the decree against giving quarter to the English; which had not in a single instance been complied with. He concluded by an accusation of the members of the committees of public safety and general security, the majority of whom concealed their traitorous views by a base pretence to patriotism.

The severity of these insinuations, contained in this speech, called up several members; who retorted upon Robespierre in terms equally severe. When it was moved,

moved, as usual, that his speech should be printed, his first and most resolute opponent, Bourdon de L'Oise, opposed the motion, and insisted on its being previously referred to the examination of the committees. This occasioned a violent altercation between him and Couthon, who required the publication of it without a preliminary inspection. He complained at the same time, that a system of calumny had been introduced into the Convention by some perfidious members. But he was answered with great spirit, that the season of intimidation was now over. Robespierre himself, as well as his partizans, met with undaunted replies. The violence of the debate increasing, and hints being thrown out on the boldness of some expressions, Freron exclaimed, that without freedom of opinion, there could be no liberty, and demanded that no member should be arrested for that freedom; without which no man could speak his mind with safety. After a warm discussion of the several points that were spoken to, the motion for printing Robespierre's speech was finally carried.

Elate with an advantage, which he had not obtained without the most mortifying opposition, he hastened to the Jacobin club, where he read his speech; which was received with the highest applause. Heated with the business of the day, and urged by the influence of the club, Couthon had the audacity to denounce the two committees as guilty of treason. Couthon, a man of an overbearing disposition, called, in the harshest terms, for a purification of the Convention itself. The meaning of which was, to destroy every

member in the opposition to Robespierre and his party.

From the tyrannical temper of Robespierre, it was imagined that he would, on this juncture have taken violent measures against his opponents; but he perceived the danger of openly violating personal liberty without some ostensible sanction for such a step; and as no law could authorize him, he forbore, and thought it more advisable to employ his remaining credit in the Convention, and his influence out of doors, for the preservation of his power, or at least for the security of his person and party from the inimical designs that were evidently meditated by his opponents.

His trusty colleagues, St. Just and Couthon, resolved on this occasion firmly to exert their utmost abilities in his and their cause. The former was not deficient in courage and capacity; but his impetuosity and presumption were still greater. He exhibited a fatal instance of this in the very first words he uttered in the Convention on this day, which was the 27th of July. After informing the assembly that he was directed by the committees to make a report on the state of the republic, he subjoined, that the remedies which they had proposed were ineffectual for the cure of public grievances, and he would therefore speak to the Convention from himself. So presumptuous an exordium excited the indignation of his audience to such a degree, that he was immediately struck silent. Tallien vigorously seized this opportunity for striking a decisive blow. He resolutely compelled St. Just to quit the tribune; of which having taken possession, he exposed in strong terms

was the insolence of both St. Just and Robespierre: the former had this day, as the latter had the day before, assumed the unconstitutional and unwarrantable freedom of presenting reports to the Convention in their own name: instead of those they ought, as directed, to have presented in the name of the committee. Abject indeed was the situation of the republic, when private citizens dared thus, upon their own authority, to dictate to its representatives.

Tallien was powerfully seconded by Billaud Varennes. He laid before the assembly the outrageous behaviour of the Jacobins on the preceding day; their menaces of death to several members of the Convention, and their accusations of crime, whose characters were irreproachable. Saying this, he pointed at one present, who had been guilty of those enormities, and who was instantly arrested by order of the assembly. He then proceeded to tell them that feeble measures in the present case would be their ruin, as they were fallen into the hands of men determined to murder them. The military of Paris was entrusted to the command of two men, the devoted creatures of Robespierre; and whom he continued in that post in violation and defiance of the law. Billaud, in addition to these, enumerated other instances of Robespierre's illegal conduct in matters of great importance, especially his criminal infringements of personal liberty: and lastly, adverted to the design he had clearly manifested of expelling from the Convention all the members who were not of his party; and of rendering himself absolute by corrupting the military force of the metropolis. After this bold ex-

planation, Billaud demanded, in a loud and firm tone of voice, whether the representatives of the French nation had reconciled themselves to the idea, and were content to live under a tyrant. No, no, was the exclamation from all parts of the hall. Emboldened by this reply, he detailed farther particulars of Robespierre's flagitious conduct, and concluded by asserting that either he or the Convention must perish.

Robespierre, in the mean time, was struck with silent amazement at the unexpected and dreadful attack made upon him, and supported by so decided a majority. Collecting his spirits, he would have moved towards the tribune, intending to speak; but was deterred by Tallien's drawing a dagger, and vowing that he himself would plunge it into his heart unless the Convention delivered him over to the sword of justice. Tallien followed up this menace with a violent speech, wherein he compared Robespierre to Sylla; and particularized the despotic attempts of his principal adherents. He then moved that the sittings of the Convention should be declared permanent, until the law had been executed upon the guilty, and that Robespierre should be arrested, together with his accomplices. The decree to this end was passed immediately and unanimously. The arrest included all the staff of the national guard of Paris, together with Dumas, president of the revolutionary tribunal, who had in the Jacobin club abetted and promoted its rebellious proceedings.

Barrere now laid the report of the committee of public safety before the Convention. In consequence of the representations it contained,

contained, of the necessity of placing the Parisian military on a footing of subordination to the Conventional authority, and of preventing its becoming the instrument of a faction, it was decreed that all ranks superior to that of chief of a legion, should be suppressed; and that, conformably to the original organization of the national guards of the metropolis, every chief of a legion should take his turn in the

command of the whole body. The mayor of Paris, and the commander in chief of the military, were strictly enjoined to watch over the safety of the Convention; and were to answer with their lives for neglect in preventing or suppressing commotions. Barrere then seconded the speeches made against Robespierre, by adducing a variety of circumstances in proof of his criminality.

## CHAP. IX.

*Robespierre's Party rises in his Support. He is outlawed by the Convention. Further Measures taken against his Party. The Majority of People, especially the better Sort, declare against him. Robespierre and his Party are overcome. He is seized, condemned to die, and executed with his principal Accomplices. His Character. Satisfaction expressed by the Populace at his Fall. New Arrangements made by the Convention. Satisfaction of all Ranks of People at his Death. System of Moderation adopted. Measures proposed in the Nation at large, and resolved upon in the Convention, to prevent the Return of Tyranny. Provisional System of Government framed by Barrere, and adopted by the Convention. Sentiments of Europe on the Power of Robespierre. Affairs relating to France and America. Diffentions in the Convention, and Accusation of several of its Members. They are honourably acquitted. Attempts to assassinate Tallien. Imputed to the Jacobin Club. Reasons assigned for this Measure. Punishment of Carrier and his Accomplices, for their Cruelties in La Vendée and Nantes. Terms offered to the Insurgents. Members of the Convention, imprisoned during Robespierre's Administration, liberated and restored to their Seats. Repeal of the Edict for giving no Quarter to the English.*

**R**OBESPIERRE, deeply sensible of his danger, endeavoured to obtain a hearing, and had mounted the tribune for that purpose; but as soon as he was perceived there, he was universally assailed with the cry of Down with him. You shall not speak, said a member to him:—the blood of Danton is upon your head; it flows into your throat; it chokes you. Is it Danton then? exclaimed Robespierre, bewildered with rage. Over-

whelmed at last by the denunciations of his manifold iniquities poured upon him without mercy from every quarter,—lead me then, he cried, in the voice of despair, to immediate death. Execrable monster! a member exclaimed, thou hast deserved it an hundred times. In this horrible state he had the consolation, if he was capable of any, of seeing his two intimates, Lebas and Couthon preserve their attachment to him, and courageously de-

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and that, as they had been partakers of his better fortune, they might now share in his adversity. They were accordingly included in the arrest, together with St. Just and Robespierre's brother, who seems to have provoked his fate by his audacious behaviour to the Convention.

Such was the habitual terror in which individuals had been held by Robespierre, that the officer charged to take him into custody, was at a stand whether to obey; till he himself signified his readiness to comply. He was led with his fellow-prisoners to the prison of the Luxembourg; but the police-officer on duty there, one of his adherents, refused to take charge of the prisoners: upon which they were conducted to the town-house, rather in a sort of triumph than as persons under an arrest.

These extraordinary proceedings were soon reported over all Paris. Robespierre's party assembled immediately under their leaders; and the Jacobin club endeavoured to excite the people to insurrection. The alarm-bells rung; numbers armed themselves; and guns were brought against the hall of the Convention. Henriot, commander in chief of the national guards, had been arrested, pursuant to the Convention's decree; but had found means to escape, and to collect a body of men, which he divided into three parts. One was stationed at the town-house, as a guard to the municipality; another was dispatched against the committee of public safety; and the other against the Convention itself. This arrangement of their force inspired the party of Robespierre, which had formed a regular assem-

bly at the town-house, with so much confidence, that they declared the Convention enemies and traitors to the state, and themselves the true representatives of the people.

The Convention, alarmed at this bold and desperate measure, and conscious that their lives were at stake, lost no time in preparing the most vigorous measures against their adversaries. They began by proclaiming a sentence of outlawry against all those who formed the meeting at the town-house. Le Gendre and Barras, two men of known intrepidity, were placed at the head of the military, and of others who had repaired to their assistance. Seven other members were deputed to the principal parts of the metropolis, to issue in each a proclamation explaining the real state of the case between the Convention and its opposers. These deputies exerted themselves with so much expedition as well as prudence, that long before night the different sections of Paris were secured to the Convention, and solemnly renewed their oaths of fidelity to that body, as sole representatives of the nation.

The principle that now operated most essentially in favour of the Convention, was, that very terror by which Robespierre had kept the public in subjection. Released from their fears, people now gave the reins to their inclinations and real sentiments. As those only who subsisted through his tyranny were interested in its support, an immense majority appeared instantly against it. The reputable classes, who embraced the opportunity of throwing off so cruel a yoke, seized the auspicious hour when  
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the alarm-bells were ringing; they rose unanimously, as it were, by instinct the moment they were apprized of the cause; and, running through the streets, loudly exhorted every one to fly to the aid of the Convention.

In the mean time, Henriot, at the head of his division, made an attempt on the Thuilleries, where the Convention held its sittings: but on their proclaiming him outlawed, his officers and soldiers followed him directly; and he withdrew with this distressing intelligence to his associates at the town-house.

Their affairs were now in a desperate situation. In addition to this check, Le Gendre had dispersed the Jacobin club and all their partizans, and was now at the head of a numerous body of soldiers

and citizens, determined and prepared to defend the Convention. The only remaining enemy subdued was the force collected the support of Robespierre and chiefs of his party, assembled at the town-house. That force never was so considerable, that it retained its attachment to the party, and acted with vigour in defence, the issue of the combat would have been very doubtful. But relying on the effect which the scheme of outlawry had produced, the Convention resolved to attack their enemies with that weapon in conjunction with the soldiers and citizens appointed for that service at three o'clock in the morning. On the 29th Bourdon de L'Infernet put himself at their head, and marched directly to the town-house. He halted at the front of it,

\* The heads of the Robespierrian party had withdrawn from the hall of the Convention to the town-house of Paris. Robespierre himself was in the midst of them, in the full possession of his influence over the sections of Paris and the national guard. The Convention were under a kind of blockade in their hall, against which was pointed a number of cannon. Henriot, the right hand of Robespierre, was at the head of the armed force, which invested it on every side. The first who moved the outlawry of Henriot was Barras. Several members of the Convention made an effort to get out of their hall, and to promulgate this sentence to all Paris; but they were opposed and driven back. But a thought struck the members, that the sentence of outlawry might be signified to Henriot by their ushers or door-keepers: and this expedient completely answered the purpose for which it was intended. The usher made his way through the national guards, and delivered the decree of outlawry into the hands of Henriot; threw it into the messenger's face without looking at it, saying, "Go back to those who sent thee to me, and tell them that I laugh at both them and their decrees." But when the man had gone, on a little reflection, he said, "I see, however, what those rascals would be at." On reading the contents of the paper, he was in great agitation, and coming again to his troops, said, in a strong voice, "Would you believe it? They have outlawed me." Having said this, he hastened to the town-house. The first of Robespierre's adherents met him, pushed him under the stair-case with great disdain. "Go," said they, "you are a coward." The instant Henriot deserted his post, the cannons, pointed against the Thuilleries, were turned against the town-house, Barras was appointed commandant of the military force of Paris, and Robespierre was thrown:—a very striking proof, that the greatest revolutions and fate of nations may sometimes depend upon the sudden and unaccountable emotions of a mind.

and the declaration of outlawry; on which the national guards refused all further obedience and adherence to the party they had been brought together to defend. Nothing was left to do, but to seize the heads of that party. Bourdon de L'Oise, accompanied with a sufficient force, rushed into the town-house, where the dismay they were under, made their discomfiture a task of no difficulty. Most of them were seized, and most of them who escaped for the present were speedily taken.

Robespierre was found alone in one of the rooms of the town-house. He had discharged a pistol in his mouth, which had broke his under-jaw. He held a knife in his hand, apparently with the intention of dispatching himself; but a soldier who discovered him, thinking he meant to employ it in his defence, fired a pistol, which wounded him in the side. His brother threw himself out of a window, and broke his leg and an arm; Couthon stabbed himself, but not mortally; only Lebas shot himself dead on the spot. Henriot, in the mean time, was endeavouring, from one of the windows of the town-house, to prevail by his entreaties on the soldiers who had been under his command, not to desert the cause they had promised faithfully to defend; but he was seized while he was speaking, and hurled headlong upon the stones, where he was killed to death.

The circumstances attending the last hours of Robespierre were terrible. He was first conveyed to the house of the committee of general security, where he was laid on a table, weltering in the blood that flowed from his wounds. A

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message being sent to the Convention to know whether he should be brought before them, the answer was, "that such a monster should no more disgrace them by his presence." The agony of his mind corresponded with that of his body. The one seemed torn with the most violent remorse and agitation, and the other convulsed with the most excruciating pain and anguish. In this condition he was carried to the Hotel Dieu, an hospital for the reception of the sick and hurt of the lowest and most wretched classes. Here his wounds were dressed, merely to enable him to go through the forms of justice. He was then removed to that prison, the Conciergerie, whither he had sent so many others, and brought from thence before the revolutionary tribunal, with his accomplices; where Fouquier Tinville, the public accuser, his intimate and his creature, was officially compelled to demand sentence of death against him and them. He was conducted in their company to the place of execution, where he had caused such numbers to die, loaded all the way with the execrations of a multitude that exceeded any numbers ever assembled before on such an occasion:—to desirous were all people to glut their eyes with a sight of a being so celebrated for his iniquities, and so deservedly punished for them.

The principal of those who suffered with him, were his brother, Couthon, St. Just, Henriot, Dumas, Fleuriot, mayor of Paris, Vivres, president of the Jacobin club, and fourteen others of inferior notice. In the morning of this memorable day, the 29th of July, they were deeply busied in the most daring and dangerous conspiracy that ever threat-

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ened the Convention. The resolution of those who formed it, their abilities, their numbers, strength, and influence, were every way equal to the object they proposed; and it was rather uncertain for a while, whether they would not succeed: but at five in the afternoon their vast projects had been overthrown, and they were all no more.

The character of Robespierre has exercised the ingenuity of various writers:—they all agree in reprobating his conduct; but they frequently differ in their opinion of his capacity. But in speaking of a man so well known by his actions, these alone are sufficient to convey an adequate idea of his abilities, as well as to shew the frame of his mind, and by what motive he was actuated. The features most predominant in his character, were, the lust of power, dissimulation, and cruelty. He had none of those magnanimous sentiments that occasionally counterpoise the very worst of vices, and command some respect for individuals for whom no real attachment can be felt. His vicious inclinations were always predominant: they were at the bottom of all the deep and latent views that perpetually occupied his thoughts. The only two qualities he had, which might be styled commendable, were contempt of money and impenetrable secrecy. By the first of these, he obtained the fame of

disinterestedness and integrity: by the second, he was enabled to win the confidence of those with whom he was connected: considering him as an individual of great prudence and discretion, they trusted him the more readily with their own secrets. It was chiefly by these means, aided by an easy and impressive eloquence, not unfrequently adorned with the energetic brevity of a profound and bold sentiment \* and a steady courage, that he rose into reputation, and gained the knowledge of those men whom he was desirous to cultivate, and of those measures which he sought to guide. He had arrived at the age of thirty before he attracted particular notice. His parts did not seem calculated for any exalted situation, nor even for much exertion in the ordinary occurrences of life. His person was the reverse of prepossessing; his aspect was sickly; and the cheerfulness that usually marks his countrymen, was not visible in any of his features: yet, with all these disadvantages, the necessity of rendering himself acceptable to those who employed him in the line of his profession, which was the law, had taught him obsequiousness and complaisance. He thereby procured himself the goodwill of his acquaintances, and, through their means, together with his parts, made an advantageous figure at the bar in his native city of Arras, the capital of the province of Artois. The credit and

\* At a meeting of his political friends, during the trial of the King, when some of them seemed doubtful and wavering in their resolutions how to act Robespierre, with a very serious and significant look, said, "If Lewis XVI. be not guilty, what are you?" This produced an immediate effect—many voted for the death of the King, through the fear of death to themselves.

when he was in at the time when the court thought it necessary to convoke the States General, procured his election as deputy to the *Tiers Etat*. Here his behaviour at first was cautious and moderate; and he seems to have enjoyed the favourable opinion of his fellow-members. His principles however were completely popular, and his declamations in union with the opposition to court. He did not at this period shine much as an orator; being rather bold than argumentative. It was not till towards the close of the constituent assembly that he was held in any consideration as a speaker: by this time his faculties had expanded; and through assiduity of practice, and study of those models continually before him, especially of Mirabeau and Barnave, he attained at length to a degree of oratorical merit that strongly recommended him to the notice of his party. His ambitious disposition began now to operate. Favoured by the commonalty, with many of whom the intrigues of the time had made him acquainted, he readily perceived to what use they could be converted, and of course of what importance he might render himself by the influence he could exert over them. But the connexion which laid the foundation of his subsequent power, and raised him to the summit of his ambition, was, that which he formed with the Jacobin club, now become the moving spring of all the political transactions of that day. His initiation into that society, and his vehement speeches on the manifold subjects brought forward by the restless spirit of that tempestuous era, increased his popularity to the highest

pitch. He became the decided favourite of this assembly, and of the people of Paris; and he had the address to retain them equally in his interest to the very last moment of his existence: a proof, it may be added, of his talents for intrigue, and no less of his uncommon dexterity in securing the attachment of those whom he wanted.

The animosity which actuated the opposite parties, had sharpened their industry in devising all possible means to thwart each other's measures in the Convention. People were hired by both parties, who filled the galleries, and applauded and disapproved, by murmurs and vociferations, whatever was proposed by the party which they were engaged to abet or to discountenance. Robespierre was particularly active in organizing the instruments of his party; and to his ingenuity were due various of the methods and devices practised on those occasions.

He no less distinguished himself by his exertions to deprecate the royal authority, and to criminate the conduct of its ministers and adherents, to exculpate the people in the excesses of which they were guilty, and which he maintained ought to be attributed solely to the misery and wretchedness to which they were reduced: they were naturally well intentioned, and seldom apt to complain without sufficient reason. It was by speeches of this tendency that he laboured with indefatigable assiduity to recommend himself to the multitude, and he succeeded to the utmost of his wishes. He took up, with the same ardour, the defence of the clubs. There was, in short, not a motion made to extend the rights and immunities of the people, and

to abridge the powers of government in general, of which he did not appear a strenuous advocate. So fervently did he strive to express the warmest feelings for the public, that he deceived many into a persuasion of his sincerity, who were not apt to be misled by specious protestations. He had wrought himself, at the same time, into the good graces of every patriotic circle, by the studied modesty of his deportment. He disclaimed all personal importance, and listened with marked deference to the discourse and opinions of others, but contrived in the same moment, with exquisite art, to bring forward unobserved every subject of discussion, and to treasure up in his memory whatever could be serviceable to him at a proper occasion, and which he never failed to deliver as his own. At the dissolution of the Constituent Assembly, Robespierre stood in high credit with that party which condemned the King's restoration after his flight from Paris. Many of them wished at that time to have abolished monarchy, and established republicanism. It has been asserted, that Robespierre entertained some ideas, in conjunction with the Duke of Orleans's party, of placing that prince on the throne, in the hope of holding higher posts under him than he could have expected from the reigning monarch: and that even when he sent him to the scaffold, he hesitated whether to consign him to the guillotine or raise him to the throne. The noted effeminacy of the Duke, it is said, determined Robespierre not to run any hazards to place the crown on the head of such a man, against the sense of that formidable party which had decidedly resolved on

the abolition of monarchy; but to consult his own interest by adhering to the republican system, which was triumphant in the Jacobin club: the great arbiter of public opinion.

But we have not been able, after not a little enquiry, to find any satisfactory proof that there ever subsisted any degree of intimacy or correspondence between the Duke of Orleans and Robespierre. Had Robespierre aimed at nothing higher than some post of eminence under government, he might have obtained this from the court, which, it is well enough known, endeavoured by all means to gain him over to its interests. But he appears to have been as indifferent to the common objects of ambition as he was to money. His constant aim was, to raise himself individually above all controul, while he tyrannized not only over the bodies, but as far as possible over the very minds of others. In this respect, he bore a near resemblance to our royal tyrant King Henry VIII. As there were striking variations in the religious creeds of the King, which, whatever they were, he imposed on his subjects, so we have found variations in the religious and irreligious professions of the dictator, which he also imposed on the nation, not less evident. How far he participated in the events of the 10th of August, 1792, has not been clearly ascertained; but his nomination to a seat of authority by those who effected them, and his exultation at their success, sufficiently shew that, however indirectly, he was certainly of that party. The dark veil that still covers many of the transactions of those sanguinary times, renders it difficult to fix the degree of his guilt in the massacres  
of

of September; but, from various circumstances, united with his insatiable despotism, there is little doubt of his having been accessory to them.

From this dreadful period may be dated those ambitious prospects that filled the mind of Robespierre. Had he been cautious enough to let no indication of his design escape him till the destruction of the unhappy Lewis had been perfectly completed, the violent part he acted against him might have appeared to proceed from other motives: but his precipitation and vanity got the better of all discretion. The Convention was hardly met, when he was not only suspected but accused of designs inimical to liberty. They were in the course of a few sittings brought so strongly home to him, that had not the party that favoured his designs, found means to elude, not to disprove the accusation, which was evidently well founded, not only his popularity but his very life must have been sacrificed. The danger he incurred on this occasion did not render him quite so cautious as his unexpected and triumphant escape made him presumptuous and confident. He urged the King's death with every argument that his ferocious and imaginary disposition could suggest. His motives were constantly held up as patriotic, and founded on his conviction of the King's guilt, and the propriety of his being brought to public justice. But the detection of the criminal projects he had antecedently formed, was not forgotten; and the real motives that actuated him were visible to the world. He had however other impediments to remove, still more heavy and difficult to be overcome than

even the monarchy and the monarch. A party, consisting of men of much superior endowments to his own, had paved the way for the establishment of that form of government of which he projected, to avail himself for the execution of his plan. As their character was much more respectable than that of his party, he used every calumny and falsehood to blacken it. Plots and conspiracies were imputed to them, which had not the least shadow of probability, or even of consistency: he lavished, as it were, every means of villany to bring them to destruction. After accomplishing this, he proceeded to lay schemes of ruin for every man whose talents or spirit might prove an obstacle to that iniquitous exaltation he secretly meditated over all law and justice, and over all the constituted authorities of his country. In the prosecution of this attempt nothing was omitted that could forward it. Imprisonment, confiscation, banishment, death, were indiscriminately used, as they seemed most conveniently to suit his purposes. The friendships and attachments he had feigned, for he was incapable of forming them sincerely, dissolved the moment he thought he no longer needed them, and might by destroying the individuals he had thus deceived, either rid himself of rivals, or obviate his fears of future rivalry: conscious that he must be hated by all that knew him, he felt no affection for them; and he looked upon his nearest intimates as his most dangerous enemies, unless he had secured their attachment by a participation of his crimes. On this principle he sacrificed successively to his suspicions some who had been the principal instruments and

promoters of his greatness. Shame and remorse were strangers to his soul: it rioted, as it were, in the perpetration of atrocities as in its real element. This horrid propensity could not always originate in the dread of those who were its victims: it must therefore have arisen from a native thirst of blood and vengeance, and a readiness to indulge it on every one that excited offensive sensations in his mind. Such a disposition opened a boundless career of barbarity to the fatal power he had of exercising it, and to the inhuman gratification it afforded him.

After completely viewing the deformities of Robespierre's moral character, it is but doing him justice to say, that his intellectual endowments were far above the common level: his education was classical; and he was well conversant in the ancient writers, particularly the historical. His talents for oratory and politics lay in a great measure concealed, until fortune called him from the provincial situation wherein the figure he made, though by no means contemptible, could never have entitled him to any degree of celebrity. Roused by that ambitious temper, which under due restraint is the parent of all that is great, he exerted those intriguing arts wherein no man ever excelled him, in persuading his fellow-citizens to elect him their representative. To this promotion he owed the opportunity of perfecting himself in political knowledge, and of improving his style and manner of speaking.

The National Assembly was certainly a school wherein no man of parts and of industry could fail to learn a number of profitable lessons.

What he most excelled in was personal apology and declamations on public affairs: the former suited exactly his wary and guarded temper; and the latter gave him those opportunities, in which he so much delighted, of pouring forth invectives on those individuals that were obnoxious to him, and on those measures that did not coincide with his views; or, what he had ever chiefly at heart, of rendering himself popular, by espousing with the most studious ostentation every idea, maxim, and prejudice that characterize the multitude; and by assuming the defence and protection of the vulgar with as much animation and zeal as if his own immediate welfare depended on the success of his representations. Herein he may indeed be truly said to have felt for himself, as on them he relied for essential support in his projected undertakings: but though it cannot on the whole be denied that he spoke well, it must be allowed that he wrote better. His speeches, when he was not personally concerned, were often, if not generally, marked with impetuosity, violence, and inconsideration. These, in truth, were the characteristics of the times: but in his writings he was polished and refined; his diction was clear and correct; and he knew well how to display wit, fancy, and humour, whenever occasion required.

As his speeches were inferior to his written compositions, so his speculative reasonings were unequal to the practical energies of his mind. His argumentations were apt to be loose and inconclusive; but in the formation of his plans he was shrewd and penetrating. Few or none of these were strictly his own; but

but he made them his own by additional contrivance and arrangement; but principally by taking possession, as it were, of the capacity of others, and converting them to his own purposes. This, a most useful talent in a politician, he possessed in an eminent degree. Through this he reaped the fruits of that plentiful harvest of talents which produced the French revolution, and which, in a nation more simple and virtuous, and less fiery and presumptuous, might possibly have rendered it a source of national benefits.

But, notwithstanding this almost instinctive perception he possessed of the utility derivable from others, and his dexterity in appropriating it to himself, his torpidity on some occasions formed an inexplicable contrast. His defect of observation, and his want of presence of mind, were singular in some instances where his interest was alarmingly at stake. In one of these he was saved from destruction by the fortunate interposition of his party; but the last proved fatal. The first of these instances occurred shortly after the meeting of the Convention, when, through inadvertence and vanity, he provoked that accusation of aspiring to the dictatorship, which thunderstruck him, from its truth, and from the inability he felt to repel the charge: it was urged against him so forcibly, as to deprive him of the power of speaking. The article of his accomplices, and the inconsiderate lenity of his accusers, preserved him from the sword of justice, suspended over his guilty head. But in the last of these instances he seemed to have wholly relinquished himself, and to have

laid totally aside that spirit of foresight and precaution which peculiarly characterized him on all occurrences. Had he been a lawful sovereign, reigning through his virtues and beneficence in the hearts of all his people, he could not on that day, which decided his fate, have acted with less caution and more confidence. He repaired to the Convention, unprepared to meet those enemies who, he knew, were awaiting him. Though duly informed of the designs in agitation against him, he neglected to station in the tribunes those multitudes whose noise and clamour were wont to silence his adversaries, and to render ineffectual all the exertions and powers of their eloquence. He had forgotten to call forth those legions of ruffians that had so often struck terror, by their sudden presence and menaces, into those members who were coming to the Convention, hostile to him. On the very day that closed his last scene, his partizans were not in readiness without doors; and their speeches within were the height of imprudence. Disorder and confusion attended the whole of their conduct; in imitation, as it were, of their chief, who never appeared so deficient of capacity and courage, the latter especially, as on this decisive day. His manifest want of personal spirit, which on various occasions appeared conspicuous, entirely deranged his faculties, and gave the finishing blow to all hope and exertion in his favour.

Having contemplated Robespierre under so many points of view, we come lastly to observe that he was egregiously deficient in what is most essential in a politician, sound judgment and common sense.



senté. His design, after he came to form a design \*, to controul the National Assembly, by means of the committee of public safety, the revolutionary tribunal, the municipality of Paris, the Jacobin club, ramified into every part of France, and by changing the democratical constitution of the civil authorities and armed forces into a chain of dependencies, at the head of which he was to place himself, was in the highest degree complicated and extravagant. If he had duly reflected on the inveterate passion for liberty that had pervaded all France, and discomfited so many attempts to preserve or restore monarchical government, he could not have supposed that the French nation could brook tyranny in the person of an upstart dictator: a dictator unadorned with the splendor of military achievements, and sullied in the public opinion, at least (however his vices might be veiled by self-conceit from his own view) by that littleness and chicane which are ascribed, unfortunately with too much justice, to the profession of the law, in every nation in Europe: so that the abilities and formidable (for we cannot say respectable) qualities of Robespierre were all of them contaminated and perverted by the most blind and determined fanaticism:—a fanaticism inspired not merely by personal ambition, but a conviction that the end which he ultimately pursued, the complete overthrow of in-

equity in France, was just and noble; and that this end would sanctify all possible means by which it might be accomplished.

The fall of Robespierre was attended by circumstances that strongly proved his popularity to have declined much more than was generally believed. The lower, or rather indeed the lowest orders of society, were considered his partisans almost to a man; but instead of affording any testimonials of respect to his memory, the populace expressed universal satisfaction at the triumph of the Convention. Groups of them were seen through every quarter of the metropolis, congratulating each other on their deliverance from the monster (the term now appropriated to him) and testifying reciprocally their hopes of never seeing his like again. But indeed so unaccountable and despicable is the levity of the mob, that they have a temporary satisfaction in every change, right or wrong, good or bad †.

Two days after his execution, about seventy accomplices of the insurrection in his favour, were put to death. They were mostly members of the municipality, and officers of the national guards. In the room of those in the committee of public safety who had been executed with Robespierre, others were appointed, whose attachment to the republican system and the party that had overthrown the late

\* At first, it is probable he was actuated solely by a restless and intriguing disposition, in order to appear a man of consequence, in some shape or other.—It was said by Cromwell, that a man never mounted higher than when he knew not whither he was going.

† The following epitaph was written on Robespierre, and appeared in the Parisian papers about this time:—

Passant, qui que tu sois, ne pleurez pas mon sort,  
 Si je vivais, tu serais mort.

tyranny were known, and who had manifested it by their zeal and activity, in aiding, at the risk of their lives, in its destruction. In order to obviate at the same time the ill consequences resulting from a long retention of power, the Convention decreed that one-fourth of their number should go out every month by rotation, and that their places should be regularly supplied by a new appointment.

In the mean time, the great revolution that had taken place at Paris was notified to all the departments in France, and received everywhere with the loudest acclamations. As the submission to the late government was in every respect compelled, and the persons in power equally feared and detested, the new acts and measures of the Convention met with a ready and unfeigned acquiescence. The different armies of the republic concurred unanimously in following the example of their fellow-citizens. The decree by which they were enjoined to give no quarter to the English, had universally indisposed all military men against its authors: besides its atrocity and violation of the laws of war, established among civilized nations, it exposed the French troops to retaliation whenever the events of war should be adverse to them. In this view they considered the decree as emanating from men who sported with the lives of their fellow-citizens, in order to gratify a base thirst of revenge. So pleased, in short, was every class of society with the changes that had happened, that congratulations upon them were presented to the Convention from every part of France, and every branch of the service by land and sea. Moderation, to use the phrase

of the times, became the order of the day, to the great joy of the people at large; but particularly the more respectable classes, who now began to breathe from the fatiguing anxiety with which they were continually agitated. In compliance with the public opinion and wishes, the revolutionary tribunal, that engine of blood and barbarity, was, pursuant to a decree of the legislature, though not altogether abolished, newly modelled, and placed on a footing of equity and justice that quieted the fears of all the friends to the revolution, at the same time that it held out no further terrors to those who peaceably submitted to the existing government.

The prisons too, conformably to the spirit of lenity that now prevailed, were no longer suffered to retain indiscriminately the innocent and the guilty. Strict enquiries were made into every prisoner's case; and where no legal motion for detention appeared, they were immediately discharged. The remnants of the terrorists, as they were justly denominated, from the cruel and impolitic maxim of keeping the people in implicit subjection by a merciless severity, did not behold this great alteration in the system of government without heavy complaints and representations of the pernicious consequences of indulgence to men who were incorrigibly attached to principles inimical to liberty, and obstinately determined to destroy the republic, should events put it in their power. They were answered by reasonings, founded on the impropriety of punishing criminal intentions until they had been openly manifested by deeds; and that it was much more consistent with good policy

to reclaim people by a mild and humane treatment, than by restraints and severities; which, as experience had shewn, instead of producing real submission, hardened them in their enmity to government. To conciliate, therefore, was a readier and surer method of governing, than to compel. This might so far operate as to extort a feigned acquiescence; but the sentiments of men would still remain unchanged, and would break out into acts of open resistance whenever opportunity invited. The majority of the nation were clearly on this side of the question. The heads and principal of the royalists expressed more apprehensions of losing their partizans by these lenient than by compulsory measures; and the wisest in the Convention resolved that a fair trial should be given to the system of indulgence and moderation, before any farther recourse should be permitted to the former system of severity and terror. The tyranny exercised by Robespierre, and so severely felt by the whole nation, had rendered people extremely anxious to obviate the return of such a calamity, by preventing its cause.

This was manifestly the too long retention of official power in the hands of those who were invested with the principal posts of government. It was for this reason the universal wish, that some plan should be adopted, by which a more frequent rotation or election should be established. By making the supreme power often shift, men would be less wedded to it; they would be upon a stricter equality, less fearful of each other, and more disposed to examine critically every person's conduct in office. This

was no less the opinion of the Convention than of the nation at large. The members of that body had lived in perpetual terror during the whole time of Robespierre's administration. Diffident of each other, and conscious that the least indication of discontent at his measures would expose them to instant destruction, they carefully concealed their real sentiments, and expressed so much approbation of his conduct, that his partizans in that assembly had no room to suspect its general attachment to him, and were struck with astonishment, as well as himself, when they found their mistake: but the discovery was made too late; the antipathy to Robespierre burst out like a sudden explosion; it came upon him so unexpectedly, that though he was apprized that an opposition was formed against him, he never conceived it to be so extensive as to include the whole Convention. After their deliverance from his oppression; and, what was no less grievous, from their fears and suspicions of each other, they began immediately after his fall to improve the auspicious opportunity that arose from the knowledge of each other's political opinions and inclinations. Being all determined republicans, they resolved to frame such a plan of government as might efficaciously prevent the accumulation of the whole power of the state into the hands of one. But as the formation of such a plan would employ a considerable space of time and deliberation, they thought it advisable to frame a provisional body of regulations for the security of internal peace, and to serve at the same time as a guide in the construction of the new plan

of government in contemplation. The person selected for this purpose was Barrere. No man had made a more conspicuous figure in France since the erection of the republic. In the interior arrangements, and in the management of foreign affairs, his abilities and diligence had rendered him eminently useful. The precipitation of so many from the seat of power had checked his endeavours to rise above that degree of consideration which he might possess, without exciting envy, and exposing himself to the malice of competitors. He had steadily adhered to the republican system, and would not abandon even Robespierre, till he became convinced that the private safety of every man concurred with that of the republic to remove him with all speed from a station wherein he had made himself obnoxious to every man and to every party, by the excessive and the incessant abuse of his authority.

The indefatigable industry of Barrere enabled him to lay before the Convention, on the 5th day of August, the scheme of a temporary government, entirely conformable to what had been proposed:—it consisted of twenty-three articles, and embraced every object of a public nature with so much precision and foresight, providing at the same time so effectually against the concentrating power, either in one or a few hands, that little or no danger of tyranny in a single man, or of oligarchy in a small number, could be apprehended. It appeared altogether so judicious, and met with so general an approbation, that many have, since the substitution of that plan which followed it a twelvemonth after, sin-

cerely regretted that it was ever abrogated. It was accepted by the Convention with much applause, and decreed to continue in force until the intended plan of a new constitution should have been duly prepared and revised by that Assembly, and have received its formal sanction.

In the mean time, the downfall of Robespierre was become the great object of attention and discourse throughout Europe. It excited much more surprize in foreign parts than in France: they thought him firmly settled in the possession of power, both by the authority he had acquired and exercised with such unlimited sway, and by the unparalleled success attending the arms of France under his administration. They seemed of opinion, that the French, enjoying an uninterrupted gratification of their vanity, would passively submit to him while he was able to provide for the continuance of that gratification. Hence they were uncommonly astonished when they heard of his overthrow; and even began to expect that it would be followed by disorders and confusion that might be advantageous to themselves: so strong had his party appeared to them, that they were not able to account for the facility with which it had been overcome, having always imagined that he never could be deposed without a long and violent struggle. But the French themselves were better acquainted with the foundation of his power: as it arose entirely from the prepossessions of the vulgar, they plainly saw that the decrease of his popularity would be attended with that of his power; and from the spirit of discontent and indignation at his endless

endless barbarities, which was hourly gaining ground through the lowest as well as the better classes, they rightly conjectured that the end of his tyranny was approaching. During the plenitude of his power, he had occasionally assumed a great appearance of superior dignity and importance, even towards those states that stood on a friendly footing with France. His intercourse with the Americans had not been exempt from his vanity in this particular, though he must have been conscious of the offence it gave, and the mischief it might produce. Since the commencement of the revolution, the French had uniformly expressed an earnest desire to form the strictest amity with the United States of America. As these were in some measure indebted to the assistance of France for the establishment of their independence, the French expected, in return, their cordial approbation of those changes in the government of France which the kingdom at large looked upon as more conducive to its happiness, than the former unlimited power of the crown. But, after the destruction of the monarchy, and the apprehensions entertained that the crowned heads of Europe would unite for the overthrow of the republic, erected on its ruins, the French considered the United States no longer as mere well-wishers, but as deeply interested in the support of principles similar to their own, and bound by every consideration to make one common cause with their republican brethren of France against every sovereign and state that should take up arms against them. These ideas had been favourably received by a numerous party in the Ame-

rican states. They all indeed sincerely concurred in their good-will towards the French republic; but a division of sentiments took place on the propriety of making the cause of France that also of America. To a league of the strictest amity there could be no objection; but to arm in her quarrel with so many potentates, appeared an impolitic violation of that neutrality on which her commercial interests were so materially and so manifestly founded. The backwardness of the ruling powers in America to engage in hostilities conjointly with France, produced at last a coolness between both countries, that was attended with many inconveniences to the Americans. In the mean time the American government, desirous of giving a public testimony of its unfeigned attachment and respect for the French republic, sent an ambassador to the Convention, commissioned to express those sentiments in the warmest manner. Mr. James Monro was the gentleman appointed for this purpose. He was introduced to the Convention on the 15th of August, and received with the greatest demonstrations of respect. The flag of the United States was hung up with the national colours in the hall, with the highest applause of the Assembly and the numerous company in the galleries; and sanguine expectations were formed that this would lead to a more intimate connexion with America.

During these transactions, which were of a nature to administer much satisfaction to the public, its hopes were directed to the more essential object of a total extinction of those feuds between the heads of the nation, that had hitherto involved

which in so many disputes. The death of Robespierre, it was expected, would restore concord among them, from the evident necessity of putting a period to a spirit of disunion that had been productive of so many fatal consequences, and had contributed, more than any other cause, to the exaltation of the tyrant to supreme power. But that genius of discord which had wrought such mischief, found inseparably annexed to the conductors of the revolution.—

When no longer oppressed with him, they became distracted with jealousies, as if they had not a sufficient hold for their abilities without exercising them to the detriment of each other. Scarce a month had elapsed since the death of Robespierre, when a quarrel of a most serious nature broke out among those who had been the principal agents in his destruction.

The party in the Convention that lay in the way in effecting this, thought themselves entitled to a higher degree of confidence and applause than the members of the committees,—who had not dared to declare themselves and openly join them, till success evidently inclined to their side. It was not therefore equitable, as they had not participated equally in the danger, that they should have an equal share in the honour accruing from the service that had been performed, and claim the same proportion of power and popular favour. The public were no strangers to the circumstances alluded to; but it was no less conceived that the committees had acted in a meritorious a part in that business as they had been able; and was not pleased at a dissension arising from motives merely personal.

The party inimical to the committees resolved, however, to proceed against them, and, on the 29th of August, laid before the Convention an accusation against Barrere, Billaud Varennes, Collot D'Herbois, Vadier, Amar, and David: the last had been a firm adherent to Robespierre at that meeting of the Jacobins where he made his last appearance, and excited such invectives and denunciations against the Convention. David had espoused his cause in the most explicit manner, and went so far as to embrace Robespierre, and to assure him, that if he was condemned to drink hemlock, like Socrates, he would drink it with him. This attachment did not however diminish the esteem he was held in for his eminence in several of the liberal arts: in that of painting, he was the first man in France. Nor was his attachment to that tyrant imputed to base motives: he was the dupe of Robespierre's hypocrisy, rather than the interested follower of his fortune.

The denunciation against those members of the committee produced a most violent debate; but they defended themselves with so much judgment and firmness, and adduced such proper and strong proof of the invalidity of the charges brought against them, that they were honourably acquitted, and the accusation pronounced false and defamatory. The truth was, that those members of the two committees had acted in conjunction with Robespierre on many occasions, wherein they were rather officially than intentionally concerned; they had long been desirous to extricate themselves from this state of perplexity; but inauspicious circumstances had obviated their intentions.

tions. They had not been able to throw off the yoke of submission to his directions, till that fortunate day which delivered France from his tyranny.

Tallien, a man of great resolution and talents, had borne a principal share in this attack upon the members of the committees: on the 10th of September an attempt was made on his life; and he was wounded with a pistol-shot. From the personal enmity subsisting between him and Billaud Varennes, one of the accused members of the committees, and the influence of this latter in the Jacobin club, which had been allowed to resume its meetings, after its dispersion by Le Gendre, during the conflict with Robespierre's party, it was strongly suspected by the public that the violent declamations of the many incendiaries who frequented this club, and their invectives against the prosecutors of Billaud and his associates, had roused the fury of some enthusiasts amongst them, and incited him to the perpetration of this atrocious deed.

This assassination, together with the inflammatory discourses and maxims advanced in the meetings of this society, induced at length the committee of general safety formally to prohibit them. That portion of the community which reflected on the general conduct of the Jacobin club, without partiality in their favour or prepossessions to their disadvantage, had long testified its surprize at the patience and forbearance of the legislature in conniving at the unwarrantable liberties they took with every public person and transaction that displeased them. But the fact was, that they had successively been the

support of every violent party that obtained the possession of power, or was aiming to obtain it. The party that overthrew Robespierre having openly embraced the system of moderation, and explicitly discarded that of terror, had given that society such offence, that it kept no measures in the obloquy and defamation with which it loaded every friend to this new plan of lenity, and on the outrageous manner in which it insisted on the restoration of severity. This insulting behaviour drew upon them the indignation of government; which thought itself fully authorized, by the propriety of suppressing such audacious violation of the respect due to the legislature, and the licentious principles subversive of both private and public tranquillity, to issue an order for the suspension of this dangerous assembly. This was done about the middle of October.

The committee of public safety did not, however, take this step without publicly assigning its reasons: they acknowledged that society to have done much good; but pleaded the propriety of silencing it, in order to preserve that subordination in society, without which it could not exist. They allowed of popular societies under due restrictions, as being the right of a republican community: but the Jacobin club was not merely a society; they vied in power and influence with the legal authority of the state itself: they had attempted to vilify the Convention. Though it was not improper to remind the governors of a nation of their duties, yet a rival power to theirs ought not to exist in a state. It ought not to be forgotten, that on the 28th of last July, when tyranny was subverted,

verted, the Jacobins were in open rebellion to support it. Presuming on impunity, and that the Convention had not spirit to assert its dignity, they still continued to bid it defiance. It was, therefore, indispensably requisite, for the preservation of national tranquillity, to suppress a body of men who aimed at dictating to the nation's representatives. The preservation of liberty required the extinction of a faction that filled France with continual troubles, and explicitly recommended sedition and bloodshed. The only legal and reputable societies were those of the sections; and these would remain unmolested. Such was the substance and purport of the committee's address to the public on this occasion. It was received with great approbation, and the measure itself was applauded by a decided majority of the nation; which looked upon it as the readiest and most effectual method to prevent the discordancy and conflict of opinions that filled every place in France with disturbances, and broke up everywhere the peace and enjoyments of society.

A proceeding no less acceptable to the people at large was the punishment inflicted on the authors of the barbarities committed in La Vendée, and other districts concerned in the insurrections that it had been so difficult to quell. The principal and most guilty was Carrier, a member of the Convention. He was neither deficient in vigour nor activity, and had certainly contributed by his unremitting exertions, to the suppression of the insurgents. But he disgraced his character by the commission of so many inhumanities, that the Convention

thought itself bound in honour to make a public example of him.— He was tried and convicted of the crimes imputed to him, and executed, in company with two members of the revolutionary tribunal, at Nantes, who had been the companions of his iniquities. This act of justice was followed by a proclamation, offering liberal terms to those insurgents who submitted within a month. A full and unqualified pardon was granted to them, with an oblivion of all the past, on condition of delivering up their arms, and promising obedience to the Convention and the constituted authorities. The lenity shewn in the Convention to the decree that passed to this purpose, did equal credit to its humanity and policy. The insurgents whom the barbarities exercised upon them after their reduction, had alienated from the very ideas of a republic, were by the humane treatment they experienced, and by the punctual performance of the promises contained in the decrees relating to them, brought over to a conviction, that the cruelties they had experienced were owing to the cruel and sanguinary temper of those who were employed against them, and of those under whose directions they acted, and not to be imputed to the government which they had opposed with so much obstinacy, not improbably from an opinion they had conceived of its inexorable disposition.

While the Convention were thus employed in endeavours to reconcile, through lenity, the numerous enemies whom the late government had created at home through severity and terror, the utmost efforts were made in that assembly to restore



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store union between the parties that still continued to divide the nation. In pursuance of this spirit of reconciliation and moderation, the petitions that were presented by those members that had been outlawed or imprisoned by the party that became predominant in the preceding year, were favourably received; and though for a while opposed by some who suspected the political principles of the petitioners, these were at length restored to their liberty, and shortly after to their seats in the Convention. Their number amounted to seventy. This equitable termination of a business that had occasioned many disquisitions, took place in the beginning of December. This month concluded with a decree that afforded general satisfaction to

the people of France. Robespierre's murderous edict, prohibiting quarter to be given to the English, had always been held in detestation by the public; but the dread of his despotic sway kept every tongue silent on this as on other subjects. As it did not however produce the bloody effects he intended, and was totally disregarded by the military, it passed without notice, till some members of the Convention, indignant that such a decree should remain on their registers, procured its formal repeal. As it had been considered by all men of humanity as a monument of national disgrace, the decree repealing it was looked upon as a reparation of the public honour, and received in that light with the greatest approbation and applause.

### CHAP. X.

*Difficult and alarming Situation of the Confederates at the Close of 1793. Sentiments entertained of the French Principles of Polity in the different States and Kingdoms of Europe; and more particularly in Great Britain. Aristocratical and Democratical Parties in this Country. State of the Public Mind at the Meeting of the British Parliament, January 1794. Speech from the Throne. Debates thereon in both Houses of Parliament.*

THE close of the year 1793 had proved so propitious to the French on that theatre of the war where the most decisive events had taken place, that the coalesced powers were seriously alarmed at the prospect of those difficulties which they must surmount, in order to recover the ground they had lost, before they could resume their efforts to make that impression upon France which was the main object of the coalition.

In the commencement of the pre-

ceding campaign, they had entered the field big with the most sanguine expectations of crushing, in a very short time, the republican fabric that had been erected in France on the ruins of the monarchy, and of restoring this to its former owners. Instead of succeeding in this great design, they had, after suffering some mortifying defeats, been compelled to have recourse to retrograde motions, and, at last, to act chiefly on the defensive. This was a strange and very unexpected reverse

back of the fortune they had experienced at the beginning of the campaign.

These events had equally astonished and perplexed all the members of the confederacy. The great mass of the people throughout several of the dominions of those potentates in alliance against France, was deeply tinctured with some of those principles that characterized the French; and these were extremely diligent to propagate them in all parts of Europe, by means of those emissaries that were either in their pay, or that officiously undertook the task from personal zeal in their cause.

The two countries wherein their principles were more ostensibly displayed than in any other, were at this time Great Britain and the seven United Provinces of the Netherlands. Their neighbours in the Belgic provinces, lately reduced to the obedience of Austria, after a vain and ill-conducted attempt to cast off its yoke, were nearly of the same sentiments; but restrained from manifesting them, through fear of the numerous militia stationed among them. In Germany the partizans of the new system of politics were very considerable in point of numbers; but the watchful eyes of the many sovereigns among whom this extensive and populous region is divided, kept them in too much awe to venture so explicitly declaring themselves. In Italy a long settled abjectness of spirit held the inhabitants in the profoundest subjection both of body and mind. The only attachment they felt was to their religion:—their rulers had, in general, little of their veneration. The governments they lived under being des-

potic, commanded, of course, their external respect; but their real indifference for the persons and interests of their rulers, was notorious. The vicissitudes attending the reigning families, had long prevented that affectionate connexion between prince and people, which is chiefly founded on the long duration of sovereignty in the individuals of the same families. The new principles adopted in France had indeed found their way into Italy; but they had made few proselytes among the commonalty:—those who seemed to pay them attention were chiefly the literati; and, even among these, they were considered merely as objects of speculation. Little did they imagine that the day was fast approaching when they would be reduced to practice; and that, next to France, Italy was destined to become the principal theatre of their exertions.

In Spain and Portugal the maxims embraced by the people of France, and the conduct resulting from them, had been universally reprobated. Firmly attached to the religious and political tenets of their fathers, the Spaniards and Portuguese had hitherto scrupulously abstained even from bestowing the least reflection on French principles, looking upon them as undeniably false and iniquitous, and equally pernicious to mankind and offensive to Heaven. It was not till towards the end of 1793, or rather the opening of the ensuing year, that through dint of indefatigable perseverance, the concealed agents of France had found means, through those insinuating arts wherein the French to remarkably excel, to introduce their re-

publican notions to the favour of those individuals in whom they discovered discontent at their government. The number of these in the Spanish provinces bordering on France was considerable. They recollected that, in former days, the French had assisted their forefathers when they took up arms against the oppressions of the Spanish government. Nor indeed were the Spaniards at large averse to the idea of limiting the power of the court, and restoring the ancient cortes, or states. This idea had lately been favourably received by a large majority of the Spanish nation; which, though by no means inclined to republicanism, seemed thoroughly persuaded of the superiority of a limited monarchy over despotism. It was principally in Biscay, Catalonia, and the contiguous provinces, that the French were studious to disseminate their principles; and there they were not a little successful. The distance of Portugal from the great scenes of action, was its best security against the introduction of French tenets. Immersed in the profoundest bigotry, the people of that country were the most submissive of any to the absurdest doctrines and the basest slavery.

The northern parts of Europe stood aloof; rather fearful than unwilling to share in this great contest between France and its numerous enemies. Sweden, though lately governed by a King who openly avowed his hatred of the French, had boldly maintained a resistance to unqualified monarchy; and this prince had fallen a martyr to his principles by the hands of one of his subjects. Those to whom he bequeathed the reins of adminis-

tration, were too wise to tread in his unfortunate steps, in defiance of the best part of the Swedish nation; which therefore continued in a situation of neutrality. Denmark happily followed this precedent, and though considered by some politicians as an implicit dependant of Russia, it shewed upon this occasion that, under the guidance of a sagacious ministry, it was able to consult its own interest, and to avoid a servile acquiescence in the dictates of an imperious ally.

Russia, the scourge and terror of all her neighbours, could not, consistently with the maxims of her government, be the friend of any nation that countenanced those of France. Risen victorious from her contest with the Ottoman empire, and flushed with her acquisitions in Poland, she would willingly have seen every power in Europe involved in the quarrel with France, in the hope of being able to profit by the loss and expence in which this would have involved them. In this hope she abstained from all active interference, and reserved herself for the critical moment, when those powers, on whom chiefly she kept a vigilant eye, should retire from the quarrel, weary and exhausted. But her views had hitherto been frustrated. The dread of these administered prudence to some, who from complicated motives might otherwise have thought themselves sufficiently aggrieved by the measures enforced against them by a leading member of the coalition, to have sided with France in a decisive and ostensible manner. Thus it happened, that whatever insidious designs Russia might harbour respecting

neighbours, the suspicious and ambitious disposition fully justified them, and at the same time rendered her enmity to France of no utility to the general interest against that power.

In all countries, that wherein despotism in France had been applauded was Great Britain. Standing the disapprobation of the abolition of monarchy and the abhorrence of the crimes perpetrated by the tyrannical party, a large portion of the nation remained partial to which they looked upon as the only means of liberty. While they condemned the excesses and horrors which the maintenance of monarchy given occasion, they still held that, of the two evils, a temporary confusion and anarchy was less to be feared than the re-establishment of despotism. But this portion, considerable, was yet in error that which considered the restoration of monarchy as an indispensable necessary safety of the British constitution held at the same time an antient system of government in a country, as incompatible with the interests of every kingdom as peace.

A portion of the British community which opposed those ideas,

was represented by the other as harbouring secret designs against the constitution, and intending to seize the first opportunity of imitating the example set them by the French republicans. So grievous an accusation lay the heavier on these, from the marked exultation they displayed at the victories obtained by the French, and their continual complaints and reprobation of all ministerial measures. But what chiefly contributed to render this party suspected of the very worst designs, was their positive and explicit demand of such alterations in the constitution, as would tend to throw the whole power of the state into the hands of the people. This, together with a strict imitation, in their numerous meetings, of the phrases and personal modes of addressing each other, adopted by the French republicans, appeared indisputable proofs of a determination to overthrow the present government, and to substitute in its place an absolute democracy.

Hence arose the two odious appellations of Aristocrat and Democrat \*. The former, bestowed on those who opposed all changes in the constitution; the latter, on those who demanded these, together with an immediate peace with

The word Aristocracy properly signifies, the sovereign power in the hands of a few men: Democracy, the sovereign power in the hands of the people. As no one who would not wish to pass for a friend at once to the people and to wisdom, there is none who should be offended at being called either an aristocrat or democrat. It is a pity that these two terms, which according to their signification, should recall sentiments of union and philanthropy to the minds of all men, should have become the watch-words of general discord! The question, Whether wisdom and virtue are most likely to be found among the higher ranks, or in the mass of the people? The general well-being of the nation is the real object of the leaders, and most of the means of both, has been found almost uniformly to be their own private ambition.

France, and an acknowledgement of the French republic. The question between the two parties was now become of the most serious magnitude. It involved universally all the inhabitants of Great Britain. The animosities it excited were far greater and more dangerous than those which had been produced by the American war. These, when at their height, were chiefly caused by difference of opinion concerning the duration of parliament, and the manner of representation. But the present question embraced objects of much greater importance. It was not a part, but the whole of the British constitution, a reform of which was required. This was well understood to be the ultimate view of the democratic party; not was this party averse to acknowledge the reality of this imputation. The violence which agitated those who approved, as well as those who opposed the measures of government, foreboded the most unfortunate consequences. As they both appeared equally resolute to maintain at all events the system they had respectively espoused, men of prudence and moderation, who sought no more than a redress of real and visible grievances, soon discovered that the number of individuals of their own way of thinking, was too inconsiderable to prove of any weight against the multitudes on either side that were determined to listen to no terms of accommodation, and to carry their point, or perish in the attempt. A conviction of this nature compelled them at once to make their option between these irreconcilable opponents, and to range themselves on that side for which they felt a preponderance of

inclination. The consequence was, that, guided by the maxim to chuse the least of the two evils, they thought it their interest to submit to inconveniences, of which the constitution could not in the present fermentation be forcibly divested without hazarding its existence. Such a determination exposed them to the most virulent taunts and invectives of those who were resolved to persist to the last in requiring those extensive reforms, that without which, they alleged, there could be no real freedom.

Such was the state of the public mind when the parliament met on the 21st of January 1794. The royal speech, as it had been expected, recommended a vigorous prosecution of the war, on the prosperous issue of which depended the preservation of the constitution, laws, and religious establishment of the kingdom, and the security of all civil society. The efforts of France to resist her numerous enemies, were, it was said, founded solely on a violent usurpation of every branch of the nation into the hands of its present rulers, which rendered them absolute masters of peoples lives, of which they disposed in the most arbitrary manner. But as the system they had adopted openly violated every restraint of justice, humanity, and religion, it had necessarily produced internal discontent and confusion; and the vast efforts proceeding from that system tended rapidly to exhaust the natural and real strength of the country. The concluding part of the speech stated the ground and origin of the war to have been an attack on Great Britain and its allies; founded on principles tending to destroy all property, to subvert

laws and religion of every nation, and to introduce that wild and destructive of rapine, anarchy, and the effects of which, as manifested in France, furnished a useful lesson to the present age, and to posterity. The most remarkable in the King's speech.

He warmly applauded and was supported by the ministerial party; and secured a number of arguments in support of the proposed war, and the necessity of meeting it with the utmost vigour and spirit; as on its preservation depended the preservation of national independence. Lord Mansfield was particularly successful in recommending a spirit of intemperance of the war. It was provoked by the conduct of the French; and the motives for it were, the restoration of a free government to France, and the overthrow of the tyrannical men who had vowed their determination to enslave all Europe. Such were evidently the pests of society. A peace with such terms was impracticable. The violence which continually attended the government of that country, left all possibility and expectation of concluding any durable peace with it, as the rulers of one party on the following day would be engaged by others, who would pay no regard to engagements entered into by those whom they had just defeated. The world was miserable, and the present contest between kings and nations was, in the strictest sense, the cause of mankind much more than of monarchs, for which

Europe was contending with the French. Were that people to succeed in the wild plans they had formed, the European world would be plunged into the most deplorable confusion. It was therefore the duty, and still more the interest, of all men to oppose attempts so manifestly inimical to the tranquillity and well-being of society.

Lord Mansfield was seconded by Lord Grenville, who reminded the House that Great Britain could not, consistently with its honour, admit those ideas of peace so clamorously insisted on by the unthinking and ill-informed part of the nation. Treaties had been entered into with foreign powers, and could not be violated without the loss of national reputation. But who were those that ruled France, and with whom some people so zealously recommended it to the British ministry to treat? They were notoriously men who had signalized themselves by the ferocity of their disposition, and their readiness to shed blood, and who, by such means, had acquired the confidence of the populace, whose sanguinary principles and proceedings required such leaders. Were the British ministry inclined to treat, they must previously restore whatever had been taken from France, the Convention having decreed that no peace could be granted to any power that retained an inch of French ground. Would the lofty spirit of Britain submit to so arbitrary and insulting a requisition?

Similar to these were the principal arguments in support of the address urged by those other peers in the House of Lords, who spoke on the ministerial side of the question.

Lord Guildford was the first who spoke on the side of opposition. He argued, that ministry avowedly changed the object of the war. The defence of Great Britain, and the assistance due, by treaty, to our allies, had been primarily assigned as the motives of hostility to France. The restoration of the French monarchy was now held up in their room. But whatever might be the real object, Great Britain ought not to have been precipitated into a war, while anywise avoidable; nor, after so fatal a step had been taken, should any opportunity have been omitted to put a timely stop to hostilities. Such an opportunity had offered in the course of the preceding campaign, when the French, humbled by defeats and losses, would have listened to any reasonable terms that might have been proffered to them by the allied powers: and it was highly imprudent in ministers to have slighted so favourable an occasion of terminating the war with honour and advantage. The successes of the British arms in the foregoing year did not sufficiently compensate for the loss of the men and treasure, and the damage done to the commercial and manufacturing interests of the kingdom. It was a dangerous error to imagine that France could not undergo a repetition of the efforts it had made during the last year. The pride of the French, and their indignation at the attempts to dictate to them in their own country, had roused their spirit to a much higher degree than was generally known to their enemies. There was hardly a species of burden they were not willing to bear, in order to enable their government to oppose the terrible

combination assailing them every quarter.

The favourers of ministry said, were loud in asserting to oppose the progress of principles, it was necessary the torrent of their success field. But arms were not means; and to these alone, when erroneous, were compelled to yield. Great Britain ought, in the mean time, to calculate the measure of assistance to be expected from allies. But here expence and bursement, in their support the chief objects in her contention. The cause for which coalition was contending, was common to all the powers engaged; but, Britain excepted, they all nearly exhausted, and, the pecuniary succours they drew on from this country, would daily give up the contest. Great Britain must alone bear the immense charges of this quarrel; the issue of which uncertain proportionably to her ration. It would therefore be wrong to insist on more than the most prudent to show, and by no means to place confidence in the readiness, the ability of our allies to men, while Britain could money. Neither of these resources were inexhaustible: none the best soldiers in the world's armies had already perished, though men might not be yet, without a considerable of discipline and experience could not deserve the appellation of soldiers. Much stress was laid by the adherents to ministry on the impropriety of treating a government of which it

editions were so frequently changing; but this was the case in all popular governments; and yet it did not appear that treaties with these were either worse observed, or less durable, than those contracted with such as had been lately dignified with the title of legal and regular governments.

The Marquis of Lansdown, in addition to the arguments adduced by Lord Guildford, observed, that the similitude of some transactions during the American war, to some during the present, was striking. Britain had, in an evil hour, spurned the humble remonstrances of her colonists: but the calamities that followed had punished her arrogance without curing it. She had lately been guilty of a still greater act of temerity, in rejecting the solicitations of a much more formidable power than America. The proffers of that power might have proved the basis of a pacification advantageous to all the parties, but especially to Britain: but those solicitations were treated with scorn, and the consequence was a war; the dreadful nature of which was increased by the motives alleged for its continuation, on the one side; and by the rage and indignation those motives excited, on the other. To say that no fixed government subsisted in France, was daily contradicted by facts. Ordinances were enacted, which no man dared to disobey; taxes were imposed, which were paid as far as the people were able; and armies were raised, that resisted all the armies of Europe. If this were not a government, in what country was it to be found? Would General Wurmsers, the Duke of Brunswick, or the King of Prussia, deny that

France had a government? Could Spain deny it, or the unhappy insurgents of La Vendée, and of Lyons? The commanders of the allied armies in the Netherlands would hardly doubt the existence of such a government. But the fact was, that the resistance to that government, and the massacres of those unfortunate Frenchmen who ventured to oppose it, originated only in their fatal expectations of assistance from the British government.

Such were the chief allegations of these, and of other members of opposition in the House of Lords. On moving the address, it had been proposed, as an amendment, that his Majesty should be requested to seize the earliest opportunity to conclude an honourable peace; and in case the prosecution of the war should be thought necessary, to commit the management of it to more skilful ministers. Ninety-seven voted against the amendment, and only twelve for it.

The arguments in the Lower House, on moving the address to the King, resembled, in many particulars, those that had been brought forward in the upper. It was alleged by Sir Peter Burrell, in support of the measures of government, that Great Britain had been forced into the war by the most cogent motive that could have impelled her to such a step,—the evident necessity of repelling the designs that were forming to subvert the constitutional establishment in church and state. Having formed engagements with other powers for the counteracting of one that was become the common enemy of all, it was equally the duty and interest of Britain to persevere in those connexions. Nor



was it in her option to abandon them without degrading herself in the eyes of Europe.

Lord Mornington, in a long and elaborate speech, exerted himself to prove that the principles adopted by the French, rendered it indispensably necessary to continue the war till they had relinquished them. They had, at the æra of the Constituent Assembly, declared to the world, that they would never engage in a war of ambition and conquest: but in contempt of this declaration, which had been made in the most formal and solemn manner, they had acted precisely as if they had declared the very reverse. They had seized and annexed to France the King of Sardinia's ancient patrimony of Savoy; they had torn the Austrian provinces, in the Low Countries, from their lawful possessor; they had arrogantly assumed the rights of opening the navigation of the Scheldt, in defiance of all the preceding treaties that assigned it exclusively to Holland. Their system of politics tended manifestly to embroil the whole world in disputes. Their intrigues had thrown into confusion the United States of America, and had filled the Turkish Divan with suspicions and discord: they had, in the rage of their revolutionizing spirit, subverted the fundamentals of European colonization in the West Indies, by inciting the negroes to insurrection against the planters. A faction in Great Britain, unaccountably wedded to the French, delighted in representing them as invincible; but the preceding campaign had proved the contrary: the towns and territory wrested from them in the Netherlands, were equally important in

their value, and in the credit sulting from their acquisition of the arms of the confederate France itself was become the object of every species of tyrannical atrocity: the people were reduced to such poverty and distress they were utterly unable to pay the taxes requisite for the support of the state; the consequence was the emission of paper-money in such amount that had totally ruined the finances of that country. But content with loading the island with every sort of burthen and oppression, their insatuated rule deprived them of the chief resource to which mankind had used to have recourse in times of human misery: they had robbed them of their property, hoping to enrich their exchequer with its spoils: but they had proved a very inadequate resource. Could the inhabitants of Britain compare the situation of the French with their own? They could not feel a determination to serve their country from the same motives that had produced so much in France; whatever might be the cause, how great soever the hazard, might encounter? It was, therefore, manifestly the interest of Great Britain to continue the war, which alone could keep the French at a distance; and it was less the interest of all Europe to join in a common opposition to the French. Ruined themselves, they sought to involve all others in the same ruin. Actuated by this detestable motive, they became a nation of plunderers; they were now fighting for the means by which they expected to enrich themselves with the means of compelling their neighbours

quise in their doctrines, and to follow their example. With a government and people acting with such principles, no peace was practicable. The enthusiastic fury of the French was such in the propagation of their principles, and in the determination to yield nothing they had gained, and to recover all they had lost in their efforts to propagate them, that Great Britain was, in order to obtain that peace so strongly recommended by the thinking, and by her secret enemies, consent to restore at once whatever had been won by her powers from this common disturber of the peace of Europe, without indemnification for expense or loss. She must also tamely submit to the cession of all the countries France had seized from her neighbours. Were those terms to be endured? Did the History of Europe afford the precedent of any war since her civilization, wherein the victor was allowed to retain all he had taken, and to recover all he had lost? Such a treaty was yet to be discovered; and such demands could proceed only from a spirit of vanity, insolence, and incapacity, that ought to be manfully resisted. But were Great Britain, in conjunction with her allies, to condescend to such meanness, would it secure them from farther insult? a prostrate enemy was proverbially an object of contempt, and would always be trod upon sooner than a resolute fox that shed his ground to the last. Such, however, was the presumption of the French, that the Convention had made it a capital offence in any man to propose the acceptance of any other terms. But, on a supposition that the party ruling for

the moment should relax from this arrogance, would the supplanting party ratify such a measure? would it not rather avail itself of such a circumstance, as a pretence for suspecting its predecessors as violators of the national honour, and of the laws enacted for its support? A treaty thus framed in contradiction to these, would of course be deemed a nullity. Better, therefore, to make use of the arms we have taken up, than to lay them down with so little security against the necessity of resuming them, when less prepared for action than we are at present. But the fact was, that no peace could be expected while France continued in its revolutionary state. Those who governed the French were inflamed by maxims subversive of every system of government that had prevailed hitherto, not only in Europe, but in every part of the globe. They were, at the same time, under a conviction, that France, by her arms and by her intrigues, was adequate to the task of subverting them all. Urged by this persuasion, they were entirely averse to peace, and wholly intent on carrying forwards what they styled the great work of the regeneration of mankind. What was still worse, they had succeeded in converting the French themselves into the rank:st enthusiasts. The people at large were not the tame and obedient, but the zealous and violent instruments of their governors, and seconded their measures with the most active promptitude and fidelity. Till such a fatal delusion was rooted out of the land, France ought to be considered as a country infected with a pestilence; of which it behoved all its neighbours

to stop the contagion, and never to cease their utmost endeavours to accomplish this object, till it was completely effected.

To the foregoing remarks, it was added by Mr. Pitt, at the close of a speech, wherein he went over much the same ground with Lord Mornington, that whatever might be the future constitution of France, whether monarchical or republican, provided it were divested of the principles on which the present government was founded, Great Britain might accede to a pacification. A monarchy was doubtless the most eligible of the two, as being the most acceptable to the judicious and moderate in that country, and less tending to involve it in quarrels with its neighbours; but while France remained in its present state, war was preferable to peace.

A long speech was made on this occasion by Mr. Sheridan, in answer to that of Lord Mornington. Undue advantage, he said, was taken of the passions attached to human nature, in order to excite the indignation of the British public against the French, on account of the enormities they had committed in the course of the revolution. The guilt and infamy of their conduct no person could deny; but it only affected them, and no people had any other right than to lament the misfortunes of that country, without assuming, however, the least interference in its domestic affairs, unless by amicable mediation, between the parties. But had Europe acted this friendly part? Had it not, on the contrary, since the commencement of the revolution, expressed a decided aversion to one of the par-

ties, and a manifest partiality to the other? Had it not proceeded from words to deeds, and espoused the cause of the court in this manner, as could not fail to operate the people of France? Doubtless, the popular fury and consequences were deserving execration; still, however, it did not follow that the whole nation ought to be punished for the crimes committed by the multitude during the rage of tumult and insurrection. The French were buried as it were, out of the prison of long slavery: they had recovered their liberty, but knew not how to use it: they were hurried by resentment to retaliate on oppressors the ill usage they suffered, and had carried this retaliation to the most unjust and criminal excess. But was it either equitable or wise in the European powers to coalesce in their punishment? They had an unalienable right to freedom common with all the human race, and allowing the vengeance they had wreaked on their former oppressors to have been ungenerous, base, and cruel in the extreme, had been confined to France: foreign potentates ought to have reflected, that by leaving the French to act towards each other without interposing between them, that that country would probably have been deluged with blood, if it had not been the blood of France alone, and humanity would have to regret the additional destruction of the many thousands whose lives had been thrown into this fatal quarrel. But it was not from sentiments of compassion to the French, or to mankind, that this interference had arisen.

originated in ambition. France appeared in so similar a situation to Poland; the parties that distracted it seemed so irreconcilably intent on their mutual destruction, that the grasping disposition, found experimentally to be inherent in arbitrary monarchs, had led them to form the most sanguine hopes of profiting by those scenes of discord: they could not resist the temptation, seemingly held out, to partition France among them, as they had done the other unhappy kingdom: this motive alone put arms into their hands. But after failing in their iniquitous attempt, and instead of reducing the French to subjection, being themselves nearly compelled to act on the defensive, with what face could they complain of retaliation on the part of the French nation? These had been driven by despair to exertions of which they were thought incapable. Infuriated by the aggression of unprovoked enemies on every frontier of France, and magnanimously resolved to perish sooner than receive the law from nations which they had always held in a light of inferiority, they had summoned all the courage, all the abilities, all the resources of which they were masters. Armed with these, they had entered the field of contest, and had taught the coallesced powers the difference between a state long broken asunder by an ill-constructed government, and constitutionally, as it were, involved in perpetual jars,—and a nation firmly united by a sense of its dignity, and of which an incomparable majority, after casting off the yoke of domestic tyranny, had determined to persevere to the last in maintaining the system they had

established. Whether it was a good or bad one, it belonged to the French only to decide. But whatever it might be, the French were too great a people, both in their disposition and power, to become the prey of the conquerors. They were not only a great and populous nation, but their natural strength alone was almost equal to that of the whole confederacy against them. Though disunited among themselves, they still had displayed sufficient union to resist their foreign foes; and it was well known that a plurality of those who were dissatisfied with the present state of things among them, still were much more adverse to a foreign yoke, and readier to bear with internal oppression, than to see their country in the possession of strangers. Was it surprising that, after the resolution taken by the European powers to treat the French as their common enemy, they should feel a resentment adequate to such treatment, and threaten, in their turn, the severest revenge? The junction of Great Britain with the coalition, was the heaviest blow, in the opinion of the French, that they could have received. The English were the only people, since the revolution, for whom the French had avowed any esteem. It was of notoriety that they held all others in contempt. It was, therefore, much against their will that they found themselves involved in a quarrel with this country. True it was, that, after compelling the Prussians to retire from France, and defeating the Austrians in Flanders, their rancour at the unprovoked invasion of their country by both those powers, and at the menaces con-  
tained

tained in their manifestoes, had impelled the French to threaten, on their side, to espouse the cause of those nations that rose against their oppressors: but at whom was this declaration levelled? Was it not manifestly against the Emperor and the King of Prussia? On the first signification that Great Britain disapproved of this declaration, was it not explained in such a manner as to remove all cause of offence? Was nothing to be allowed to the momentary rage of a people loaded from all parts with the most unqualified obloquy, and held out to the world as the outcasts of mankind? It was nugatory to assert that this was no more than truth:—it was not a language to be borne by individuals, much less by nations. We ought to have reflected, that public insults could not fail to provoke public indignation, and create national quarrels. Were the French ever so guilty, who constituted us their judges? Private opinions, doubtless, were free, and individuals had a right to deliver their sentiments in conversation upon all public occurrences, both in their own and in foreign countries; but no nation was entitled to sit publicly in judgment on the concerns of another, unless manifestly affected by them. But in what manner did the alteration of government in France affect Great Britain, unless by meeting with its disapprobation? This, however, was no just ground for dispute. England had, in the last century, set the precedent of many a deed highly disapproved of by its neighbours, without being called to account by any of them. It was a law held sacred by nations, that the disavowal of any act or pre-

tensions injurious to another, was a sufficient atonement. The French having disavowed all right to interpolate in the affairs of others, had therefore just reason to expect that Great Britain would abstain from interposition in theirs. It ill became us, however, to reprobate the French for their conduct in this respect. We had carried our interference as far as we durst. If the French had acted with insolence in the Netherlands, by introducing forcibly their principles and forms of government, had not Britain used compulsive measures towards the Swiss Cantons, and those Italian states she thought herself able to intimidate? Did she not, as soon as she had thrown off the mask of neutrality, insist, in the most arrogant manner, that others should cease to be neuter? Was not this acting precisely upon the principle she so bitterly reprobated? The French had been justly reproached for their perfidy towards those whom, under the pretence of emancipation from slavery, they had reduced to the meanest subjection. But had the English acted otherwise, in threatening the severest treatment to those who had expressed an unwillingness to adopt her views and measures, and to join the coalition, whatever danger they might incur by their compliance? The hostile intentions of France to this country had been repeatedly urged, as fully sufficient motives to treat the French as avowed enemies. But had not the British ministry, from the very commencement of the revolution, expressed the most decided enmity to all revolutionary proceedings? What occasioned the recall of the British minister from Paris, the expulsion

expulsion of Frenchmen from Britain, the confiscation of their merchandise in neutral bottoms, the violation of the commercial treaty between Great Britain and France, — and, to complete these inimical measures, the contemptuous dismissal of its minister at our courts? Were not these deeds of open and undeniable enmity? As to the verbal declaration of war on the part of France, would any man of candour say, that the various steps taken by the British government against France, antecedently to that declaration, were not, without declaring them such, manifest acts of hostility? Did not the French, notwithstanding these infringements of peace, abstain from all violence, and earnestly solicit for amity and a good understanding between them and this country? But long had our ministry determined to cast them off as unworthy of their friendship. We now were entering on a second campaign; but what was the object proposed? Had we not obtained the main point in contest, the security of our allies? It could not be supposed that the French, were they, conformably to their demands, to remain unmolested in their domestic arrangements, would refuse to agree to reasonable terms. Were they to be guilty of so rash a refusal, then indeed the British ministry would stand acquitted in prosecuting the war against them with the utmost vigour, and holding them out as perversely inclined to be our enemies. But if circumstances were duly consulted, this fatal war was meditated by ministry. The French attack upon the Dutch was no other than a pretence, and, as it were, a signal

for commencing hostilities. The motive ostensibly held out to the British nation, was the preservation of laws, religion, property, of all, in short, that is dear to civilized society. This was a cause in which our ministers insisted that it was incumbent on all Europe to participate in common. Such being the case, and allowing ministers to be earnest in this declaration, why should they palliate the resolution they had most certainly taken, to engage in a war which, on such grounds, was neither unjust nor unnecessary; and, for which, instead of blame, they were entitled to praise? But were these the real motives that led them to undertake this war? Until this were fairly proved, it still remained incontrovertible, that they were the primary aggressors in a ruinous and unjustifiable war, since no other motives could defend it. The aggression was clearly imputed to them, even by their allies, who demanded, in consequence of this immense pecuniary supply; which they could not have claimed with any colour of equity, had great Britain been first attacked. But whatever were the real or pretended motives of ministry, or of their allies, the French still remained unabated. That peace and safety for which the confederacy was fighting, did not seem obtainable by their arms. The French had resisted them so successfully, that peace, when it comes, would probably be concluded on their own terms. What a prospect did this afford to the movers of the war! Whatever ministers could say upon this subject, facts spoke decisively against them. They had not made that impression upon France which

which they had at first expected. The royal party, after the most spirited efforts, was entirely crushed. The violent republican party, after overcoming all its opponents, had seized all the power of the state, and exercised it with such conduct and energy, as to have rendered the French arms victorious almost everywhere. From their vast successes, they had acquired universal confidence in their abilities; their authority was uncontrouled both in civil and military affairs; soldiers, officers, and generals paid them implicit obedience; and the nation at large was not only submissive, but zealous in its compliance with their decrees.

Hopes had been entertained by our ministry, that the finances of France must prove inadequate to the support of the stupendous mass that had risen in its defence: but those hopes had been totally frustrated. Means had been found to provide amply for all the necessary demands of those immense multitudes that had been brought into the field; and instead of diminishing, the strength of the French since the beginning of the war, had encreased. Could the same be asserted of the coalition? Were their arms not surprisngly decreased, and, what was much worse, their spirit fallen by the numerous defeats they had suffered from an enemy whom they had been taught to despise, on account of his inexperience and ignorance in tactics? The Austrians and Prussians, long reputed the best disciplined troops in Europe, had however been repeatedly foiled by the raw French levies, collected on the spur of the occasion, wholly unpractised in the usages of war, and led to battle

merely by the necessity of defending their country, but inspired at the same time with an enthusiastic resolution to be victorious, or to lose their lives.

After mentioning the Austrians and Prussians, the other branches of the confederacy were beneath notice. What had Spain effected worthy of consideration? What had been done by Sardinia? To what, in short, had amounted the efforts of a confederacy, formed with few exceptions, of all the powers in Europe? The answer was fatally too mortifying to reflect upon it with patience, when we appreciated the treasure expended, and the blood that had been shed, against the paltry successes they had purchased, and which were far outweighed by the disgraces that so quickly followed them. But the efforts of the mighty combination against France amounted to something still more alarming: they had proved that France alone, under the influence of those maxims it had embraced, was able to encounter the united force of all Europe. This surely was a most important though mortifying discovery; yet not surprisng to those who considered with a cool and philosophic eye, the consequences naturally flowing from a spirit of enthusiasm in a cause, of the rectitude of which men were intimately convinced, and who examined at the same time the organization of that great force which France had raised for its protection.

Contrarily to the long standing practice in the European armies, of confining rewards and promotion to men of family and interest, soldiers were raised from the ranks for their valour: they were preferred

tered according to the abilities they displayed; and when they deserved it, were called to the supreme command. Was it marvellous that armies thus regulated should be victorious? The coalesced powers should weigh, without the pride and presumption that had hitherto swayed them, the prodigious difference between their own people and the French in those various particulars, and not attribute to superiority of numbers what was owing no less to the fortitude and elevation of mind arising from the principles and ideas now uppermost among the French, and that had transformed them into quite another people. It was owing to the energy infused by those lofty sentiments that they bore with a stoical indifference the deprivation of all the luxuries and comforts of life, and thought themselves happy with the bare necessities for existence. This temper was become general among them; and to betray impatience under want and difficulties, was held unmanly, and degrading to the character of true republicans. While the French continued in this disposition, ready to sacrifice every consideration in life to the preservation of their present system, it would be impossible to destroy it, without first destroying the nation itself. History did not afford more striking examples of cheerful acquiescence in the heaviest burdens, than were daily exhibited in France. The Convention proposed nothing, however painful and distressing to the circumstances of individuals, to which they did not readily consent. Those who stood at the helm of the state were the foremost in setting those examples: the consequence was,

that all the wealth of the nation was at the disposal of its rulers, and that, with few exceptions, the people in France had laid aside all interests but those of the public. Could as much be said for the subjects of those powers that had conspired their ruin? Were the Austrians, the Prussians, or the inhabitants of Spain equally forward in contributing to the exigencies of the war? Were they indeed truly convinced of its necessity, or of its justice? The murmurs and discontents in those countries sufficiently proclaimed how much more they were inclined to peace, and how little disposed to give any molestation to the French. But without stepping out of Great Britain, did it appear that individuals could be prevailed upon to advance money to government for the prosecution of this war, without ample interest and ample security? Would any minister dare to propose such measures as were daily adopted by the French administration? The prospect of gain was the only allurements to the monied men of this country, to induce them to come forward to the assistance of ministry. This interested disposition pervaded all ranks of the community, from the very highest to the very lowest: all without exception were eager to seize every opportunity of enriching themselves, at the expence of the public, and of rioting in the spoils of their country, even in the midst of its severest wants. The only classes that could be called the loaded and oppressed, were the needy and laborious. Hardly able to support themselves, they had no money to spare for those immense loans that were such a source of profit to the lenders,

and



and of oppression to the bulk of the community. It was therefore no subject of wonder that the opulent so warmly patronized the war, any more than that the indigent and the industrious reprobated it, and were continually expressing their wishes for its termination. But then the question, so often repeated, and so often answered, still recurred, Who are the men in France with whom we are to treat? Could any other reply be made more opposite than that which plain sense dictated? With those who govern that country. Pride and affectation alone could prevent a negotiation with those who had shewn themselves our equals in war; and with whom to refuse treating, was to declare an everlasting war.

Mr. Sheridan was vigorously seconded by Mr. Fox. To assert that, while the Jacobin system existed, no peace could take place with France, was, he affirmed, to pledge the nation for the performance of what dear bought experience had fully proved we could not accomplish. Never would the efforts of the coalition eradicate the opinions now so tenaciously rooted in France: they were sown before the revolution; they had produced it; the French gloried in them. But it was not in these opinions that the causes of the enormities perpetrated by the French were to be found: the menaces and insults contained in the manifestos and proclamations issued against them by their enemies, were the real causes of the rage and indignation that impelled the French to those excesses that had disgraced the cause of freedom, and done it the highest injury, by enabling its enemies to involve it in one common accusation against

its perverters, and to deceive the undiscerning into a suspicion of its real excellence. But whatever guilt and disgrace the French had incurred by their atrocious conduct, it was no valid reason for declining a negotiation with them. The rulers of that country, whether monarchical or republican, ought to be considered in the same light respecting this country. France had in the last century pursued the same ambitious system as in the present; yet our ancestors, however justly exasperated at her endeavours to deprive them of their civil and religious rights, and assisting in that attempt the deluded monarch when on the British throne, did not, after they had expelled him, and abjured his family, carry their resentment so far as to refuse negotiating with the perfidious court that had abetted him. By the same rule, prudence dictated a pacification with the present rulers of France, however cruel and ambitious. Those evil qualities were unhappily too frequent among men, to be urged as just impediments to a cessation of war. It was the duty of ministers to provide against them; not to plunge a nation into endless hostilities, on the pretence of extirpating those who acted under their influence. But were the efforts of coalition to succeed in the restoration of monarchy, would the prince restored rest satisfied with a mutilated kingdom, on a supposition of cessions being made to the members of the confederacy? Would he not, conformably to the usual course of politics, carefully watch and eagerly seize the first favourable occasion to re-annex them to his dominions? Thus it appeared, that with whomsoever we treated,

had no reason to expect more  
 instant advantages from the  
 than from the other. Were  
 not therefore more adviseable  
 to conclude a peace, if an honour-  
 peace could be obtained, with  
 present government of France,  
 trust to our caution and vigi-  
 for the preservation of evil  
 us against this country, than  
 continue hostilities, attended  
 an enormous waste of blood  
 treasure, but not more produc-  
 of security than a pacification?  
 Was the danger to be equal  
 in each case, that which freed us  
 an immense charge was, ques-  
 tion, preferable to the other.  
 Was it vain to calculate the resour-  
 ces of the French at the rate of a  
 natural proportion. They had  
 no commerce; they derived no ex-  
 cess from any other funds  
 than the productions of their soil:  
 these were the gifts of nature, and  
 could not be taken from them:  
 industry and ingenuity knew  
 how to turn them to the best ac-  
 count. The depreciation of their  
 currency had not depressed  
 their affairs: it had not retarded a  
 cent the vigour nor the cele-  
 city of their military operations.  
 Their men were willing and  
 ready to bear with hardships,  
 and their experience had proved  
 that their resources were inexhaust-  
 ible.

Courage and ability were  
 the main supports in all diffi-  
 culties, whether of a public or of a  
 private nature. The French had  
 justly verified this maxim;  
 we beheld us, while we testi-  
 fied our abhorrence of their con-  
 duct in so many instances, to do  
 likewise in this particular: but  
 let us, we should also recol-  
 lect, that strong a proof it afforded

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of the inutility of our efforts to re-  
 duce such a people to compliance  
 with our demands. It was not  
 long since we had made a trial of  
 this nature, to our fatal cost. Our  
 American colonies were, if possible,  
 in a situation more desperate and  
 forlorn than the French: yet,  
 amidst our daily taunts at their dis-  
 tresses, and our sanguine hopes of  
 their being finally compelled to  
 yield, they baffled all our strength,  
 all our courage, all our skill, and,  
 what we chiefly relied on, as we  
 do at this present hour, all that  
 profusion of treasure which had  
 nearly brought us to destruction, as  
 it certainly tended to such an issue  
 at this no less unhappy, if not more  
 unfortunate period. In short, they  
 might be said to have sought out  
 riches with their poverty: a serious  
 lesson to those who think that afflu-  
 ence can compass all things.

Mr. Fox, in a very serious tone  
 of voice, implored the attention of  
 the House to this topic, as a blind  
 and obstinate confidence in our own  
 pecuniary resources, and in a fail-  
 ure of the pecuniary resources of  
 France, was the great spring of the  
 calamities with which we were now  
 beset and further threatened, even  
 to national disgrace and ruin. Mon-  
 ey is, in fact, only a mark or sign  
 of the value of labour. In a gener-  
 al and comprehensive view of  
 things, money is not so much the  
 cause, as the effect of exertion.  
*Value production cost.* Great designs  
 are not to be regulated and circum-  
 scribed by the little rules of vulgar  
 calculation. A nation may be so  
 powerful, and so fertile in inven-  
 tion, as to set dangers at defiance  
 in finance, in force majeure, at dis-  
 tance. Productions of art, as well  
 as reproductions of nature, may be

Q

carried

carried on with very little, or even without any money, as the French had already proved. The enthusiasm of liberty, though not, properly speaking, itself a resource, conducts men, by its native heat and light, to the discovery and invention of resources. It excites every latent faculty of the soul; and the energies of the mind, in full exertion, fall upon means which it would have wholly overlooked in a state of inaction. Though in the present advanced state of commerce money be a general representative, and equivalent for commodities of all kinds, among which we reckon military stores and military services, the order of nature, by which all things are procured by industry and exertion, is not inverted. In times of peace men pursue the medium of exchanging, the sign of commodities. In times of war they sometimes, nay, very frequently, pursue by more compendious ways the thing signified. In war it sometimes happens that courage and rage supply the want of ordinary arms. Xenophon, in his *Cyropædia*, has observed, that iron commands gold. The French, when their assignats fail, as it is predicted that they will do, may plunder their neighbours. It must be allowed that plunder is but a fleeting source: yet when a nation has abandoned habits of peace and industry, and acquired the views and manners of predatory warriors,

it is a resource that enables them to spread oppression and desolation far and near. The Arabs did not conquer so large a portion of Asia and Africa, and even part of Europe, by money. The Tartars, or Scythians, had no money, not even assignats; yet they subdued the Roman empire, as the Romans themselves had by their hardihood and military discipline and valour triumphed over the money and numerous mercenaries of Carthage. In our own times we have seen a people without money defeating the richest nation at present on earth. Are we certain that when the resource of the assignats shall be exhausted, if it shall be exhausted, the energy of liberty and the fertility of French invention will not be able to open others? The resources of commerce are fleeting and transient: but never, in the divided state of individuals and nations, can there be a conjecture in which courage and numbers may not alarm the fears, and political intrigues, in various ways, practise on all the various passions of human nature. It is not possible, said Mr. Fox, to imagine what new means of continuing the war may be invented by an ingenious people, actuated by a spirit of national independence and honour: and he deplored from the bottom of his heart the fatal error which administration was at so much pains, in various ways \*, to propagate.

Mr.

\* Alluding probably to certain pamphlets that were published at this time, endeavouring to prove that the certain ruin of the French assignats would be the certain ruin of the French republic. It was some time after this, however, that Sir John d'Ivernois (author of a tract published in 1782, and another in 1795, respecting revolutions, at those periods, in Geneva) published his reflections, "*Sur la Guerre*," and his "*Etat de Finance*," &c. In the first of these works his object is to shew, 1<sup>st</sup>, That the French republic will be ruined, just as the monarchy was, by the state of the finances; and that before the expiration of the year 1795,

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Mr. Fox returned again to the subject of the American war; between which and the present there were so many striking points of resemblance, particularly in the fatal point, that in neither would ministers listen to any arguments or any reports, other than those that were agreeable to their own prejudices and passions.

The loss of America, through our self-delusion, pride, and obstinacy, should teach us to be more moderate in our views of conquest and subjugation; especially when directed towards a country and people less liable than any other to become the slaves of their neighbours, and long accustomed to inspire them all with terror. After protracting the war with America to a ruinous length, Great Britain was glad to treat with that rebellious foe. Why not assent to a treaty with a power never dependant on our jurisdiction, and whose offences, however great, have been committed within itself, and are amenable only to the tribunal of opinion? It had been predicted, that to yield to the demands of

America, would be treason to Great Britain; but necessity forced us to yield. It had been foretold that the cession of independence to America would produce every species of national calamities, and sink us at once to the lowest degradation. But were either of these predictions accomplished? After acquiescing in these demands, did we not in a short space emerge out of every difficulty which that contest had engendered? We lost indeed a multitude of subjects, but we acquired a multitude of useful connexions, far more profitable than if retained in subjection by purchase or by terror. In the same manner, by relinquishing an attempt beyond the strength of Europe to achieve, we should fall back into that prosperous course which that enemy, whose ambition we had taken up arms to repress, would never be able to disturb, while we convinced the world by our conduct, that his imputations to our disadvantage were unjust, and that our intercourse with other nations was founded on the strictest principles of good faith and equity.

at farthest. 2d, That Mr. Pitt will be considered by futurity as a greater minister, if possible, than his father. The chances of war Sir John certainly shewed to be all in favour of that party who possessed most resources for prolonging the contest. His mistake lay in assuming that the only resource and nerve of war is money: that the whole power of the French republic, and even its military existence, depended exclusively on the assignats; and that its momentary conquests were wholly owing to the profusion of paper-currency. Mr. de Calonne demonstrated the fallacy of this opinion with great clearness of reasoning, and with an air of gaiety and pleasantry. The constant and repeated predictions of Sir John d'Ivernois were uniformly falsified by events. He then took refuge in the observation, that the French republic must have been ruined, as he had predicted, if it had confined its exactions to France, and not also laid violent hands on property of other nations: but that they would, in case of necessity, be guilty of such violence, was a case very likely to happen. It was said, and is somewhere hinted by Sir John d'Ivernois himself, that he was employed to publish his doctrine respecting assignats by Mr. Pitt; who was naturally very desirous of convincing both himself and others of what he anxiously wished to be true. This disposition in all men, particularly the great, is the most plentiful source of the greatest errors.

Another advantage would result from a willingness on our side to treat for a peace with France: it would convince the French that we were not inveterately determined to continue their enemies. This would naturally lessen their enmity to this nation, and dispose them to be less subservient to that violent party among them which refused amity to all but those who embraced its opinions. It would do still more; it would reconcile the discordant in this country, by shewing those who disapproved of the war, that it was a measure of necessity and defence. A cordial union of all parties would instantly be produced by such a conviction; and the ministry would meet with none but approvers of the war. All these things duly considered, it was time to depose that wrathful and malevolent spirit which led to so much useless crimination and abuse. Instead of contemplating with indignation the guilt of a people so studiously represented as the most infamous of mankind, we should coolly reflect what mode of acting towards them would be most conducive to our own welfare. True policy in a commercial people, consisted in avoiding causes of discontent, especially to potent states, more jealous of their honour, and more inclined to resent real or imaginary affronts than many inferior powers, who think themselves aggrieved. The feelings of neither of them could with safety be slighted; but far greater was the facility as well as the danger of offending a mighty neighbour: deeds and words ought to be carefully weighed: the latter sometimes were apt to create as high, if

not higher resentment than the former. For these reasons, dropping censorious language, and all manner of invective, it became a British parliament to occupy itself solely with the concerns of its constituents. Whatever was irrelevant to those objects wherein they were interested, did not belong to parliamentary discussions. The real question before them was, Whether parliament was bound to countenance those assertions in the royal, or rather, as notoriously understood, the ministerial speech, which represented the affairs of this country in a flourishing state.

From what had been stated on both sides in the course of the debate, it clearly appeared that the general success of the war was in favour of France. No impression of any consequence had been made upon that country and people, notwithstanding the numerous and well disciplined armies that had been unremittingly employed against them, and the prodigious sums expended to maintain the vast number of their enemies, and to create fresh ones in every quarter: hence, it would be the meanest adulation to coincide with the ministerial assertions, which were so glaringly contradicted by facts, obvious to all men. It were more consistent with the situation of public affairs to address the Throne for peace, instead of pledging themselves to support the continuance of war: were even such a measure advisable, those under whose auspices it had been conducted, had proved themselves to deficient in talents and aptitude for its prosecution, that they were no longer fit to be trusted with so arduous a charge. They had fallen into errors and improprieties

improprieties in almost every attempt under their direction: they had framed plans, without providing the means of execution. The failure at Dunkirk, which proved the origin of the many subsequent disasters, was entirely owing to mismanagement. The advantages that might have resulted from the possession of Toulon, were lost by want of decision, and by an unparalleled procrastination of what should have suffered no delay. But

waving these and other failures, and adverting only to the fitness of terminating this unpropitious war, it ought to be recommended, as an amendment to the address, that, without further objections to the system of government established in France, the crown should treat with it for peace, upon safe and honourable conditions. On putting the question, the address, without the amendment, was carried by 277 votes against 59.

## CHAP. XI.

*Military Preparations and Strength of France and Great Britain in the Course of 1793. A Body of Hessiah Troops arrive in the Isle of Wight. This Measure censured by Opposition in the House of Commons. Defended by the Ministerial Party. Motion for increasing the Number of Seamen for the Service of the Navy. For referring to the Committee of Supply, a Treaty with the King of Sardinia. That the Land Forces for the Service of the Current Year, should consist of 60,000 Men. Conversations and Disputations that arise in Consequence of these Motions. Supplies for the Prosecution of the War. New Taxes. Act for restraining the Payment of Money to Persons residing in France during the War. Annual Motion by Mr. Wilberforce, for Leave to bring in a Bill for the Abolition of the Slave Trade, in the House of Commons. Carried. Petitions against the Abolition of the Slave Trade. Motion by Mr. Maitland, respecting French Officers in British Pay. Negatived.*

THE attention paid by the British ministry to the means of prosecuting the war against France, was equal to the importance of which both they and the people seemed to consider it. The French, at the end of 1793, were complete masters of the field on all their frontiers: they had expelled the Austrians and Prussians from their country: they had taken possession of the Netherlands, and menaced Holland with an invasion. Great Britain, the principal guardian of the balance of Europe, saw itself

involved by the critical circumstances of that period, in the disagreeable necessity of interposing between the contending powers, in order to preserve that equipoise between them, on which its political importance and commercial prosperity so essentially depend. The naval strength of the kingdom consisted of no more than forty-five ships fit for service, of which one-third was of the line. They were manned by about 15,000 seamen. The army amounted to its usual peace establishment, of about 20,000. But the vigour and activity of go-

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vernment had been such, that before the end of 1793 the navy had been placed on the most formidable footing. Above 300 sail had been put into commission, of which fourscore were of the line, and a hundred frigates. The number of seamen exceeded 70,000. The army had been augmented to 100,000 men, including the militia, which the excellent discipline now introduced among that body of men, rendered equal every way to the regulars. The various levies, under the name of Fencibles, independent companies, and volunteers, amounted to more than 40,000; and the marines on board the fleet were upwards of 15,000. Thirtythousand Hanoverians, Hessians, and other Germans had been taken into British pay, together with the same number of Prussians.

It was not without sufficient reason that the British government had thought proper to make such efforts. The exertions of France had astonished and alarmed all Europe:—she counted more than 1,000,000 of men now actually in arms. More than the half of this immense force was employed on the frontiers.

The republican administration were fully conscious of the critical state they were in, and that if they failed in the struggle, France must submit to the discretion of its numerous adversaries. Hence no means were omitted to oppose them on every side; and fortune had been so favourable to them, that at the close of the year 1793 they had assumed a posture that menaced the whole confederacy. The superiority of Great Britain at sea was the only circumstance they dreaded; but here too their efforts

had been so unremitting, that they found means, notwithstanding the late disaster they had met with at Toulon, to equip a considerable fleet, which was lying at Brest, and with which they intended to risk an engagement with the British armament that was stationed in the Channel to watch its motions. But the chief object of the French at sea, was, to carry on a predatory war with Great Britain, by means of their numerous privateers. Herein they had been successful, and had taken a large number of British vessels: but these were mostly of inconsiderable value; the rich merchantmen, sailing under convoy, rarely fell into their hands.

In the mean time a body of Austrian troops, destined, it was said, to be employed in an expedition on the coast of France, arrived in a fleet of transports from Germany, to the Isle of Wight. In order to prevent illness among them, through confinement on board, they were landed and quartered in that island, there to remain till the expedition took place. The arrival of these troops, together with their landing and going into quarters, being communicated to the House of Commons, on the 27th of January, a vote of thanks passed for this communication; but on the next day, the measure itself underwent a violent censure from the opposition. It complained that, exclusively of the illegality of the transaction, the number of troops landed, their ulterior destination, and the length of their stay in the island, had not been mentioned in the message. These were particulars, a specification of which was necessary for the satisfaction of the public,

public, as well as of Parliament. The ministerial answer was, that it were highly impolitic, and therefore improper to subject the intended destination of those troops to a parliamentary debate. The time of their stay depending on contingencies, could not be ascertained; and as they were not all arrived, the precise amount of the force landed had not been regularly stated. This answer did not however prove satisfactory to those members in the House, and to those numbers without, who highly disapproved of this introduction of an armed force into the kingdom, without a previous application to parliament. On the 10th of February, opposition renewed its attack. It was strenuously contended by Mr. Gray, that however expedient this measure might appear in a military light, it could not anywise meet with their approbation as constitutional. Ministry ought, in the King's name, to have applied to parliament for its consent, as it was manifestly against law to raise or maintain a standing military force in England during either peace or war, without the permission of the legislature; it being expressly forbidden by the very letter as well as the spirit of the act framed to this intent, that any office of trust, civil or military, should, on any account whatever, be held by any but natural subjects, born within the realm. The trust committed to officers and commanders was of the most important nature, and could not therefore, consistently with the obvious meaning of the law, be lodged in the hands of foreigners. Such was the watchfulness of the constitution, that

it had provided not only against the existence of an army, independently of Parliament, but even of a marine, by making it necessary to pass annually a bill for subjecting both to military law; without which neither of them had any legal sanction. If no armed force, even of natives, could be suffered in the realm without those precautions, with how much more vigilance ought the legislature to provide against an army of foreigners, used to despotic subjection in their own country, and ever ready, for hire, implicitly to obey any pay-master in the execution of whatever projects he might purpose to execute through their means? Parliament had by various acts prohibited the introduction of foreign mercenaries into the kingdom. The principles on which the revolution was founded, militated against it in so striking a manner, that no real friend to that event could give the least countenance to contrary ideas. Parliament had constantly opposed attempts of this nature, as evidently subversive of their undoubted right to regulate all particulars relating to the existence and support of the military and naval departments of the kingdom. Occasions indeed might arise when dispatch, and perhaps secrecy, required to instantaneous assistance, that no time could be spared for the usual forms of legislative assent to its introduction; but in such cases ministers ought immediately to apply for an act of indemnity; otherwise they were liable to a prosecution, as guilty of the most dangerous of all intrusions upon the safety of national freedom, that of putting the coun-



try into the power of strangers. The royal prerogative ought not to be invaded; but wherever it militated against the spirit of the constitution: this claimed a prior consideration, and parliaments could not be too vigilant in checking the ministerial abuse of the prerogative. In consequence of these premises, it was moved by Mr. Gray,—That to employ foreigners in any situation of military trust; or to bring foreign troops into the kingdom, without the consent of parliament, was contrary to law. This motion was supported by Lord John Cavendish, Major Maitland, Mr. Whitbread, and Mr. Francis.

In support of ministry, Mr. Wyndham contended that, without involving itself into endless debates concerning rights and illegalities, the House should investigate whether ministers had acted properly in advising the King to introduce a body of foreign troops into the kingdom. The only rule of decision was to consult circumstances, and examine without prejudice, whether the exigency of affairs did not sanction such a measure.

In addition to these reasonings it was asserted by Mr. Wallace, that no positive proof had been adduced that the introduction of foreign troops into the realm, when at war, was repugnant to any actual law or usage. Certainly, the crown had not abused the prerogative in the present case; and no parliamentary sanction had yet been held requisite in the like cases. It did not become parliament to betray perpetual suspicions of the executive power. This could only produce ill blood between the King and people, whose interests should

never be represented as different from those of the sovereign, without the most obvious and compulsive necessity.

These arguments were enforced by Mr. Pitt, who further observed, that whether the foreign troops in question had been sent far and landed in this country, with the design of employing them with others on some expedition abroad, or whether they intended to remain in the kingdom for its defence, a communication from the Throne, and a consequent address of thanks from parliament, took away all sinister interpretation, and implied a regular consent. This was on both sides a transaction perfectly conformable to former precedents. Were the royal prerogative in cases of a similar nature to exceed its just bounds, the law had provided an adequate remedy, by empowering the parliament to refuse pecuniary supplies, and thus to stop at once the progress of any evil designs.

The debate on this important subject was closed by Mr. Fox; who strenuously opposed the entrance of an armed force into the kingdom, either in peace or war, without a positive consent of parliament; such a prerogative in the crown was in direct opposition to the Bill of Rights, solemnly established at the revolution, with the clearest intent of depriving the crown of all possible power to govern by a military force. The mutiny bill was framed on the same plan. The discussions that took place during the American war, when it was thought expedient to reinforce the garrisons of Gibraltar and Minorca with Hanoverian troops, shewed in what a light

light the introduction of these into any part of the British dominions was viewed by all good patriots, and how indispensably requisite it was deemed that no such measure should pass without the explicit consent of parliament. Ministers might give the most positive assurances that the stay of a foreign armed force would be short; but that was not the question. When once introduced, and the principle of introduction established, who was to limit the numbers to be stationed on British ground, on those many pretences for which ministers were never at a loss? When sufficiently numerous to brave all control, by whom were they to be limited without their own consent? Would parliamentary representations, without something more substantial and coercive, prevail upon them to depart? In such a case as the present, it became him, and every member of a British House of Parliament, to speak out, mindless of frowns and careless of favours. It was notorious, that by granting an unlimited power of the sword to Kings and Princes, the liberties of Europe had been destroyed. While parliament acted with wisdom, it would look on its own privileges as founded on public freedom; that once overturned, their own privileges would soon be violated. They ought therefore, for their own interest, to stand by the people, who alone would stand by them in the day of need: but to secure this support, they should beware of delivering the nation into the power of strangers, who, when once fully settled, would for their own

sake become the instruments of oppression. Ministerial emissaries studiously sought to represent numbers of people in this country as enemies to monarchy; but if this representation were true, the most effectual method of removing this enmity would be to divest monarchy of its terrors, by refusing such an augmentation of its power as the prerogative in question was aiming at. The introduction of the Hessian troops, from general views of good policy in conducting the war, Mr Fox did by no means condemn; it was merely, he affirmed, the right of the executive power to introduce them into the kingdom, independently of Parliament, which he denied; as a prerogative incompatible with the security of public freedom, and tending incontrovertibly to lodge a degree of authority in the executive department, which at some period might enable it to compass the most fatal designs to this country. This long and animated discussion terminated in favour of ministry, by a division of 184 against 35.

Opposition however considered this subject in too serious a light to give it up without any further debate;—the public opinion was on their side. Though people approved of the measure itself, of allowing the Hessians to enjoy the benefits of a residence on so healthy a spot as the Isle of Wight, still the propriety of a parliamentary permission for this purpose, appeared too manifest for ministers declining to accept of an indemnity for a conduct which was not reputed blameable in any other light than in their refusal to acknowledge its illegality. Their obstinacy on this occasion did them considerable

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precisely this description the ministry stood acquitted of the royal prerogative on this occasion. It was not that the King's prerogative was introduced to the introduction of military either to domestic insurrections, garrisons, or to be stationed in any part of the country, unless by formal command of Parliament; but no law or transient admission on this subject was specified.

It was acknowledged by Lord Mansfield that he did not condemn the Hessians as contrary to law, nor as a legal act on the part of the Government. The silence of the law, in this case, was an admonition to the Government to pass them over unless it were evident that they were silent, would amount to a breach of the duty they owed to their country. But without any decided apprehensions that the Government was intended of the prerogative in the crown, it should be left untouched, as for the quiet and good of the community.

Mr. Fox took notice on the 19th, that nineteen years before he was a member of the House, it was not even thought of to introduce troops into the British dominions, not contrary to law; the subject then agitated was, how to give a bill of indemnity granted to the officers who had taken that to remove all doubt as to the legality of the measure, in which the House were agreed.

The subject was considered by the House, as altogether of an important nature, and highly impro-

per at present for debate. The Hessians were in a situation that required them to be in the country for the benefit of air and refreshment: this surely was no violation of the prerogative. The Government, if it was true, could not, without consulting Parliament, maintain a standing army of natives, less of foreigners; but in the present case, nothing had been done to throw the least blame on the Government. It was ungenerous to lay upon the exercise of the royal prerogative as necessarily attended with abuse. It might seem to appear inconsistent with liberty, but while under constitutional restrictions, was experimentally of essential utility. The responsibility of ministers had been laid in a dangerous light: but it answered two equally beneficial purposes: they were not only answerable for doing wrong, but also for not doing what was right. In a case like the present, for instance, were they to introduce a force without necessity, or neglect their aid when wanted, they would be alike culpable. Hence it fairly appeared, that the Government pressed a bill of indemnity upon the officers for what they had done respecting the Hessians, would prevent all future ministers, as in the present, from resorting to a measure of calling in the aid of foreigners when it might be most wanted, and while they had also nearest at hand to afford relief. Better therefore to leave doubtful business undecided by circumscribing the motions of ministers, to expose government to a probable failure in its operations against the enemies of the country.

In opposition to this reasoning, Lord Guildford was decidedly of opinion, that no expediency could be alleged against the positive tenor of the law. A strong example had been given in the last century, of the backwardness even of a wicked administration to run counter to the sense of the people, by introducing an army of foreigners into the kingdom. This was the ministry of James II. However violently intent on the accomplishment of his designs, that monarch did not dare to accept of the assistance offered him by his friend and abettor Lewis XIV. of France; and chose rather to incur the risk of not succeeding in his projects, than to offend his people by a measure which he was conscious would lay him open to their universal odium. The bill of indemnity recommended to ministers, showed how little disposed the nation was to censure them for what they had done; but was no less a proof how unacceptable the principle of empowering the crown to admit a foreign force was to the sense of the nation. Messages from the crown were no justification of ministerial measures. The words of Lord Coke, on a similar occasion, might pertinently be quoted on the present: "the King's message was gracious; but what law the law of the land?"

Arguments of the same import as those already specified, were urged by other Lords, on each side of the question. But the issue of the debate was, that the bill of indemnity proposed by Lord Albemarle, was negatived by seventy-seven against twelve.

This rejection of a bill which could not have affected the repu-

tation of ministers, nor diminished the influence of the crown, was greatly censured by numbers, who wished that government, while engaged in so serious a business as the contest with France, would have laid aside all needless tenaciousness of its authority, and yielded to the ideas of the generality, especially as they extended no farther than to require the genuine principles of the constitution to be acknowledged. It was said, an abridgement of the royal prerogatives was undoubtedly in the contemplation of that party which had imbibed the doctrines imported from France among its neighbours; but this party was so greatly outnumbered by those who adhered to the established government, that no danger could have accrued from indulging these reiterated desires, that ministers would refrain from all appearance of haughtiness, obstinacy, and love of power, and trust more than they seemed disposed to do, to the goodwill and readiness of the public to support and carry them through the arduous task of putting a stop to the progress of the ancient enemy of the British nation.

The strength and inveteracy of that formidable enemy were now daily encreasing; and it required the utmost efforts of combined Europe to meet him in the field. The empire of the sea was that object which he strenuously sought above all others, to compass; certain that if he succeeded, the world itself would be at his command. Full of this mighty project, his efforts were exerted in every maritime town and province of France, to collect a sufficient number of seamen to man the fleet

fleet he was preparing at Brest, in order to make a trial of his naval prowess with the strength of Great Britain, on what is not improperly called her own element.

To prepare for a contest, the issue of which would be very serious to the losing party, was equally the study of the British government. On the 27th of January 1794, Lord Arden moved, that the number of seamen for the service of the navy, during the approaching season, should be augmented to 85,000. The motion was cheerfully complied with: all parties, even those who disapproved of the war as unnecessary, were alike convinced of the propriety of carrying it on with vigour after it had been undertaken, and of supporting the honour of the British arms, both by sea and land, against an enemy who, flushed with his late successes, was become more dangerous than ever, and menaced Britain particularly, as the chief agent in the coalition against him.

Mr. Fox, though he acquiesced in the motion, was very severe in his examination of the conduct of the war. Ministers, he observed, had boasted of the good condition and great services of the navy during the preceding year, particularly of the attention shewn to the commercial fleet; and yet it appeared that several branches of our trade had greatly suffered; seventeen of the traders to the Baltic had been taken, and they had all narrowly escaped: the shipping from Quebec had been left to the protection of only one ship in a bad condition; and their safe arrival was owing to the circumstance

of the absence of an enemy. In the Channel, six French frigates had been suffered to take twenty-six sail of rich merchantmen. These particulars made him doubtful of the care and vigilance professed by the ministry. Nor was it certain that we had not lost as many vessels in the foregoing year as in 1778, when we contended alone with Holland, France, and Spain. It was an undeniable fact, that, since the commencement of the war, in February last year, the French had seized near one hundred vessels more than they had lost.

Mr. Pitt, in reply, stated, that no ships had fallen into the enemy's hands through want of convoy. Six French frigates had remained uninterrupted in the Channel the space of six days, while our fleet, just returned from a cruise, was lying in port to refit; but they were soon driven into their own harbours. Our successes at sea had, on the whole, been great: our East and West India fleets had safely arrived at their destinations abroad, and sailed securely home: our trade was immense, and prospered in every quarter of the globe. These were truths that could not be controverted. The British navy had, in the mean time, ruled irresistibly in every sea. Many years would elapse before the French could recover from the blow they had received at Toulon. Our fleets were out everywhere in search of the enemy, who constantly avoided coming to action. As to the intelligence brought from France, relating to the advantages of which the French were continually boasting, but little reliance could be placed upon it; and the  
speaker

speakers in the Convention were careful to magnify their successes and diminish their losses, and to represent their situation as completely prosperous, though it was well known that France was full of discontent, confusion, and wretchedness.

When it was moved by Mr. Pitt, that the treaty with the King of Sardinia should be referred to the committee of supply, Mr. Fox represented that treaty as one by which this country engaged to do much for an ally who was to make no return. The port of Nice might have been a compensation for our aid; but of that the French were masters, as well as of his hereditary Dukedom of Savoy. He was to receive a subsidy of two hundred thousand pounds to enable him to defend his own dominions; and Great Britain stipulated at the same time to procure the recovery of the territories he had lost. But the fulfilling of these terms, considering the many chances against us, arising from this unpropitious war, might prove a burden of ruinous weight to this country. Without entangling this expensive ally in a dangerous quarrel, it would have been wiser in us, and more advantageous to him, whenever a pacification took place, to have made the restoration of his dominions a condition of the treaty.

It was observed by Mr. Powis, in reply, that the ancestor of the King of Sardinia, who acceded to the grand alliance against France at the beginning of the present century, was treated with on similar terms. The French were at that time, as they are now, grasping at undue power; and Europe was, in like manner, compelled to

unite for its preservation. To protect the King of Sardinia was one of the means of our own defence. He was subsidized to fight our battles as well as his own; and the successes he might obtain, were no less advantageous to us than to him, by weakening the common enemy, and by diverting a considerable part of that force which he might otherwise employ against this country and its allies.

Mr. Ryder added, that, in his opinion, the situation of the King of Sardinia's dominions in Italy, rendered him an ally of considerable weight, by enabling him to prevent the French from penetrating into the Milanese.

The augmentation of the army was the next object of importance brought before the House. The secretary at war, on the 3d of February, moved, in a committee of supply, that the land-forces for the service of the current year, should consist of 60,000 men. This augmentation was opposed by Mr. Hussey, on the ground of its inefficacy for the purposes of this war. The navy of Great Britain ought rather to have been augmented. A few stout ships were of much more utility than a land-force, in making such an impression upon the enemy as would be solid and serviceable to the interests of this country. He entertained no doubt of the courage and gallantry of our officers and soldiers; but would rather have seen our naval list carried to 100,000 men, than vote for any farther increase of the army.

He was followed by Major Maitland, who entered largely into the subject. He complained that much more money was expended in raising men than in equipping them; and that economy

economy was little attended to in this branch of the service. But for what were we expending money in new levies? To encounter ideas and opinions, which were not of a nature to be subdued by force of arms. Nor were ministers entitled to our confidence for their application of the supplies granted to them. The injudicious conduct of ministry had been the radical cause of all the disasters that had befallen the British arms; while the advantages that had been obtained, were not the result of their wisdom. The transient successes of the allies at the opening of the last campaign, were produced by numbers: as soon as they divided their forces, they lost ground. The failure at Dunkirk was an unanswerable proof of the incapacity of our ministers. It was totally due to their mismanagement and presumption, and occasioned a long series of misfortunes. Toulon was put into our hands by the royalists, and retaken by the republicans through want of timely succours to keep it. Equal imprudence had appeared in a variety of other measures.

Mr. Jenkins justified the attempts upon Dunkirk, in a variety of considerations. It was attacked at the only time when such a thing was practicable. Had the business been delayed, it must have been given over till next year. The commanders of the allied army made no objection to the enterprize, and an adequate force was provided for it. But unforeseen accidents interposed; and, in the mean time, an immense army came to its relief.

In support of the augmentation of the army, Mr. Pitt argued that

the power of Great Britain however irresistible on the continent, could not, in the present things, make an adequate provision upon an enemy, whose strength was concentrated on land and who, for that reason, there only be assailed with ease. It was to prevent the invasion of the territories of their neighbours that the war against France had been undertaken:—therefore at land they were encountered. Great Britain no less deeply concerned to allies, in putting a stop to encroachments of France. As to succeed in the projects evidently formed, its aggression would be such, that it would not be able to submit to its consequences. This was far from being a surmise. The style of the convention, their continual boasts and threats, the affected superiority which they treated other powers, the plans they openly avowed, compelling all the powers to bow before them, were unequivocal indications of the arrogant designs they had formed against their neighbours. The great scheme they had not only formed but executed, of converting the people of France into a mass of soldiers, manifested their views, which were those of conquest and subjugation. Acting upon such principles necessarily at enmity with all the powers. Whatever the original cause of the differences subsisted between the French and the belligerent powers, the consequence was clearly, Whether they should give laws to others, or be contained within their limits? No exertion, th

ought to be omitted by Great Britain, in conjunction with its allies, to reduce so dangerous a people within bounds, and to humble them so completely, as to deprive them both of the inclination and power to disturb the peace of Europe. It had been insinuated that the whole strength of the confederacy was unequal to such a task; but that was the language of despondency. France might make a long and desperate resistance; but the resources of the coalition would, if employed with vigour and unanimity, enable it to hold out longer than France, and oblige that haughty people to listen to reasonable terms.

Mr. Fox, in reply to the arguments adduced by ministry, asserted that the preceding campaign did by no means deserve the epithet of successful. Our failure at Dunkirk and expulsion from Toulon, were sufficient to silence all pretences to success. The relinquishing of Toulon was inexcusable. After pledging the honour of the nation to exert every endeavour to retain it, ministry ought to have provided a sufficient force to repel the attacks of the besiegers; whereas the strength employed in its defence was so inconsiderable, that no doubt subsisted of its inability to oppose the force which the French government was preparing against it. The retention of Toulon was a duty of the first importance. Had it been put into an effectual posture of defence, the condition of France was such at that time, as to afford well founded hopes of a powerful insurrection of the royal party in the southern parts of that kingdom. Such was the language of the enemies to the

Convention at that time; and it behoved ministry to make a full trial of its veracity, as they professed themselves of the same opinion. But instead of this, they sacrificed Toulon, and its inhabitants, to their projected expeditions in the West Indies. He did not, however, place much confidence in that language; he had experienced the fallacy of similar assertions by the adherents to government in the colonies, during the American war. While we possessed Toulon, Lyons was in arms against the Convention, and Marseilles in a state bordering upon insurrection; yet none of their neighbours shewed the least disposition to join them. This proved how little we could depend on assistance from the people of France in favour of a counter-revolution. The delays of ministers in fitting out the expedition intended for the coast of France, under Lord Moira, to succour the royalists; and the feeble efforts made in their behalf at Toulon, had convinced them that we were not able to bring them effectual relief; and that they ought not, therefore, to trust in our promises. In the mean time, all these attempts tended to widen the breach between Great Britain and France, and to kindle a spirit of inveteracy productive of great evils to both countries. Peace, however, was not so difficult an object to attain as some people imagined, or affected to believe. The French and English had more than once been involved in the deadliest quarrels. France had strove, with all her might, to impose an arbitrary government on this country, to subvert its religion, and to replace a banished family on the throne.



These were certainly most heinous attempts; yet they never induced us, in the height of our resentment, to vow eternal war with the French. By a parity of reasoning, the French, notwithstanding our endeavours to force upon them a system of government which they had reprobated, would on our desisting, not refuse to treat for a peace, which they could not want less than we did; and we ourselves could not be supposed so inveterately fixed in our hatred of that people, as to eternize hostilities for the purpose of gratifying it, until they submitted implicitly to our own terms. But this we had no reason to expect, while they continued an armed nation. The supreme power in that country, was now lodged in those hands which alone could effect the changes we required; and they were determined to persevere in resisting us and our allies to the very last.

After a few words from Mr. Pitt, stating, that by an armed nation he meant no more than the immense mass of people compelled by the Convention to take up arms, the several resolutions of the committee were agreed to.

On the 5th of February, the minister laid before the House an account of the supplies necessary for the prosecution of the war, together with the ways and means to raise them, the particulars of the intended loan, and of other methods of procuring money, with the taxes that would be requisite to pay the interest accruing on the sums additionally borrowed. He observed, that the exertions required, though great, were indispensable; and that every man

should bear in mind that he was now struggling for the preservation of all that was dear to him. The public had likewise the satisfaction of knowing, that both the naval and military department were on the most respectable footing ever known in this country: the exertions of government had been such, that the numbers voted by parliament were already nearly completed in both these branches of the service. The interior strength of the kingdom consisted of one hundred and forty thousand effective men; and that of the navy of near ninety thousand: the artillery had been placed on a footing of great improvement, and amounted to near six thousand men. The foreign troops in our pay were almost forty thousand: constituting altogether a force little short of two hundred and seventy thousand men, in the best condition and discipline. He then proceeded to the statement of the sums necessary for the maintenance of this force. The navy would require five millions five hundred and twenty-five thousand pounds; the army, six millions three hundred and thirty-nine thousand; that of the ordnance, one million three hundred and forty-five thousand; and the miscellaneous services would call for two hundred and six thousand. The deficiencies of last year in grants, amounted to four hundred and seventy-four thousand pounds; in the land and malt-tax, three hundred and fifty thousand: the sum appropriated to the discharge of the national debt was two hundred thousand; and the exchequer bills would amount to five millions five hundred

thousand. Thus the tobacco supply, wanted for the year, would be nineteen nine hundred and thirty-thousand pounds. The ways to raise this supply, were, and malt-tax, two millions dred thousand; the growth of taxes after answer-charges of the consolidated two millions one hundred eighty-seven thousand; the a company, five hundred; and the loan eleven

The taxes proposed by Her to pay the interest of loan, were two hundred y-three thousand pounds h spirits, and that upon and rum, at the rate of one gallon for spirits; nine r rum, and ten pence for Seventy thousand pounds; and tiles, at the rate of pence additional for every; thirty thousand pounds and stone, carried coast-the rate of ten shillings a late, and two shillings and for stone; fifty-two thousands additional on crown e-glass; sixty-three thousands additional on paper; five thousand pounds additional upon attorneys; together or hundred and twentyousand pounds surplus of

1791. After producing ment, Mr. Pitt noticed, public revenue was in a prosperity beyond expectation. The produce of taxes in exceeded by one hundred ty-seven thousand pounds age of the four preceding and the total amount of the had been more, by five thousand pounds, than at

the most flourishing of former periods.

This general plan of taxation was approved by Mr. Fox, though he considered several parts of it as oppressive.

On the 7th of February, among a variety of taxes that passed the House, the rule by which the Roman Catholics were charged a double rate to the land tax, was cancelled, to the great satisfaction of the liberal minded of all persuasions.

The new taxes chiefly objected to on this occasion, were those upon attorneys and paper; the first of which had already been adverted to by Mr. Fox. Mr. Adam considered this tax as exposing the profession to unjust reflections. No persons were professionally employed in more confidential transactions than attorneys: they were necessarily entrusted with the secrets of individuals, and of whole families: the character of the profession ought, therefore, to command respect. Doubtless, there were persons exercising it little to their credit; but this was no reproach to the profession itself, which contained as excellent individuals as any class of society. This additional tax was a heavy incumbrance; as after paying it, together with the foregoing duty for a licence, still a man was liable to be struck off the list of attorneys, were a court of law to judge him unfit for the profession; in which case he not only lost his situation in life, but received no indemnification for the money he had expended in qualifying himself for it. The heads of the law, and among them were those, the chief justice especially, whose endeavours to raise

the credit of the profession were well known, would become more averse than ever to degrade attorneys, from the consideration of the ruinous loss with which such a degradation must be of course attended.

The additional tax on paper was censured by Mr. Brandling, as amounting to much more in fact than the specified amount. He was warmly seconded by Sir M. W. Ridley, and by Mr. Burdon. This gentleman contended, that the duty imposed on paper of the best sort, was no more than fourteen per cent. while on common writing, and on whited brown paper, it rose to fifty per cent. This was a grievous and most inequitable charge on the inferior parts of the Community; nor ought it to pass unobserved, that it deprived them of the opportunities of information which they had hitherto enjoyed, from the high price at which papers of intelligence must henceforth be sold. This was a consideration that in a free country ought on no account to be overlooked. This reasoning was overlooked by Mr. Sheridan, who took occasion to lay before the House a circumstance which he reprobated in the most indignant terms. This was the establishment of a manufactory of paper for the purpose of fabricating assignats. The excise officer who superintended this manufactory, doubtful whether such a proceeding was lawful, had applied for directions to his superiors; but was authorized to attend the manufactory as any other legal occupation of the same kind. Mr. Sheridan did not mention this circumstance as a mere report; he was ready, he said, to particularize the

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The rancour entertained by the government of France against the Frenchmen who were a party, or who, dissatisfied with the stability of their system, had converted their property into foreign securities, was strongly manifested in the proceedings of the Convention at this juncture. By their committee of finance was proposed to employ all possible means to recover the property of the emigrants in the various public funds in Europe, to the intent of securing it for public use, and paying the emigrants a value at par. In the termination of the French Revolution, Mr. Pitt laid before the House of Commons a consideration of the House of February. It was by him, that exclusively of the justice of forcing individuals to change their property, it was shown that they had a right to compensation for the inadequate value, that they went to supply the country with the means of subsistence. By the law of this country. By the law of the realm, the crown might demand the payment of debts to the crown. The least severe of the present times did not extend the lenity did not secure the confidence of foreigners in commercial correspondence with this country.

of their property to be by our enemies, and em to our detriment, — it was of justice to ourselves to their intentions, by de this property in our own in so doing, however, the faith should be kept with individuals to whom it be and to whom it should in be remitted, whenever it is done with safety to our-

He would, therefore, pro- stop the payment of what- ight be due in the line of y to individuals now resi- France, whether foreigners es of that country; taking, ame time, every precaution in the profoundest secrecy es of those French indi- who possessed property in ntry, lest they should, by a m, become liable to suf- and fall in consequence the of the barbarous policy inexorable enemies. After material objections, the pro- as passed into an act, mak- igh treason to violate it, and p, at the same time, the pay- f the property to the lawful

subject so long agitated of e-trade, was again renewed iginal mover, Mr. Wilber- Shortly after the opening of ion, he introduced a bill for sation of that branch of the y which we supplied with he islands and territories be- f to foreigners. Hereby, rved, their possessions would e less cultivation, and be- able to maintain a com- with our own. Those who ed for the necessity of an supply of slaves, could not,

he said, consistently with such a requisition, refuse to second his proposal; and those who had declared, that if there were no slave-trade, they would oppose the establishment of such a trade, were no less bound, if sincere in their declaration, to unite with him in opposing that branch of it he was now endeavouring to abolish; and which was already so much on the decline, that to prohibit its further continuance would be of little consequence to any one.

Sir William Young replied, in opposition to the motion, that the whole of the slave-trade being in a state of gradual abolition, it were more prudent to let it fall of itself, without any further acceleration. He was seconded by Colonel Cawthorn and Mr. Dent.

It was observed by Mr. Dudley Rider, in answer to these and some other allegations of the same tendency, that the general intention to abolish the slave-trade having been approved of as a laudable measure, and gradual abolition allowed to be the most prudent and advisable method of proceeding, it would be unreasonable to reject the bill now proposed, which coincided evidently with that method. The argument, that other nations would take up this branch of the trade were we to relinquish it, was no justification. The motion tended completely, and at the same time without the least precipitation, to effect the ultimate purpose in view, and was therefore unobjectionable.

The sentiments of Mr. Pitt were equally favourable to the motion. It could not, he said, be the intention of the House, after consenting to abolish the slave-trade by de-

grees, to stop in the midst of its progress, and never to accomplish its abolition. The resolution to this intent was to take place in 1796. An immediate abolition had been moved by the original proposer of the design; but the serious inconveniences and losses that must have fallen upon individuals by so sudden a measure, induced the House to proceed gradually. But the present motion answered so precisely this determination, that it well deserved to be received favourably. Mr. Wilberforce's motion was passed by 63 against 40.

In the mean time, petitions had been presented against the bill moved for by Mr. Wilberforce, on the behalf of the West India merchants of London and Liverpool. When laid before the House, they occasioned a multiplicity of discussions, similar to those already produced by this long debated subject. Among other particulars, it was asserted by Mr. Vaughan, that the negroes in our West India islands were well acquainted with the transactions relating to them in parliament. They were no longer to be considered in the same state of ignorance as formerly; and though not to be kept in order without the exertion of authority, yet much more would now depend upon good policy. The mulattoes and negroes that had obtained their freedom, ought, through kind treatment, to be secured in our interest; which also required a larger number of small settlers than heretofore, while the negroes were implicitly submissive. Mr. Fox was decidedly of opinion, that parliament should express itself unequivocally on the present occa-

sion, and openly declare a resolution to persevere in abolition of the slave-trade, and to abolish it; otherwise, porters of this infamous trade would avail themselves of the silence on the subject, to a convenient opportunity, when parliament had given, as it tacitly consented to its existence, the House of Lords not having to any precise determination on this matter, it was the moment on the House of Commons to be firmly attentive to remind their Lordships of the necessity of paying it attention. From their judgment of equity, he promised himself concurrence with the Commons in business of so much weight and importance.

In further support of Mr. Pitt observed, that the demand solemnly granted by the House to the negroes in their West India islands, was the powerful argument that could be adduced in favour of Mr. Wilberforce's proposal. We were, in some degree, compelled by what the French had done, to adopt new measures proceeding with our own hands, not indeed by proclaiming freedom, in imitation of the French; but by enacting salutary regulations in behalf of the slaves, and by treating them with a due admixture of gentleness and authority. The emancipation of their negroes by the French rendered the farther importation of slaves into our islands dangerous, as it was contrary to the acquisition of strength to our negroes who were now inclined. Those newly freed would be the most likely

them, from their discontent and resentment at being torn from their country, and reduced to bondage. It was clearly, therefore, the height of imprudence to augment the number of our slaves at a time when the French were setting theirs free. This transaction could not long remain concealed from our own; and they might claim from us what the French had given to theirs, and insist upon it in such a manner, that we should not dare to refuse it.

After some remarks by other members, the motion for deferring the bill six months, was negatived by 36 against 38.

The generality of people were at this time extremely anxious about the issue of the question concerning the slave-trade. The transactions in the West Indies relating to the negroes, were exceedingly alarming. The Convention at Paris dreaded the difficulties that would attend the preservation of the French colonies; and that the majority of the planters were inclined to apply to Great Britain for protection against the edict for the emancipation of their slaves, and to become its subjects on that condition. Hence they used every exertion to retain the possession of those valuable islands in the West Indies, that had been the source of so much wealth; and were determined, rather than to part with them, to admit the negroes to an ample participation of their benefits. In their principal island, St. Domingo, Polverel, the chief agent of the Convention, issued a proclamation so advantageous to the negroes, that it could not be doubted they would oppose, with all their force, any attempt to de-

prive them of the advantages it held out to them, in order to secure their allegiance to France. By this proclamation, they were empowered to make choice of a master every year; and, after the expences of the plantation had been deducted, to share one-third of the profits: the business of the plantation was to be conducted by persons partly chosen by themselves. Privileges of this kind would necessarily interest them deeply in the defence of a country where they had so much property at stake; and would, at the same time, serve as a dangerous precedent to the negroes in our own islands.

In the midst of these discussions, the main question, of the total abolition of the slave-trade, remained undecided, to the great discontent of that numerous part of the nation which was desirous it should, if not immediately, yet gradually, be wholly abolished. The question was introduced into the House of Lords on the 10th of March, by Bishop Horsely; who, after urging the propriety of coming to a speedy division, complained that three sessions had elapsed since the important subject had been laid before the House. In order to procure expedition, he moved, that the hearing of counsel and evidence on that trade, be referred to a committee above stairs.

The Duke of Clarence opposed the motion, on the ground that it had already been negatived by a great majority. The method of conducting this business had been already settled, and it was of a nature to require time. The maturest deliberation was due to a branch of the British commerce

and navigation, the benefits of which amounted annually to four millions; that employed an immense number of seamen; and wherein property was embarked to the extent of seventy millions. The Bishop's motion was supported by Lord Grenville, as conducing most effectually to a prompt decision: but opposed by Lords Mansfield and Thurlow, on the impropriety of referring an object of such magnitude to a committee. Those Lords who could not attend the business at the bar of the House, could not attend it in the committee. Lord Grenville replied, that the committee being an open one, it ought to be presumed, that every one convinced of the importance of the subject, would make it his duty to attend.

The Bishop of London, in an elaborate speech, strenuously supported the propriety of the committee, as most conducive to expedition. Property was doubtless an object of great consideration; but was it greater than the interest of fifteen millions of the natives of Africa, who might strictly be considered as petitioning for commiseration and relief from their Lordships? Four score thousand of them were, by this inhuman traffic, yearly banished from their own country, and condemned to slavery.

Several other members of the House spoke for and against the question.

Lord Guildford in observed, that, by their the business to remain at of the House, it might be ed to the very term, v Commons had appointe total abolition. Such a p tended to a delay still neous to those whom it aff in case their Lordships sh cur in the propriety of: the trade, they might be and prevailed upon to p duration sometime longer abruptness of its abolition prejudice the interests of t cerned in it. The moti ever, was negatived by a of 2.

On the 2d of May, bill for abolishing the fore trade was debated in tl House, it met with very porters, Lord Grenville it as improper, while the itself remained undecided. Lords joined issue with hi who were not friendly to itself, seemed to think the dual abolition of the wh suffice, without termina branch of it in particular therefore, after a long de gatived by 45 to 4.

## CHAP. XII.

*General Anxiety concerning the Issue of the War in both France, and Motion in the House of Peers for Peace with France. Arguments against it. Charge against Ministry in the House of Commons, of Nova Scotia. Answer to this Charge. Motion by Mr. P House of Commons, for an Augmentation of the Militia, and for Volunteer Force of Horse and Foot in every County. Debates on tions. The Motions carried. Spirited Protest of the County of San Ministerial Attempts to procure Subscriptions for Supplies without.*

*to Parliament. A Message to Parliament from the King, requiring the Sum necessary for repelling menaced Invasion. Address in Answer. Motion by Mr. Sheridan against Loans of Money to the Crown to be used for Public Purposes, without the Consent of Parliament. Debates thereon in both Houses. In both carried. Motion in the House of Commons, for enrolling the Subjects of France to enter into his Majesty's Service on the Continent. Debates thereon in both Houses. Carried.*

**D**URING these parliamentary transactions, the minds of all men were anxious in what manner the powers involved in the present contest intended to regulate their movements in the ensuing campaign. It was clear to all the unprejudiced, that whatever might be the issue of this obstinate war, whoever obtained the ascendancy would use it with very little moderation. The threats of the Austrians and Prussians, at the commencement of the war, and their intentions to fulfil them, of which the French entertained no doubt, had filled these with a resentment, the effects of which had been severely felt by those two powers in the campaign of 1793, when, thro' the defection of Dumouriez, and the confused situation into which it had thrown the armies of France, the coalition was enabled, during some time, to assume a formidable appearance. It displayed so firm and systematic a determination to treat France with unbounded severity, and to eradicate, as it were, all traces of its former greatness and importance, that the French were convinced no medium remained for them but the basest state of subjection to their enemies, or to compel them by defeats to renounce the schemes of conquest, which Europe fully understood they had aimed respecting France. The campaign of 1793 had nearly decided the question. After some suspense, fortune seemed to have

declared in favour of France; and that decision, to some good judges, had appeared final and conclusive. The coalition would doubtless struggle for a recovery of the situation it was in, previously to the disasters it had incurred at the close of the campaign, but the causes of these disasters, and of the superiority which the French had gained in the field, subsisted in their full force; while the motives that had formed the coalition seemed daily to lose their influence, in proportion as its arms were unsuccessful. Of the three great pillars, as it were, of the coalition, one was beginning to give way; and of the other two, one only could be depended on for ability and resolution to persist in the contest; the means of the other being almost exhausted, to say nothing of the unwillingness with which its restoration to its primitive power was likely to be viewed by a considerable portion of its allies. The unity of France against those three powers was held by many profound politicians as the very reverse of a disadvantage: their different and almost opposite interests were looked upon as sources of discord, that would not fail to operate to the dissolution of the confederacy, or at least to the diminution of its efforts against France; which, though standing alone, yet when driven to the most desperate efforts by the terror of being subdued by a merciless foe, would from that circumstance derive



give a fund of spirit and of resistance, that, aided by its native strength and genius, would weary out the patience and expectations of the allies, more prompted by the personal views of their rulers, than by their public interests to engage in the destruction of the French system of government. For these reasons the majority of the nation, though cordially abhorrent of the atrocious conduct of the French republicans, and nowise inclined to give their principles admittance into this country, still bitterly lamented that spirit of inveteracy to their principles, which had put arms into our hands for their extirpation; as if the experience of all ages had not invariably borne witness, that persecution is the feeblest weapon wherewith to conquer the human mind; and that opinions always make the greater progress, from the endeavours to oppose them with any other arms than those of reasoning and argumentation.

Great was the fermentation occasioned among all ranks at the prospect of the uncertainty attending the ministerial measures, and of the fatal consequences that would probably result from their failure. Numbers considered the minister as influenced by other motives than his own, to continue a war, evidently of a more dangerous as well as of a more destructive nature than any antecedent one, and of which, from the fluctuation of fortune that had hitherto attended it, the duration threatened to be considerable. Allowing even that the ultimate issue, notwithstanding some unfavourable appearances of late might prove altogether not unprofitable, with what a price must any advantages be purchased! After

the profusion of lives and of treasure they would cost, What would Great Britain finally reap? The utmost that could be expected in the hopes of reasonable people was, that France, exhausted as well as her enemies, would at last consent to remain within her ancient limits, and give up what she had seized. As to the conquest of that rich, populous, and extensive country, it never entered into the expectation of any rational and well informed individual.

Such being the general opinion of those in whose knowledge and understanding men at large were disposed to confide, it was with much grief and anxiety that the enlightened part of the public, both in France and England, contemplated the pertinacity with which the war was now carried on by both parties, and threatened to become still more destructive, from the accession of fresh auxiliaries on both sides; either bribed by subsidies to lend their assistance, or stimulated by motives of fear or of jealousy to become parties in the contest. The speculations in writing, or in conversation, that took up the interval of hostilities in the winter of 1793 and the ensuing spring, were much of this tendency,—deploring the probable continuance of the war, but foreseeing no period of its cessation. This indeed could not appear otherwise than remote: the motives of this unfortunate war being diversities of opinion, the usual obstinacy with which men maintain these, afforded a sad presage of the fatal length of a dispute that involved, in the persuasion of multitudes, the dearest concerns of mankind, and that could not be terminated while either of

combatants remained undestroyed or unsubdued.

While the public was busied in the altercations that continually arose from those gloomy appearances and prognostications, the British government was firmly intent on the means of bringing its plans against the French republic to a state of forwardness: the majorities it counted in both Houses were such, as to overwhelm at once all resistance. Never since the American war had its hands been so strengthened by the adherence of its friends, and the accession of those many opponents who, dreading the influx of French principles, were ready to sacrifice all considerations of persons and party-attachments, in order to join in counteracting them. As it were unjust to doubt the sincerity of the declared motives that actuated those in forsaking their former political connections, it would be equally illiberal to question the repeated assertions of these latter; that their opposition to the measures of government was solely dictated by the conviction that they were erroneous, and by no means proceeding from disaffection to the constitution. They indignantly complained that a motive so heinous and unfounded should be so frequently reproached to them by the great plurality they had constantly to contend with, and which they accused, in their turn, of loading them with those vile imputations, as a revenge for their having hitherto, with amazing patience and resolution, contested inch by inch, as it were, every point that in their opinion demanded litigation. Certain it is, that without espousing the cause of either party, each has adduced remarkable in-

stances of the variety of ways and methods of attacking and defending opposite opinions; and how much wit, genius, and knowledge may be displayed by men of abilities, on whichever side they may be engaged.

A powerful attack was made upon the conduct of ministers on the 17th of February, by the Marquis of Lansdown, one of the most conspicuous members in the opposition. He had uniformly combated the idea of a war with France on account of its revolutionary principles; and recommended the maintenance of peace with that country as the safest policy that Great Britain could pursue in the present juncture. He introduced on this day, and supported with a multitude of arguments, a motion for peace with France. He had, he said, entertained some hope that ministers, at the sight of the tremendous difficulties they were about to encounter, might have reflected how much more they would ingratiate themselves with the nation by terminating, than by continuing this ruinous war; but, from their vast preparations and their numerous alliances, he too plainly saw their determination to persevere at all hazards in this arduous conflict:—this had induced him coolly, but seriously, to investigate the motives on which it was founded. He would not on this occasion appeal to the passions of men; he would calmly ask, Whether the public would approve the voting of thirteen millions demanded by ministry to prosecute a war, the necessity of which was attempted to be proved by extracts from a French pamphlet, written by the member of a faction in that country? Both that  
faction

faction and the writer had been destroyed, and others risen in their turn. But were inflammatory speeches or writings to be converted into authorities for making war? Before we undertook a third campaign, it was incumbent on us to review the former two, and to consider whether they afforded grounds to expect better success in that for which we were preparing. We were involved in a multiplicity of treaties, more expensive than profitable, while we continued to act as we had done during the preceding campaigns. France had been attacked by the ablest Generals, at the head of excellent troops: but it had been precisely where the most consummate masters of the art had pronounced France invulnerable. In defiance of an assertion confirmed by two years failure, we still persisted in the attempt, on the credit of an officer, brave and enterprising indeed, but not to be preferred for his military merit to those who had already been unsuccessful. The advantages that had been obtained in Flanders were short and accidental: it was notorious that we owed them to the dissensions among the French. Since they had proceeded with unanimity in the defence of their country, we had gradually lost ground; and the necessity of being unanimous would always keep men together in the field, whatever parties might arise in the Convention among those who were struggling for power. But, whichever party was predominant, the power obtained was exerted in the most formidable manner; and the French, through the influence of the principles they had adopted, and the indefatigable capacity and exertions

of their rulers, were become the terror of their enemies. It behoved us seriously to reflect on the consequences that would probably follow from compelling the French to cherish those ideas, and keep alive that desperate frame of mind which enabled them to do such extraordinary things. Were we to continue in that violent disposition towards them, which appeared the design of the coalition, they must, in their own defence, become a military republic, the more dangerous for being placed in the center of Europe, whence they might disseminate their principles among their surrounding neighbours. The French were but one people, and the coalition consisted of many: but when a great people, roused by indignation at ill usage, real or so deemed, called forth all its powers and faculties, it instantly assumed a new character, and every man rose above himself.

Great occasions naturally gave birth to great men, and difficult emergencies produced the most striking exertions. France was now a military school, where every youth was educated a soldier, not from interested views, but an enthusiastic passion for the glory and independence of their country.

This being the real situation of France, was it wise to continue a war, pregnant from the causes specified, with imminent danger to Europe, and wherein should the coalition be unsuccessful, it had every thing to dread from the resentment of the French? It were unworthy of sound politicians to rely upon the utility of the treaties we had entered into with the various powers in the confederacy; fear and jealousy would dissolve them.

from the moment we became objects of suspicion; and this we could not fail to become, from the plan in our contemplation, and the means we possessed to execute them. Spain would not contentedly behold our fleets seizing the French islands in the West Indies. The high hand with which we forced a trade on their coasts,—their remembrance of the late quarrel about *Nootka Sound*,—the disapprobation they expressed at our taking possession at Toulon of a ship of one hundred and ten guns, to which they thought themselves preferably entitled, as the nearest protectors of the Bourbon family,—these were likely soon to induce that power to look upon us with an invidious eye. Prussia and Austria were such natural competitors, that they could no longer be expected to remain cordially united. Austria could not be aggrandized but to the detriment of Prussia: this power was viewed by all the inferior princes and states in Germany, as their natural protector against the long standing ambition of the House of Austria. Were Prussia and the lesser Germanic powers oppressed by Austria, it would give laws to all Europe. The Austrian politics aimed at a monopoly of power, totally inconsistent with the interest of its present allies, who therefore placed no confidence in the imperial ministry. Had its late designs on Bavaria succeeded, the Emperor would have become absolute master of Germany: but were the courts of Vienna and Berlin substantially connected, it could be to no other end than to divide the empire between them, as they had done Poland; in which case, the danger to European freedom would be much

greater than from the power and ambition of France.

All these considerations proved how little Great Britain could depend on the stability of her foreign connexions, and how much reason the branches of the coalition had to hold each other in constant suspicion. An alliance between powers thus situated could not last, nor be an object of much terror to the French. While we were busying ourselves with the affairs of this nation, we had suffered a power to aggrandize itself, already much too potent for the welfare of Europe, especially the north, where its influence amounted almost to a sovereignty; we had suffered this mighty power, in defiance of every maxim of common prudence, to seize all the eastern provinces of Poland, countries abounding with all the necessaries of life and materials of commerce, watered by large and navigable rivers, and peopled by near 4,000,000 of inhabitants. By such an acquisition *Oczacow*, a place of little consequence before, was now rendered of the most important value to Russia. Here armaments could be fitted out, and supplied from its neighbourhood with all the appurtenances of war. Hence an attack could with facility be made on Constantinople itself, and the Turkish empire in Europe be annihilated before the European powers, interested in its preservation, could have had time to prepare for its defence. An alliance with this formidable power might appear useful in the present plan of confederating everywhere for the subjugation of France; but no faith could be placed in Russian promises of assistance. The policy of that court was, to encourage

rage all the southern powers to unite for the extermination of the French, and to wait till they were so exhausted by their fruitless efforts, as to be utterly unable to impede the Russian schemes. The resources of that Empire, from its immensity, and the abundance and variety of its productions in so many different climates, could with no more than tolerable management, be rendered fully sufficient for all the projects it had in view: the obvious interest of all Europe required bounds to be set to the rapacity of Russia. Great Britain had ample reason to look upon it in no friendly light. Its hostile interference in the American war, under the treacherous pretext of an armed neutrality, shewed what this country had to expect from Russia, whenever occurrences were favourable to its insatiable thirst for dominion, and its ambitious pretences to extend its influence into every part of Europe.

In addition to the support to be derived from Russia, Holland had frequently been mentioned as an ally of undeniable weight in the present combination against France. But what help had been afforded to us from that quarter? The Dutch, it was well known, had been forced into this quarrel against their consent; and was it to be expected they would join us with heart and hand in a contest wherein they had wished to stand neuter? Our behaviour tended rather to make them our secret enemies. They indirectly refused all naval aid, by a spontaneous neglect of their marine. Far differently had they acted when fighting at different periods against France and Spain: but then they were acting

for themselves, and not compelled to sacrifice themselves for others. Sardinia too was held up as an ally of utility, by the position of the Italian territories: but experience daily shewed that the King of Sardinia, instead of being able to attack the French, was reduced to the necessity of depending on the subsidies of Great Britain for his own defence. These various allies were united by no precise and decided principle of action; their interests were too much at variance to permit cordiality and confidence among them. France was undoubtedly an object of ambition to the principals in the confederacy: to share in the spoils of such a state, some risk they were not unwilling to incur. But were the secondary members of this great coalition to receive any benefit from an augmentation of power in the leading heads? Was Great Britain itself, in the present circumstances of those whom we styled our friends, authorized to look for that indemnification of our toils and expenses which, by increasing the commercial grandeur of this country, would necessarily place it on a more formidable footing than was compatible with the secret, though not imperceptible views of the principal powers in the coalition? This vast body, unable to support itself, challenged, as it were, a right to throw its weight on the strength and opulence of this country. Hence it claimed and demanded supplies, as if they were a tribute fairly due to its exertions in our favour. In the mean time we demeaned ourselves to the inferior powers, as if we thought them bound to be subservient to the measures of Great Britain. The courts of Sweden  
and

and Denmark in the north, of France in the south of Europe, with the republic of Switzerland, had experienced British haughtiness, in a degree hardly preceded in the history of the most arrogant and dominating powers. The Grand Duke of Tuscany, brother to the Emperor, whose imperial diadem he might shortly inherit, had been warned by our minister at his court, to renounce his neutrality, and to dismiss the French resident in twelve hours; or the British fleet, in the Mediterranean, would take possession of his port of Leghorn. Was not this, besides its being an insult to the Duke, an open infringement of a regulation made so long ago as the year 1712, by which Leghorn had, for the general convenience of all the European states, been declared a perpetual free port? Sweden and Denmark were not in a position to be so readily terrified by our demands, any more than Switzerland; and they answered in a style becoming independent states.

The conduct of the British ministers towards America was attended with circumstances involving the suspicion of the basest envy. Happily for Britain and the United States, these were under the guidance of a man worthy of being proposed as an example to the rulers of all nations. Instead of listening to the resentment of the multitude at the violent proceedings of Britain against the ships and commerce of America, he prevailed on the public, by his prudence and moderation, to wait with silence for the satisfaction that would be required for those outrages. Far contrary was the behaviour of our government. With an unbecoming impetuosity, an or-

der of council was issued relating to America, which it was found necessary to repeal in six weeks: so little did the Americans trust to the candour of our government, that they suspected it of having countenanced the depredations of the Algerines on the American traders, and the hostilities of the Indians committed against the people of America. If we added to these difficulties, raised by the impropriety of our measures, the bad state of the finances of our allies, we had a complete view of the perplexed situation in which we had involved ourselves. Spain, hardly able to give currency to the paper already emitted by her government, had been compelled to fabricate 3,500,000 more; the result of which was a fall in the value of twenty per cent. Of all the confederacy, Russia alone retained some credit. Holland, once the seat of public credit, could not now, upon trial, raise 1,000,000 sterling at five per cent. interest, though long used to give only two and a half. France, on the other side, converted to the service of the state whatever was seizable. Gold and silver were paid for articles imported of indispensable necessity; and paper was used for domestic transactions. Having duly reflected on this state of things, what could induce this country to persist in a contest of which the expence fell almost entirely on itself, without any fixed or rational view of indemnification!

Peace with France, so far from being insecure, could with more safety be relied on than with any European ministry. Perhaps the French was the first step to recover from all their miseries, but

courts afforded daily proofs that the wretchedness of the commonalty could not divert them from ambitious projects, when appearances were favourable to their execution. This was invariably the case where absolute princes ruled: but the government of France was in the hands of the people, who had tasted sufficiently of want and misery, gladly to embrace the opportunity of being delivered from such a condition, and anxiously to beware how they were again reduced to it. Treaties with a people thus circumstanced, would probably be more stable than with states, the heads of which were far removed from common sufferings, and where the popular classes held in abject thralldom, had nothing to say in the management of public affairs.

The objection to peace was, the question, *With whom to treat?* But with whom could we treat better than with those people? Let both parties be sincere, and a pacification would soon follow. Cavils of the same nature had been raised against treating with America; but they were merely proofs of the unwillingness of ministers to make a peace; in which case Parliament, imitating the laudable example of their predecessors, ought to close the present dispute with France, as they had done that of America, by cutting the knot which ministers refused to untie, and removing at once, by a decisive vote of disapprobation, all the obstacles which they had thrown in the way of treating. France could not, in the nature of things, be averse to a measure which tended directly to the accomplishments of every purpose she

had in view, and was contending for under a complication of difficulties and distresses; which would instantly cease by her joining in issue with us. Indemnity had been demanded by the advocates for the continuation of the war; by which it might be supposed, they required the cession of some French possessions in the West-Indies. But the time was no more when such an acquisition could be of use. Principles of democracy daily gained ground in the French islands, and rendered their possession rather precarious and undesirable at the present juncture; and the difficulty of maintaining our authority in any of the islands that might be ceded to us by France, far outweighed the utility derivable from them. Such indemnifications would also lead the monied people in Great Britain into dangerous attempts to make them profitable, as whatever they laid out in their improvement might, through the fluctuation and uncertainty of the arrangements that would take place in those distant settlements, independently of their concurrence, and with little or no reference at all to their interests, be placed out of the expectation of recovery, either as to interest or principal,—to say nothing of the mortification the French would feel at being obliged to make such concessions, and the secret methods they might contrive to render them a source of perplexities. It was therefore beneath the notice of Great Britain to seek for such compensations. The detriment occasioned by a single year's stagnation of the industry and capital of the British nation, was more deserving

of our attention than the greatest possible value of their richest island. But for what determinate object was the war continued? Ministers having left the public in the dark respecting their real views, the only method of discovering them was, to examine the manifestoes published at several times, by those who commanded the armies or fleets of the different powers engaged in the coalition; and which being formally addressed to the French nation, might very reasonably be supposed to contain the objects proposed by the confederacy.

In the two manifestoes of the Duke of Brunswick; in that of General Wurmser and of Prince Cobourg; in those of Lord Hood, Admiral Langara, and General O'Hara,—no clear and distinct idea was held forth connectedly through the whole of them taken together; they inculcated absolute power and unlimited obedience; but there was not one which did not either contradict itself, or which was not contradicted by another; or which had not been entirely disregarded in the conduct of those by whom they had been issued. Thus the real object of the war, and the conditions on which the coalition would make peace, had never been explicitly mentioned. The knowledge of both being necessary for either peace or war, the Throne ought to be petitioned, to make them equally known for the satisfaction of the public. A precedent existed in history applicable to the present state of things in France. A French monarch, Lewis IX., had interposed in the quarrel between our Henry III. and his people, in the character of a friendly

mediator; and had succeeded in effecting a reconciliation. Such ought to have been the interposition of Great Britain. Were we at the present hour to shew a disposition to lay aside a hostile spirit, and to admit sentiments of friendship and generosity towards the French, we should meet with an adequate return. Interest and inclination had, from the commencement of their troubles, prompted them to wish ardently for a good understanding with this country. But the evil genius of invective and detraction had unhappily taken possession of both people. To this should be attributed the dreadful calamities that followed. It was time however to advert to the situation in which we stood. The loss of one battle would, in all likelihood decide the fate of the coalition; but the French might lose several without being disabled. From the numbers of their people and the enthusiastic fury that animated them against their enemies, their armies would always be supplied with numerous recruits; while the confederates, fighting at a great distance from their respective countries, would suffer a constant diminution from both their victories and defeats, which it would be impossible to repair. The consequences would be, that ultimately the French would remain in such force, that the allies would no longer be able to confront it.—The Marquis concluded his speech by saying that he had not laid these various arguments and reasonings before the House in the hope that they would produce an immediate effect; but solely that they might be taken into consideration. He would however move an address to his Majesty,



to represent the extreme improbability of effecting the reduction of such a country as France; that the coalition could not be relied on; and that Great Britain must firmly bear all the expences of the war, and, if unsuccessful, the whole blame of having continued it: that however it might be prosperous, good policy forbade its continuance, as no conquests were worth purchasing at the price they must cost, and at the risk of proving the causes of future wars: that the trade of the kingdom had suffered immense losses from this war, and would probably suffer still greater! That, were France dismembered, those powers would be aggrandized, from whose disposition most danger was to be apprehended. That the opinions of men were not to be altered by violence, and that to obviate the entrance of democratic principles, the rulers of nations should govern them with lenity, and avoid those harsh and oppressive measures that produce popular discontent. That, notwithstanding the adherence of the French to the revolutionary government, so much complained of by their enemies, it was through the necessity of self-defence they bore with it; when delivered from the dread of the confederacy formed against them, they had long purposed to establish one less liable to exceptions, both abroad and at home: that we ought to be experimentally convinced that our interference in the domestic concerns of the French, would be attended with destruction to those whom we favoured. We had constantly failed in every attempt; and it was rash and inhuman to expose people to certain ruin by renewing

them. For these reasons the King should be earnestly requested to declare, without delay, his consent to enter into a negotiation for peace with France upon such equitable terms as would evidently tend to secure its duration; and that he would signify this determination to his allies, to the intent of putting an immediate stop to hostilities.

The Marquis of Landsdown's speech and motion were opposed with great vehemence by Lord Fitz William. The address presented to the King at the opening of the session, precluded, he said, any motive of this nature. The French having endeavoured to disseminate their pernicious maxims through all Europe, it had a just right to take up arms to prevent so great an evil. He appealed to the writings of Brissot for the proof of what he asserted. These sufficiently manifested a concerted plan to spread their innovations everywhere, and to disturb the peace of society in all countries. The motion was calculated to violate the compact formed with such mature deliberation with the most respectable courts, and to enter into engagements of reconciliation and amity with a people who had put their monarch to death, and massacred multitudes of innocent individuals, and whose enormities, if not repressed, would revive the days of blood and barbarism, and plunge all Europe into a second state of incivilization. The compacts framed by government were highly laudable; and we could not abandon the confederacy, without looking ourselves with disgrace, and relinquishing the interests of the kingdom. The atrocities perpetrated by the French, showed the

are of their present glory; and of what excesses they might be guilty, if not in the present, by the alliance which happily opposed them. The treaties that had been made since their principles into treaty, would have subjected them for the vigilance of Europe. It would not be that they were the aggressors in this quarrel. They had, only after the battle of Marston, when they imagined themselves above their enemies, and to all the world their duty to encourage the subjects against their sovereigns. They had attempted wrested the Duchy from its native possessor; they seized upon the Netherlands, invaded Holland without declaration, and opened the mouth of the Scheldt in defiance of the faith of treaties. They sought to Great Britain an entire overthrow of our constitution; they insisted on its being the price of peace. We were therefore safely re-creating alliances, and remain at such a critical juncture, delivering ourselves into their hands. The more we become submissive, the greater would be our arrogance. Peace therefore cannot be attained and secured unless, not by condescension. Such was their pride, they would listen to no action, unless we prevailed from the country taken from them, and to their moderation for the terms. A British might in honour and duty resist such insolence; and to require compliance with so

haughty a requisition, was more in the spirit of opposition to ministry than of sound judgment on the present circumstances of the British empire; the honour of which would be essentially tarnished by not persisting with the utmost firmness in the confederacy, of which it had been to active a promoter. The interest of this country demanded a complete humiliation of the enemy, before any idea of peace could with propriety be admitted into our councils. Were government to act otherwise, it would countenance the guilt of which it accused the French, and lose its credit and dignity in the eyes of Europe.

A Peer of the first rank, who had long absented himself from Parliament, took an active part on this occasion. This was the Duke of Grafton, who formally declared, that an intimate conviction of the propriety of the motion brought before the House, after the maturest consideration, was the sole motive that induced him to second it. He was not so sanguine as to have formed a hope that the party with which he concurred in opinion would have sufficient weight to alter the resolutions taken by administration; but he flattered himself, that by undeviatingly opposing the presents measures, and perseveringly exerting themselves to shew their tendency to injure this country, those who were now a minority, might, in the end, succeed in their endeavours to prevail on a majority to embrace the same opinion, and unite their efforts to terminate a ruinous war. That fatal contest which concluded with the loss of America, would have probably lasted longer, and produced

produced more disastrous effects, had not a minority, inconsiderable at first, and loaded with all manner of reproaches and obloquy, inflexibly persisted in opposing the ministerial phrenzy of the day, and by patience and perseverance effected a total revolution of sentiments in Parliament. The motion now laid before the House, did not affect the dignity of the crown nor the interest of the nation; it would, on the contrary, prove highly beneficial, by saving thousands of lives that otherwise must be lost in this destructive contest, as others had, which might have been spared, if wiser councils had been followed by the heads of this country; and of that pernicious coalition which had done and was still likely to occasion many evils. Unhappily for the people of this country, their calamities seemed to proceed in a considerable degree from the change of disposition effected through great artifice by the friends of arbitrary power. Whether through interested motives, or an absurd notion that freedom led to licentiousness and confusion, they had for some years past laboured, with indefatigable zeal, to persuade people that opposition to ministers proceeded from personal disappointment and disaffection, and that want of confidence in government, denoted an unfaithful and disloyal subject. Tenets of this sort had made an alarming progress; and those who opposed them were represented as factious, and movers of sedition. Hence the hands of ministers had been strengthened in an unconstitutional degree. Relying on the base and blind submission of the public, they had pursued of late such measures as evinced how

little they were concerned for the welfare of the community, provided they could bring that system to bear, which they fondly imagined would insure to them a perpetuity of power, by rendering government absolute: forgetful of the mean dependence to which they would be reduced themselves, were once the executive branch of the constitution to be raised above all controul. The time however would probably arrive, when the nation would exercise the liberty of judging for itself; in which case the propagators of those slavish principles, and those who have availed themselves of the temporary delusion they had wrought, to plunge this country into difficulties, would be called to a severe account. However excellent the British constitution might appear in theory, the flaws in its practice were obvious to all men who did not studiously strive to conceal or to palliate them for sinister purposes. It was the duty of the legislature to investigate the causes of those enormous abuses of which all parties were, in their turn, so ready to complain when out of place. Ministers in the mean time could not be supposed so deficient in abilities, as not to be sensible of the highly perilous situation in which they had involved this country. Nothing short of manifest and undeniable necessity could justify them; but this was far from being the case. Numbers of the most judicious and well informed were of a contrary opinion to ministry. There could be no certainty where opinions were so dissimilar, especially when ministers differed themselves in the most essential points, and spoke at a short interval of time a language wholly opposite

to that which they had the utmost positiveness and  
 2. Only two years since, without interruption for  
 ars, had been held out to as a matter of certainty,  
 with the prospect of ex-ig a considerable propor-  
 the national debt. But tly were these expecta-  
 erted into the deepest

Twelve months scarce then government, instead ing those fair promises, proper to involve the na- a war reputed avoidable e majority, and the object had never been clearly l by its authors, though, their subterfuges, they t conceal from the world, object for which they reality contending with fo rnth, was the restoration ry power in France, in they were accused openly and shrewdly suspected by pave the way for a fimi- isment in this country. ever motives had in- ministers to precipitate nd Great Britain into a ras a lamentable circum- d each of the two nations ink itself under the neces- xterminating the other, complied with the requi- pectively insisted on, and th the utmost violence on either side. How minister reconcile his fors of peace with a war so in its arrival, and so un- sed in its principle! in condescendence to su- bority, or from a very nge in his own con- it was plain that he had

embraced a system totally different from that which he had originally proposed respecting France. But the interference in its affairs, and the alliances with the continental powers, had already proved the entire destruction of 100,000 men, without serving the cause for which they had been sacrificed. Our attempts to force the French to regulate their affairs on our plan, were not only fruitless, but inequitable, as no right could be challenged by any people to interfere in the most domestic concerns of another. In order to prove the inveteracy of the French, the speeches in the Convention were cited, as if invectives were proofs of any more than the rancorous disposition of those who made them, or at most of the temporary rage of an exasperated enemy. Nations, like individuals, when they became cool and composed, would speak in far milder terms. The French knew their interest, and would pursue it; and angry words would be forgotten, when imperious necessity had recalled each party to the use of its reason. We certainly had no pretence to complain of harsh expressions: we first had adopted the style of abuse; the French had only followed our example. It was in the mean time unfair to distort the meaning of the motion before the House; it neither recommended breach of treaties, nor a desertion of the confederacy, of which Great Britain was the head and chief support. In this very capacity its inclinations to peace would operate to the same end upon our allies, whose dispositions must naturally and necessarily coincide with our own. Nor if the French, on the suppos-

tion of a treaty, should insist on the disbanding of our armies but in the same proportion as their own, did the motion imply the least acquiescence on our part in so unreasonable and insulting a proposal. The treatment of the French by the associated powers in Germany, at the beginning of hostilities, had given birth to the outrageous speeches in the Convention. These never would have taken place, had not the Duke of Brunswick's proclamation been published. If he had previously communicated it to our ministry, they ought to have prevented its appearance; and if this communication had not been made, it argued great want of respect in the Austrian and Prussian ministries for the court of Great Britain.

After thus expatiating on the danger and expence that would inevitably attend the continuation of the war, the Duke concluded, by declaring his persuasion, that it threatened not only the prosperity of the British nation, but the very safety of government and of the British throne.

The speech of the Duke of Grafton was represented by the Earl of Caernarvon as calculated to render us suspected by our confederates. The motives of the war, he said, were just, and fully authorized us to undertake it. The motives imputed to ministry were unfounded: but had they explicitly declared for a restoration of monarchy in France as a necessary step to forward their measures, he would have given them his cordial approbation.

In reply to the preceding, and other allegations on the ministerial side, Lord Guildford stated, that, allowing all the invectives against the

present governors of France to have weight, still the conduct of its rulers, while a peace was no less deserving of censure than the French court was equitable at least; and as the Convention could be placed in it as in a convention. Peace, it was, was inconsistent with the treaty we had made with foreign powers. But he would also affirm, that treaties were so binding as to validate the privilege of the Convention to remonstrate against the treaty, and to require, if contrary to sense, that those treaties should be annulled. The designs of France were described as inveterate and hostile to this country; but she constantly spoke the language of an enemy, how could we expect the French should speak another? Could any thing be more than to prescribe to them the form of government which they so leniently pronounced odious? What foundation had we for the exercise of such a prerogative? France, after forbearing provocations that afforded us no right? Did Great Britain, when Russia, Austria, and dismembered Poland? The French had actually complied with our demands; they had retracted that decree at which the British government had taken umbrage. The dangers pretended, to laws and to religion, were mere declamations, the purpose of inflaming the ignorant and the vulgar. The laws of conscience would not be subverted by the laws of a country would not subvert the laws of another. But exaggeration was the maxim generally adopted by those who hated the French.

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to be liberal and unjust to a weak enemy. Our duty was not to abuse, but to assist in the manner we could with them, without injury to our character and our principles. The French system recommended by Mr. Fox was objected to by Mr. Pitt as improper and ill-founded. Withholding every motive for it could not altogether be just. The French system was so opposite in nature to all the establishments of Europe, it necessarily be viewed in it a constant and perpetual, that would never cease until all the others till it had destroyed them, or till they had met its own destruction. A cessation of a desire of our side, would rather excite the French than to them. They would attribute to timidity, and would insist in their terms. Mr. Fox was seconded by Mr. Pitt, who observed that it amounted to a declaration we were no longer able to continue the war; that we placed us on the coalition, and acknowledged the cause of France to be just. Peace in the present stage of the contest was justifiable; and it now became necessary with firmness, and nothing to an enemy who were in a situation to, with every reasonable compulsion, compelling him to an armistice might prove contrary to the views proposed by Lord Lau-

derdale, who spoke with his wonted warmth on the aspersions cast on the opposition to military. They were, he said, represented as the Jacobins of this country: but their principles were those on which the constitution of Great Britain was founded, and without which it could not be supported nor justified. The French were becoming odious to the princes of Europe, for having cast off the burden of absolute monarchy; but was that a valid motive for Englishmen to coincide in that odium? The excesses of which they had been guilty, no good man would extenuate; but no honest man would deny that they were perfectly justifiable in refusing to submit to the injunctions of other nations in the management of their affairs.

In answer to these allegations in favour of the motion, Lord Carlisle asserted, that however a speedy termination of the war was desirable, it could not with prudence or propriety be attempted while the enemy remained so violent and inveterate, and while our preparations were so formidable, as to excite reasonable hopes of lowering his arrogance. Our arms had compelled him to abandon Holland, and expelled him from the Austrian Netherlands: we were masters of some of his strongest towns. In the East Indies we had completely triumphed over him. What necessity could therefore impel us to sue for a peace, which would promote an intercourse the wisdom of the legislature had prohibited, but which war only could effectually prevent?

Lord Grenville spoke next against the motion. He considered the various arguments in its sup-

port, as inadequate to the proof of its expediency at the present times, and of its practicability during the ferment and implacable disposition manifested in the Convention.—The debate of this day would, in the mean time, he observed, satisfy those who had heard it and the public at large, that government had not acted rashly by prosecuting the war on the principles that moved them to undertake it. The people would be convinced that it was both just and necessary, and not entered into from ambitious and sinister motives. They would see how much it was their interest, as well as their duty, to preserve this country uncontaminated by those pernicious maxims that had filled France with all manner of woes; and from being one of the most agreeable countries in Europe, had converted it into one great and dismal scene of misery and horror. The designs of the French against the European governments, particularly that of Great Britain, were the constant topics of declamation both in the conventional and other assemblies. Such was their universal animosity to this country, that were it in their disposition to negotiate, no man among them would take upon him to be a negotiator. The abettors of the war had been desirous to comprize in any two words its real motive. The answer required but one, Security. Provocation to war had been given to the German powers, and to Great Britain, which studiously sought to avoid a quarrel. The reproach of having altered the system of a fifteen years peace into that of a needless and expensive war, was unfair and illiberal. Could the minister foresee

future contingencies? Was there at that time any symptoms of the dreadful explosion that since happened in France? The complaints of opposition respecting the treatment of M. Chauvelin, were highly unjust: that minister exerted all the abilities he was master of to sow the seeds of sedition in this country; and was at the bottom of some projects of actual insurrection. He had done sufficient mischief to merit an instant dismissal, and to authorize the conduct of ministers towards him, notwithstanding the pains taken to describe them as haughty and overbearing. The partizans he had gained were not, at this very hour, inactive; and were striving with all their might to effect the purposes of which he had recommended the execution. The words and phrases they had borrowed from the French republicans, they were continually endeavouring to introduce in all discourses, for the purpose of rendering them familiar and acceptable to the public.

Notwithstanding the pressures of the war, commerce flourished, and the national resources were productive of all the means that were wanted for the public service. They were levied in a fair and regular manner; not with that disorderly violence and compulsion which characterized the management of the French finances, and subjected individuals to continual acts of extortion and rapacity.

In reply to these allegations, it was observed by the Marquis of Lansdowne, that several of his arguments, and of those adduced by the Duke of Grafton, had been represented in a light that placed them, together with the other dis-

approvers

approvers of the ministry, among the worst enemies to their country. But if what they had said was strictly attended to, and fairly repeated, it would be found that they had spoken truths highly disagreeable perhaps to ministers, but no less necessary to be known to the public. Ought it not, for instance, to be told, that in Birmingham, a manufacturing town of the first reputation in Great Britain, business had so decreased, that since the breaking out of the war, no less than four thousand individuals had been added to the poor's rate? In the country towns traders were daily breaking; and incessant complaints were made of the heavy burdens laid upon them. These were occurrences not to be denied or explained away by specious reasonings. The nation in general, not only those who were averse to the war, but even those who approved of it, were equally loud in censuring the inequality of treatment experienced by multitudes in the repartition of taxes, at the time when they ought to be apportioned with the most rigid equity to every person's real capacity to pay them; and not promiscuously imposed without sufficiently attending on whom they fell. Another grievance too, of a scandalous nature, and of long standing, demanded seriously to be redressed. This was the prodigious number of sinecures, and of places of little other efficiency than to produce emoluments and perquisites to persons in the service or favour of ministers. Another grievance existed, greatly offensive to a very considerable part of the nation, and deeply reflected on its honour and generosity:—The vast body of the dissenters, notwithstanding their firm and noted attach-

ment to the British constitution, and to the family on the throne, had of late been distinguished by some acts of the legislature, as a dangerous combination of disaffected subjects, watching for opportunities to bring forward innovations inimical to the interests of the kingdom: but what were those innovations? to enjoy the same rights in civil matters as the other subjects of Great Britain. Various arguments were urged against their demands; but the real cause of their meeting with a refusal, was their attachment to the principles of the opposition. They had certainly an uncontrovertible claim to every right enjoyed by their fellow-subjects, and it was a shameful grievance to withhold them. The duty of ministry in these critical times, was to conciliate all parties and all persuasions.

The debate closed, by 103 against the motion, and only 13 in its favour.

The great and unexpected success which had attended the arms of the French republic in the close of the year 1793, had so materially reversed the relative situation between them and the coalition, that all those lofty ideas and expectations it had indulged previously to the beginning of the last campaign, were totally obliterated. Defence, much more than conquest, was become the object of the most judicious of their enemies, who clearly perceived, that to effect a reduction of so large a country as France, inhabited by a people so numerous, so determined to resist them, and animated by motives that had produced such wonderful exertions, was a task to be accomplished only by enemies impelled by motives equally cogent and enthusiastic.—But the situation of the subjects of the



the various princes forming the coalition, held out no objects sufficiently strong to stimulate them in like manner. This was a circumstance, however, which they did not sufficiently consider. The events of the latter part of the campaign, though conspicuously influenced by the national disposition of the French, they still viewed as mischances solely occasioned by the ordinary causes that decide of ill fortune or of success, and were not willing to relinquish the hopes in which they had primarily indulged, and which had been the basis on which the coalition was originally founded. These hopes were generally understood to be the same that actuated the junction of Austria and Prussia, when they availed themselves of the distractions and feuds of an ill-governed and divided nation, to deprive it of independence, and partition it between them and other powers, without whose concurrence such a transaction could not have happened.

But whatever ideas the continental members of the coalition still continued to entertain, the ruling powers in Great Britain began to remit of the sanguine prospects with which they had entered into the confederacy against France.—Instead of the triumphant career they had promised to the public, they found themselves necessitated to apply to it in a far different style from what they had hitherto adopted. On the 6th of March a motion was made by Mr. Pitt for an augmentation of the militia, in order to provide for the better security of the kingdom against a menaced invasion by the French. To this measure he added another, which was to levy a volunteer force of horse and foot in every county.

The first of these motions was agreed to; but the second warmly opposed by Mr. A. Taylor, as injurious to agriculture and industry.

It was observed by Mr. Francis, that after boasting of the successes we had obtained over the enemy, whose inability to resist had boldly been asserted a twelvemonth ago, we were now called upon to make the most serious preparations against the danger of his invading this country. That such a danger did exist he was inclined to believe, from the less arrogant language now adopted by ministers; and would not for that reason oppose the augmentation proposed.

After some members had spoken approvingly of the motion, Mr. Fox rose, and in a speech of considerable length, severely reprehended the conduct of ministry. Greater exertions were now required, he said, than when this country had not a single ally to face the united strength of America, Holland, Spain, and France, and was hourly threatened with an invasion: and now, with a marine decidedly superior to that of the enemy (without consulting parliament) and almost all Europe to assist us, France alone, represented as unsuccessful, was able to intimidate us. During the American war our danger was real, but did not appear so great as ministers affected to describe it. He would nevertheless assent to the motion for augmenting the militia.

Mr. Ryder, in reply, took notice, that though incapable of persisting much longer in the contest, the French might, however, in some of those momentary exertions that had proved so successful and astonishing, meet again with the like success,

which we were duly prepared to counteract them.

To this Mr. Grey made answer, that these momentary exertions had lasted uninterruptedly from the beginning to the end of the campaign; and that, from the extreme anxiety of minister, it appeared, notwithstanding the advantages gained by the armies of the coalition, that the situation of this country, instead of better, was worse; and that we were in more danger than at the beginning of hostilities. The motion, after some more observations on both sides, was carried.

On the 17th of March a warm debate took place in the House of Commons. The ministry had issued a requisition, under the name of a recommendation, for the raising of volunteer companies of horse and foot, in order to preserve internal peace, and suppress domestic insurrections; and to aid the military, if necessary, to repel an invading enemy. The measure was condemned by the opposition as unconstitutional; and the voluntary subscriptions proposed to support it, were in particular declared unlawful, without the specific consent of the legislature. In a subsequent discussion on the 21st of March, Mr. Sheridan demanded, whether that recommendation proceeded from the secretary of state? and in case it did, that it should be communicated to the House, which must of course be apprized of it, as it related to the levying of troops and money. The minister's reply was, that the recommendation was no more than a method adopted by ministry to direct it in the formation of a plan to be presented to the House as soon as

proper estimates of the expence had been regularly made out. Letters having been written by government to the lieutenants of the several counties on this subject, Mr. Sheridan required they should be produced: but this being refused, he gave notice that he would move the House to declare its disapprobation of the measure. The minister, in answer to this, asserted that it was founded on precedent; and that money thus raised, had in various instances been expended in the support of troops, as it was proposed in the case before them. Pursuant to the notice he had given, Mr. Sheridan resumed this business on the 24th of March. Being informed, he said, that a principal member of the coalition was about to leave it, he would of consequence gladly see the kingdom put into such a posture of defence as might secure it from the danger accruing from this unexpected dereliction: but this did not authorize any description of men to consult together how to raise and pay a military force without the consent of Parliament. This was the more censurable, as they did not act from their own motion, but by the direction of a secretary of state. But what aggravated it still more, was the notice publicly given in the papers, that those who refused compliance with this direction, would be considered as enemies to government. Ministers in this matter had grievously offended. — Why did they not consult Parliament, without applying to lieutenants and magistrates of counties, who certainly could claim no right to levy money on the subject? He moved, in conclusion, an address to the King for a communication

cation of all the papers relating to this subject.

Mr. Western added, that if the crown were once allowed to raise money, under the pretext of benevolences, there would be an instant stop put to the exercise of all the rights and duties of parliament. Exclusively of its privilege to legislate, the power of raising money by imposing taxes, belonged solely to that body; but the scheme in contemplation would transfer this power to the executive department. Were this to happen, there would be no further occasion for parliament to meet, as it would then be divested of all its authority and importance.

To these reasonings Mr. Pitt replied, that voluntary contributions for levies, when these were assented to by parliament, were strictly legal, and consistent with the precedents; and that a message from the King would be brought to the House on the subject in question.

Mr. Fox insisted, on the other side, that the precedent alluded to by ministers, was totally irrelevant. The contributions during the American war were truly voluntary, as no official authority had prompted them; but, in the present case, it was plain that the executive power had assumed the right of demanding pecuniary assistance from the people, without the intervention of parliament; which was undeniably unconstitutional, and subversive of all the laws that had so carefully provided against the levying of any money but with the positive and formal consent of the representatives of the nation.

He was followed by Mr. Francis,

who asserted that ministry der no necessity of recurring such a method of obtaining it was both irregular and. The readiness of parliament grant supplies, was unquestioned. To what intent had ministered to any other medium to create a precedent unfavourable to the commons, and to promote discord among individuals.

Mr. Adair, who spoke next, not deny the illegality of the measure; but he recommended; but he examined, on the ground of emergency at the present juncture, and as nowise aiming at innovations of parliamentary rights, was altogether an abstract case better avoided than brought into discussion.

A contrary opinion was expressed by Mr. Gray, who said he it incumbent on the House to pass a censure of disapprobation of the measure, as militating against the laws and constitution of the country. The question being put, it was carried in favour of ministry.

A message from the King was delivered to the House on the 10th of March, purporting the intention of the enemy to invade the kingdom, and requiring the House to send succours to oppose him, and to raise the militia; and in answer to it, at the same time, that, relative to its concurrence, the King issued orders to that purpose. A corresponding address was presented by Mr. Dundas, to assure the House of the readiness of the House to concur in all the measures proposed for the prosecution of the war, as just and necessary. The address was carried with acclamation.

The ministry's attempt

the subscriptions without application to parliament, had, in the mean while, created much dissatisfaction. It was vigorously opposed in several counties; and counter-revolutions entered into by meetings for that purpose. That which was published by the county of Surrey, on the 27th of March, merits recording. It was conceived in the following terms: "Resolved, That it is the opinion of this meeting, that it is their duty to refuse any countenance to private subscriptions at the requisition of ministers, for public purposes; but that we are ready at all times to stand forward in any constitutional manner, in support of our King and country, against all foreign and domestic enemies.

On the 28th of March, Mr. Sheridan, agreeably to the notice he had given, moved in the House, that it was dangerous and unconstitutional for the people of this country to make any loan of money to parliament. He asserted that ministers had, in the business of the subscriptions, aimed rather at establishing the legality, than at deriving any present utility from them. Were the Sovereign entitled to procure supplies from the meetings of counties, or of private individuals, he would be released from the necessity of explaining for what purposes he wanted them, to the representatives of the nation; of whom he would immediately become independent, or, in other words, absolute. It was prudent, therefore, to prevent any popular insatiation from producing such effects, by limiting the power of granting money to the nation at large, regularly convened in parliament; but in the

instance now before the House, it was well known that the subscriptions were not so voluntary as represented. Persons employed in the collection of the revenue, and the other numerous dependants and emissaries of ministry, chiefly composed the list of subscribers: but were such a measure not repugnant to the constitution, still it was attended with an impropriety that would soon be manifested. The sums already required for the expences of the year, amounted to no less than thirty-five millions. This surely was an enormous requisition, without recurring to further exactions. But so great was the zeal of this nation presumed to be for the important objects held out to it, as the motives of the war, that the very extremest exertions of which it was capable, were confidently looked for; but ministry misreckoned, if it relied on those causes as productive in the degree that some of their most zealous advocates expected. Numbers might doubtless subscribe; but what a proportion of them would act from mere compulsion! The influence of government and of its many adherents, together with the dread of being considered as disaffected, could not fail powerfully to help out the subscription. Personal ostentation and interested motives would also contribute towards it; but the aggregate of its produce would not answer the prospect of those who might indulge sanguine hopes of its being very considerable.

These reasonings were opposed by the Attorney General, who justified the conduct of ministers, as agreeable to precedents and constitutional

stitutional authorities. He cited the letters written by the Marquis of Lansdowne, then Lord Shelbourne, while in office, to the Lieutenants of counties, in 1782, as a case precisely similar to the present; and mentioned the raising of companies by private subjects, at their own expence on other occasions, in much the same light.

Mr. Fox, in answer to this, affirmed, that in that letter no money nor subscription had been solicited, nor any received. The precedent which the ministry were endeavouring to establish, amounted in reality to an order from the King to the people, unconstitutional in a British monarch, as being inconsistent with the freedom of a British subject. It would certainly tend to keep alive those jealousies of the executive power which had of late excited so powerful and extensive a spirit of democracy; nor was the measure deserving of the pains taken to carry it. Three hundred thousand pounds was the utmost it would produce: Was the public, for so paltry a consideration, to be exposed to party feuds and disturbances?

The sentiments expressed by Mr. Wyndham, on this subject, were, that the subscriptions recommended were essentially different from the benevolences and compulsory loans formerly used, and justly reprobated. If the letter in 1782 did not specify subscriptions, still its purport could be no other, as without money, no arms nor accoutrements could have been provided for the men, nor pay to maintain them. He strongly vindicated himself from the accusation of inconsistency; so frequently alleged against him. He did not, he said, ~~desert~~ the praise of consistency by

remaining in error; and would always be governed by his conviction of what was right, however it might make him appear to have changed his opinion. He concluded, by saying that the situation of the present day resembled that of the year 1745; which favoured the cause of the Pretender, declared the country was in danger.

These assertions, made use of the part of Mr. Wyndham, drew an animated reply from Mr. Shee who recalled his remembrance of the vehemence with which he had to inveigh against the present letter; and spoke with great freedom of his dereliction of the minister. There were, said Mr. Shee, some fundamental principles, no man could be justified in breaking. To grant no supply to the crown, but through parliament was the essential part of the constitution. To relinquish this privilege, was to empower the king at once to corrupt parliament and subvert liberty. So far, however, was opposition from impeding ministerial plans of defence, that it was ready to legalize the subscriptions they had recommended, provided they were not drawn from a precedent. The debate concluded with a majority of 17 in favour of the previous question.

The lawfulness of the subscriptions was warmly debated in the House of Lords, on the 2d March, and supported, as it was attacked, by much the same arguments as in the House of Commons.

Lord Lauderdale observed that parliament had always been extremely attentive in watching and preventing the success of attempts of this nature, which had often been made by the crown, and

filled by the legislature. The influence of the crown was an object that could not be too seriously opposed. Years ago, when not arrived at its present magnitude, the House of Commons had formally voted that it had too much increased, was still increasing, and ought to be diminished. The present was sufficiently evinced the vast accession of power to ministers, who rewarded their adherents, and punished their opposers in a manner that alarmed all men of independent principles. The newspapers in the ministerial pay, were instruments of their severest vengeance: whoever thwarted their measures, were described as foes to their country; and some persons of rank and importance had been indirectly accused by them of receiving wages from the French for opposing government. He contended, at the same time, that ministry, by their present efforts, were striving to raise the executive department to a higher degree of power than ever: were it invested with the prerogative of levying money without consulting the great council of the nation, parliament, what more would be needed to place that department above all controul? He would therefore move that it was unconstitutional and dangerous to grant to the executive government any private aid or benevolence for public purposes, without the consent of parliament.

He was answered by Lord Hawkesbury, who insisted on the obvious difference between a forced contribution and a voluntary gift.

The Earl of Derby observed, in favour of the motion, that compulsion consisted in terror as much as in actual violence. To his know-

ledge several persons had joined the subscription against their approbation, out of the fear of becoming marked men if they refused.

The Marquis of Townshend contended, on the other side, that in the county of Norfolk, of which he was Lieutenant, the people were strenuously disposed to subscribe, from their zeal for the constitution, and the preservation of their country against the attempts of the disaffected to introduce French principles and government. Individuals, acquainted with the sentiments of their neighbours, would certainly be the properest to be employed in watching their motions, and defeating their machinations. The evil-disposed were numerous, and could only be known to those who dwelt in the same places, and who would therefore be nearer at hand to suppress them than regular troops fetched from a great distance. In this light the scheme in agitation was highly useful and salutary: it tended most effectually to secure the public peace, by keeping in constant readiness, everywhere, men who could be depended on for their loyalty and attachment to government, and who, being of the middle classes, were interested in preventing disturbances, and protecting industry and property.

The Earl of Caernarvon additionally observed, that to consult with individuals, legally convened in county meetings, about the means of levying men, or with private gentlemen engaging to raise companies or regiments on their own funds, were transactions similar to each other; if the latter were lawful, the former must be the same. Money was the medium to be procured

cured for both cases, without appealing to parliament. In 1782, the great towns were called upon by letter, officially directed to them, to furnish a certain number of men, stating to them what share of the expence government would bear. Was not this a clear intimation that the other share must be defrayed by them? What were the subscriptions now proposed, but precisely a repetition of that measure?

The discussion of the present question was greatly censured by the Lord Chancellor, as too much involved in theory. Facts were the best principles to consult. In the year 1745, twelve noblemen offered each to raise a regiment at his own expence: their offers were accepted, and provision was made by parliament for the subsistence of those levies, notwithstanding the cavils raised against ministers upon this occasion. The business in agitation ought, in his opinion, to be maturely weighed, before liberty was taken to censure it. The letters to the lieutenants, laid before them a scheme, which they were, in conjunction with others, to examine, in order to settle the method of carrying it into execution, previously to its introduction to parliament. Such a line of proceeding could not be illegal, as all pecuniary negotiations with ministers were transacted in the same manner, before they were brought into parliament for its approbation or dissent. The discussion ended by a majority of 76 against the motion.

Mr. Pitt, conformably to the notice he had given, moved, on the 1st of April, for a committee on the bill for the encouragement of those who should voluntarily enrol

themselves for the general defence of the kingdom, during the war. Hereon Mr. Francis enquired whether, in case the bill passed, it were to be understood subscriptions for raising would be considered as thus sanctioned by parliament? Points in this matter ought not to be viewed as principles: the conduct of persons in office was not to be the measure of those who succeeded to them: more than the measures sanctioned by our parliament could bind them to give them the same sanction. The legislature ought to direct its principal attention more to what should be, than to what had been done. Taking the measure proposed in this point of view, he judged it illegal and dangerous.

When the bill came to its second reading, it was again firmly opposed by Mr. Francis, as contradicting the bill of rights, which in those express and positive terms, prohibited the levying of money without the concurrence of parliament.

He was followed by Lord Comb, who contended that the bill contained in the letter of it was entirely dissimilar to that of the present subscriptions: the former went to arm the people, the latter to arm the crown; the former appealed to the opinion and intentions of the people; the latter intended to controul them. According to the plan of 1783, officers were to be appointed lieutenants of the counties; and, according to the present, by the crown. In the former, those officers were to be men of property in the county in which they were to command; and the men were not to be called out but in case of actual danger; but by the present

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stitutions were required here; and the men were the utmost severity of it, on the least appearance of the former raised no the intent of the latter to them independently of it.

to Lord Wycomb, Mr. Pitt, that whatever could be for the justification of any of these measures, justified the latter: the former precluding subscription so much understood to it them, that the country which already maintained his body of men by subscription receiving that letter, it into a recommendation of it, and actually added parties by means of new ones: no exceptions how- ever at this proceeding. Several regiments had been sent to the service of govern- ment, Lord Hardwicke, a first authority, decided in favour of the transaction. The noblemen were autho- rized to employ their funds in this way should not some hun- dred subjects be allowed to do so? Subscriptions for the service carried nothing in them; and subjects were, to be at liberty to do so properly to so laud- able. The statutes, formerly passed that method of le- vying, called a Benevolence, was a real relief to the subjects from ar- bitrary exactions. But were free- men to be classi- fied as such? now proposed

would, besides their general utility, produce an effect of particular con- sequence at this critical time: they would convince the French that the English went heart and hand with government.

Mr. Fox animadverted severely on this latter argument. Far, said he, from operating to that end, the subscriptions would probably tend to confirm the French in their idea, that the majority of the nation dis- approved of the war, from the in- considerable number of subscribers, when compared to the multitudes that would not subscribe. Two descriptions of men might reason- ably be expected to refuse: those who looked on the measure as un- constitutional, and those who de- nied the good policy of the war. They were both extremely numer- ous, and yet as firmly inclined and ready to oppose the aggression of a foreign enemy, as the warmest ad- herents to ministry.

In addition to the plan of raising an internal force by voluntary sub- scriptions, Mr. Pitt brought a pro- posal before the House on the 7th of April, to enable the subjects of France to enlist in the King's ser- vice on the continent of Europe, and to employ French officers as engineers, under certain restrictions. Many advantages, he was of opi- nion, might result from such a mea- sure, considering how deeply they were interested in our success, and how zealously they were attached to the cause for which we were contending. Two amendments to this proposal were moved: the first, by the Attorney-General, to oblige those who enlisted, to take the oath of allegiance; the second, by Mr. Sheridan, to limit the operation of the bill to twelve months, the term



to which the mutiny bill was confined. The former of these amendments was adopted; the latter rejected by a majority of 97.

Mr. Sheridan succeeded however in proposing, that no greater number of these troops should be stationed within the kingdom than 6000.

But on the second reading of the bill, it was most strongly opposed by Mr. Baker, on account of its wanting a specific statement of the numbers to be enlisted, and its allowing them to be quartered on British ground. Mr. Sheridan now declared himself against the bill, and, among other motives, alleged the certain death awaiting these men, if defeated; asking, at the same time, whether in such case we could venture to retaliate? Mr. Burke immediately replying in the affirmative, was vehemently reproved by Mr. Sheridan, for letting fall an expression that might prove so fatal to our own troops, and lead to scenes of reciprocal bloodshed, unprecedented in the wars between Europeans. He strongly insisted on the danger of committing to the disposal of the crown an army of 50 or 60,000 men, all strangers and sworn enemies to the very name of liberty.—Mr. Burke's answer was full of asperity towards the present, and of praise of the late government of France: and he concluded it by asserting, that if the property wrested in France, from its ancient owners, were not restored to them, property would not exist ten years longer in England. The motion was carried by a majority of 185.

The commitment of the bill was carried by a majority of 102. When it came to a third reading, it was again opposed by Mr. Harrison,

who remarked that it was imprudent, while we were the apprehension of being invaded by the French, to put arm the hands of those multitudes of emigrants in England, who very probably be tempted, hope of pardon, to join their trymen.

He was seconded by Mr. who considered the bill as a gagement on the part of this country, to restore to the emigrants possessions from which they had been ousted, and to re-establish the ancient government: but it was an attempt must not on long the war, but render bloody and destructive, as to separate the two nations from each other, in a degree that neither justice nor humanity could tolerate. The successes that might attend arms would not alter the sense of the French: they were content about their distant conquests, while they preserved themselves. They were not fighting remote objects; their interests at home, and their independence from foreign masters, occupied them entirely. To conquer such a country we must attack them in the country: it was there we could bring them to subjection. But would any man, not without reason, recommend such a tempt? Why, therefore we so much forget past expenses as to imagine that, after a resolute as well as the most numerous bodies of royalists had already failed in their endeavours to resist the French government, should be more likely to succeed through the help of an incredible number that had fled to the country, and whose property had not been tried. Notwith-

The advantageous descriptions of France under the monarchy, he too, said Mr. Fox, had travelled in that country, and could with truth affirm, that the circumstances of the peasantry were wretched and miserable to a degree, not exceeded by that of the poorest inhabitants of any part of Europe. Dreading to be reduced to that deplorable situation, could they refrain from indignation and fury, when they were told that the powers in the coalition against France had taken up arms for the avowed purpose of forcing them back to that state of misery?

In answer to Mr. Fox, it was alleged by Mr. Dundas, that the present rulers of France could not be viewed as possessed of any stable power. If appearances could be credited, they were not less hated than dreaded by the generality of the people. Were these well assured of being supported, it was the opinion of good judges, that they were ripe for an insurrection against the republican system. It would, therefore, be wanting to ourselves to omit the opportunity of trying what might be effected by embodying those numerous emigrants that had long testified a desire of being employed in some enterprize against the usurpers of power in their own country, and to restore its ancient government. An enterprize of this kind was the more deserving of encouragement, that none could be so well acquainted with the means of forwarding it in France: natives of that country, conversant in all its affairs, and in possession of numerous connexions, united to them by relation or friendship, and above all, by an identity of sentiments on the transactions of the

times. But a motive, paramount to all others, for using our utmost efforts to compel France to change its system of government was, that while it subsisted, no other system was safe.

As to the fate awaiting the emigrants, if unsuccessful, they knew it, and had made up their minds for what might happen, undismayed and fearless of events. No less than a force of 500,000 men had been mentioned as requisite for the subverting of the French republic. Such a force would be highly acceptable to every one that sincerely wished for a suppression of the enormities that had so long afflicted France and menaced all Europe; yet a more moderate number would suffice for that purpose, and exonerate this country from the unhappy necessity of lavishing so much blood and treasure for the accomplishing of so desirable an end.

Mr. Dundas was supported by Mr. Burke, who declared it was more for the honour and benefit of the emigrants to accept of this opportunity of recovering their just rights, than to linger away their lives in banishment and dependence. He then spoke with his usual asperity of the proceedings and character of the French, against whom the coalition of all governments was, in his opinion, fair and lawful, as the foes of those civil and religious rights, hitherto enjoyed in the worst of times, and through all the vicissitudes of political events, by the various classes of society, without disturbance or fear of deprivation. Under pretext of asserting the liberties of mankind, they sought the extension of their dominions, and the increase

of their influence and power, in order, at the same time, to introduce everywhere a conformity to their destructive precedents.

To these charges Mr. Sheridan replied, that it merited an enquiry, how far the iniquities of which the French had been guilty, were to be ascribed to the character and disposition of the natives of France, or to the sentiments and examples they had imbibed and copied from their former government.

Other members spoke for and against the bill; which was carried after a long and tedious contest.

It was opposed in the House of Lords, on the same grounds as in that of the Commons. Among other arguments, it was urged by Lord Albemarle, that it was bad policy to collect, under the same standard, men of different opinions on the very subject for which they were brought together. The French, who were to be enrolled for the service proposed, had emigrated at different times, and from different motives, and were rootedly averse to each other's sentiments.

Lord Hawkesbury, in defence of the bill, represented how little could be apprehended from so inconsiderable a body of men as 5000, no more being allowed by the bill to land in this country at a time; and they were not on any pretence to move beyond five miles from the sea.

The Duke of Bedford contended with great animation against the compulsion exercised upon the emigrants, who were called upon, under the penalty of disgrace, to take an active part in measures that must lead them to destruction. Other ways of providing for these

unfortunate people might have been discovered. Much had been held out by ministers about the little probability of Robespierre's continuing long in power: but his fall would at no time accelerate the subversion of the French republic: It was founded on the consent and support of millions, and by no means depended on the life of one single man.

The Marquis of Lansdowne spoke after the Duke of Bedford. He warmly reprobated the idea of retaliation, and reminded the House of the consequences it had produced in America. Some of the emigrants, he noticed, had expressed their hope that they would be joined in France by large numbers of the peasantry on the lands and estates formerly their own: but was it likely that men, who had so grievously felt the oppressions exercised upon the rural classes under the ancient government, would forget them, in order to return to the arbitrary subjection and servitude in which they were held by their former masters? He had lately conversed with persons of probity and information, who had, not long since, had occasion to travel over many parts of France; and they positively asserted that the country was in a more flourishing state of cultivation, and the people in better circumstances than before the revolution. He concluded, by declaring himself an enemy to the erection of barracks and the introduction of foreign armies.

Other Lords expressed themselves for and against the bill.

Lord Stanhope, in particular, took occasion to speak with great acrimony of the flight and contempt with which some persons of exalted rank

was affected to treat the Rights of Man. It was, he said, to the spirit with which those rights had been maintained in this country, that these persons owed their exaltation. Whenever that spirit was departed,

their greatness would cease, as liberty, its only foundation, would be no more. The debate now came to a termination, by a division of 54 for the bill, and of 7 only against it.

## CHAP. XIII.

*Treaties concluded between the British Minister and the several Members of the Coalition. Motion against it in the House of Commons. Debates thereon. Motion by Lord Stanhope in the House of Peers, for abstaining from farther interference in the Domestic Concerns of France. Motion by Lord Hawkeley, for the Employment of British Seamen discharged from the Navy in Time of Peace. Motion by Mr. Gray, relative to the Failure of the British Army at Dunkirk and Toulon. Debates thereon. Finances of India. A Message from the King to Parliament, concerning a Pecuniary Subsidy to Russia. Debates thereon. Discontents and Jealousies entertained by the North American Provinces of Great Britain. Moderate and wise Councils of the Americans. Differences between these Powers settled. Motions and Debates respecting these in both Houses of Parliament. Motion in the House of Peers, by the Duke of Bedford, for terminating the War with France. Motion to the same Effect, by Mr. Fox, in the House of Commons. Debates thereon in both Houses.*

**W**HILE these various matters were in agitation, divers treaties concluded by administration, with the several princes forming the coalition, the expences which these occasioned, and the obligations contracted, were objects of much magnitude, that great alarm at their consequences to this country, had filled the minds of politicians, not otherwise unopposed to the measures of government, than as they thought it too distant in listening to the demands of its allies; who had objects to accomplish, which, however beneficial to themselves, did not induce Great Britain so deeply as to see the degree of exertion they expected from the Ministry. The complaints of these demands gave occasion,

induced opposition to make them a subject of parliamentary debate. An address to the King was moved by the House of Commons, on the 6th of March, by Mr. Gray, for the purpose of expressing their concern that he should have formed an union with powers, whose apparent aim was to regulate a country wherein they had no right to interfere. The King of Prussia had not taken up arms against France in consequence of the defensive treaty by which he was bound to assist Great Britain, in case of an aggression from that power; but a coalition had been formed with him and others against the French, who were not the aggressors in this war; by which this country was involved in enterprizes injurious to its interest, and to the liberties of Europe. He

supported this address by a variety of arguments. The views of Austria and Prussia, he asserted, were evidently ambitious and unjust. Their conduct towards Poland sufficiently proved their intentions towards France. Whatever our declarations had been for the constitution accepted by the late King of France, it was not approved by Austria. There was no faith in either of these powers. Had their first invasion of France been successful, the balance and freedom of Europe must have been lost.

The views of the combined powers were justified by Mr. Jenkinson, who stated, that the main object of the war was, to recover from the French the countries they had taken. The means employed to obtain this end were entirely proper. We could not be too solicitous in preventing the French from extending their dominions. The case of Poland, however blameable the conduct of the powers interested in the transactions relating to that state, was nowise applicable to the present war.

In reply to Mr. Jenkinson, it was asserted by Mr. Fox, that both moral and religious considerations should induce us to contrast the benefits derivable from our political connexions with the ignominious consequences attending them. Neither the French Convention, nor Jacobin club, had produced instances of perfidy so criminal as that of the King of Prussia to the Poles. After encouraging them to form a constitution, he had in the lapse of a year united with its disapprovers, and assisted in its destruction, from the hope of sharing in the dilapidation of the Polish monarchy. The different style in

which the French and their allies were spoken of, seemed to imply that the crimes of princes and of courts had a right to pass unnoticed, while those arising from anarchy merited the severest condemnation, and demanded the heaviest punishment. What could be baser than the conduct of Austria at the time of Dumouriez's defection? While the army that he had commanded was thought to adhere to his schemes, Prince Cobourg's manifesto declared a resolution to assist him in restoring the French constitution of 1789, founded on the principles of liberty. But as soon as that army had forsaken its General, that manifesto was immediately retracted. The treatment of that General after he had relinquished the service of the Convention, shewed what others had to expect who should imitate him, and put their trust in the honour or the policy of the allies. Was it to Prussia, to Austria, or to Russia we could confide, when we recollected their respective behaviour to Poland? But was France to be reduced, would the well known animosities among the allies permit them to settle the affairs of that nation without broils and contests among themselves? Happily, however, for Great Britain, the demands of the coalition upon her were so unreasonable and exorbitant, that all the impartial world must exculpate her, were she to throw off so oppressive and unnecessary a load.

In answer to Mr. Fox, those arguments were urged by Mr. Pitt that had already so often been adduced. It was happy, he said, that so many powers thought it their interest to unite with this country against France; and it were extremely

tremely imprudent to dissolve such an alliance. A peace obtained at any rate would endanger this country against much more than the continuation of war, which for our own safety, ought not to be terminated but in conjunction with our allies. The resources of the allies were greater in the aggregate than those of the French. By patience and perseverance they must ultimately prevail.

Mr. Whitbread reminded Mr. Pitt of what had been effected by the Americans with far inferior resources to those of the French.

The same subject was debated in the House of Peers on the 18th of March. It was opened by the Earl of Guildford, who observed, that the House had the clearest right to advise the Crown against all engagements with foreign powers that might be detrimental to the kingdom. We were unhappily connected with some that had formed the vain project of conquering France; which, were it practicable, might not in the issue prove so beneficial to this country as to leave it unmolested in the settlement of its own concerns. Neutrality had once been reputed the wisest measure we could embrace; and no satisfactory reason had ever been assigned for the change that had taken place in our councils. He was of opinion, with many others, that the four great powers with which we had coalesced against France, entertained each separate views: and yet we had bound ourselves unalterably to second them, by consenting to no peace without their concurrence. Would they go the same length in our favour?—He concluded by making a motion

similar to that made by Mr. Gray in the Lower House.

Lord Hawkesbury acknowledged the right of the House to discuss the propriety of treaties; but insisted on the good policy of adhering to those that had been framed at the present juncture. He sincerely wished that not a power in Europe had remained neutral. The invasion of the Austrian Netherlands, and the attempts upon Holland, gave sufficient grounds for provocation, especially as France by the acquisition of the former, was become so near and so dangerous a neighbour. The treaties viewed in this light were highly meritorious:—we could not frame too many when our security was so evidently threatened by an old and inveterate enemy, who, whatever his internal government might be, would probably continue such from a variety of motives.

Lord Lauderdale observed, that were the coalition to be prosperous, a subject of dispute would probably arise concerning the government to be established in France:—herein the coalesced powers would in all likelihood disagree, and a difference of this kind would not be terminated easily. It had been asserted, that government was obliged by no treaty to the re-establishment of the constitution accepted by the late King in 1791; but this very constitution had been made the ground of our reception at Toulon; and it would be a direct violation of the national faith, pledged by Lord Hood and the other commissioners, not to insist on its restoration. Many benefits had been promised from our successes in this war; but one evil is certain:—we should be loaded

with subsidies for our allies, who might nevertheless, from motives of expediency, be extremely apt to abandon the confederacy.

The Earl of Mansfield maintained, on the other side, the need we stood in of allies, to accomplish the objects which the interest of this country evidently required. The mass of the French, though silent through fear, heartily desired the return of monarchy; and if duly supported, could more effectually restore it by their own exertions, than by the intervention of a foreign force.

The expensiveness of the treaties was severely condemned by the Marquis of Lansdowne. It was surprising, he said, that a people circumstanced like that of Great Britain, could so readily be reconciled to sacrifice so much of their substance for the prosecution of a quarrel in which such numbers of them must necessarily perish. The principle of trusting to the attachment and fidelity of the people in their defence, was manifestly reprobated by the coalesced princes. The King of Prussia had strongly objected to it from the danger, lest when in arms, they might indulge the more freedom in political ideas, and imbibe some of those adopted by the French. This was a proof how conscious those princes were of the hard usage experienced by their subjects; and how little they merited their affection. Was the grandeur of such princes deterring of the efforts of this country to support it? and could its preservation redound to the benefit or honour of the British nation?

Lord Stanhope, one of the most strenuous opposers of a war which he deemed entirely ministerial, on

the 25th of March, made motion in the Upper House any further interference in domestic concerns of France severely reprehended Lord Mansfield's opinion, that no ought to be spared by this country to procure as extensive an union against the present government of France as money could effect that country. He condemned contrary both to religious and political principles, and particularly that system of civilized which had so much contributed to soften the ferocious nature of the French. He expatiated largely on the consequences of such an opinion on its tendency to kindle flames of discord in all countries. He reminded the House of sufferings to which the continuance of the war must necessarily expose the people of this country, the injuries already sustained in the short space it had lasted. His speech and motion of Lord Stanhope were vehemently censured by Lord Mansfield and Lord Stormont, who moved that, in order to prevent the resolution proposed by Lord Stanhope from appearing in the journals of the House, it should be expunged.

The Lord Chancellor and Lord Grenville, by refusing to assent to the preamble to the resolution which was negatived, and to the motion for expunging it from the journals.

This method of preventing an agreeable resolution from being recorded, gave great offence to the opposition, and to others, who disapproved of Lord Stanhope's opinion, thought him entitled to insist on its insertion in the journals of the House.

Lord Lauderdale denied

in the speaker of either House to move or alter any motion; otherwise freedom of expression would gradually be obliterated. He moved in consequence, that motions should be put in the words they were made.

Lord Thurlow contended, that the proceeding complained of was orderly, and used with the sole view of obviating a more disagreeable manner of rejecting the motion.—A warm discussion followed, which was terminated by an adjournment, and the question itself left undecided.

In the midst of these parliamentary altercations, the public saw with much satisfaction a bill brought into the House of Commons, of great national utility, as to claim and command at once the concurrence of all parties. This was a bill introduced by Lord Hawkebury, to take place at the end of the war, and by which a great number of seamen that must in consequence be discharged, would immediately be provided with employment. The principal intention of the bill was to oblige all British merchantmen to be manned with three-fourths of British sailors; and coasting vessels to admit of no foreign seamen during peace. This latter regulation would prevent foreigners from becoming acquainted with our seaports: a knowledge often attended with danger in time of war. By another provision of this bill, no ship, without being duly registered as belonging to this country, should have the freedom of British ports. This would exclude vessels belonging to foreigners from the enjoyment of his privilege, and tend to augment the number of our own merchant-

men. He stated the quantity of shipping in Great Britain at sixteen thousand vessels, measuring more than one million of tons, and manned with one hundred and eighteen thousand British mariners: twelve thousand of these vessels belonged to England alone, and employed one hundred and seven thousand of those mariners. To such a summit of prosperity had the naval power of Great Britain risen within the last hundred years, that during the American war, Liverpool alone had fitted out privateers exceeding in tonnage and number of seamen the whole of the grand fleet employed by England against the Spanish Armada in 1588. At the Restoration, in the year 1660, the shipping of England amounted to 95,000 tons; at the Revolution, twenty years after, 190,000; at the accession of the present Royal Family, in the year 1714, to 421,000; in the year 1750, to 609,000; in the year 1774, the year before the American war, to 796,000; and in 1792, the year preceding the present war with France, to 1,330,000.

The strong probability that the war would continue longer than had been confidentially predicted by its approvers, began at this time to excite great alarm in the public mind. The majority had flattered themselves, that if the coalition were not able to compass all the designs it had originally proposed, still it would succeed in accomplishing many; and at all events, that France would be compelled to accede to such terms as might affect the tranquillity of Europe, and leave the French themselves in possession of an internal system of government, which, tho' not repugnant to the general sentiments of that nation,



tion, might prove not inconsistent with the views of the coalition.

But these expectations having totally failed, and the duration of the war appearing now uncertain, a determination to prosecute it until the coalition had obtained its ends, seemed to have been adopted as a principle never to be relinquished. Those who were averse to the war itself, professing great zeal for the reputation of the British arms and councils, resolved to exert their abilities in the investigation of those causes to which the late failures were due. In pursuance of this resolution, the documents relating to the transactions of the last campaign were moved for by Mr. Gray and Major Maitland; but on being refused the inspection of those, Major Maitland, on the 10th of April, proceeded in the House of Commons to a retrospect of the occurrences of 1793. The transactions at Dunkirk and at Toulon were the objects of his animadversions, together with the projected expedition under Lord Moira. He entered circumstantially into the particulars of these matters, by moving for a committee of the House, to enquire into the causes which led to the failure of the army under the Duke of York at Dunkirk, and to those which occasioned the evacuation of Toulon under Lord Hood and General Dundas.

In opposition to Major Maitland, it was asserted by Mr. Jenkinson, that no exertions had been wanting on the part of ministry. The bravery of the British troops, and the prudence of those who guided our affairs, were alike unimpeachable. The attempt upon Dunkirk was defeated by the prodigious strength employed by the French in its defence.

No violation of agreement could be imputed to this country in its fair at Toulon. When the terms in that place stipulated for the substitution of 1789, they could certainly mean that of 1791. No care had been taken, when the place was evacuated, to provide means of safety to all who refused to accept of them. The success of the expedition commanded by Lord Moira, depended entirely on the junction of the Royalists. As they possessed a harbour for landing, he doubtless would have landed, and done his utmost in the cause. The object in the view of the government, was not to compel the French to embrace any particular form of government, but to put an end to those ambitious projects which the French republicans had formed and pursued ever since the extinction of monarchy. The Jacobin system had generated the same spirit, and till that insidious scheme was destroyed, France could neither enjoy peace itself, nor its neighbours to enjoy it. Notwithstanding the pretended inutility of marching to Paris, it was the best plan that could be adopted. France was full of enemies to the Convention: we were allies resolutely to move forward, numbers would infallibly join us on their way.

Mr. Jenkinson was seconded by Lord Mulgrave and Sir John Murray. The first spoke in the vindication of the proceedings at Toulon, where he was present. The second, in vindication of the commanders before Dunkirk, the failure was attributed to the immense force brought against the rescue by the French, whose numbers were irresistible. The

was made with order and spirit, and the loss not considerable.

Mr. Grey's motion was negatived by 168 to 35.

The affairs of India, after the dispatch of other business of less importance, were brought before the House by Mr. Dundas on the 4th of April. From the averages of three years preceding the war in India, and at the three years succeeding, he formed an estimate, by which it appeared, that the net improvement in the Company's affairs by reduction of debts and by increase of assets, amounted to 1,669,700*l*. The resources of the Company hereby, were equal to the demands they had to answer. The British possessions in that part of the world he stated as in the most flourishing situation. The only European power that we apprehended, was no longer in existence; and the most dangerous of the native powers was completely disabled. Notwithstanding some of the domestic sales had been deficient, from the quantity of goods for sale being less than expected, the home debt had been decreased by payment of 500,000*l*. and there was no doubt that, the commercial difficulties of last year being removed, the demands for India goods would bring them to a good market, and compensate for all past deficiencies. It would however be expedient, to permit the Company to increase their capital, by enabling them to continue their bonded debt at 2,000,000, and to issue new bonds for 1,000,000 more. This, on Mr. Dundas's motion, was agreed to accordingly.

On the 29th of April a message was delivered from the King, informing the House of Commons

of the treaty concluded with the King of Prussia; by which Great Britain and the States General had jointly stipulated to grant that monarch a larger subsidy for the prosecution of the war. When the terms were laid before the House, it appeared that 1,800,000*l*. were to be paid him for the services of a twelvemonth; of which Holland was to furnish 400,000*l*. The immensity of such a sum, advanced to a prince in whom little or rather no confidence was reposed, awakened the fears of those who dreaded his duplicity; and that being once in possession of this treasure, he would feel little concern for those from whom he had received it. This apprehension was the more justly founded, that he was privately negotiating with the French government at this very time, and preparing for that secession from the confederacy which he had already resolved on.

On a comparison of these enormous terms with the uncertainty of the services they were given to purchase, it was not surprizing that the most forward in the opposition should imagine that many would hesitate whether they ought in prudence to be granted.

On the very next day, Mr. Curran moved the House to put off the conclusion of a business of such magnitude, for at least a fortnight, that the members might have full leisure for consideration. This motion gave birth to a warm discussion on its propriety, at a juncture when ministry insisted that the most expeditious decision was necessary: and its opposers contended, with no less obstinacy, that due time should be taken to weigh the reasons that might be adduced

on both sides of the question.—Mr. Curran was warmly seconded on this occasion by Mr. Whitbread, Mr. Taylor, Mr. Harrison, and Mr. Francis; but the motion was negatived, and the following day appointed for a conclusive determination. This was the 30th of April.

Mr. Pitt entered on the subject by representing the inadequacy of the Prussian finances to the prosecution of the war, unless they were further supported by our own, to which only resort could be made on the present emergency. The main point to be considered was, the proportion of the expence incurred to the succours that were to be furnished: and this, he asserted, was very equitable. In this country, besides the disbursements for arms, clothing, and accoutrements, the levy-money amounted to fifteen pounds a man: whereas, all requisites included, we paid only thirteen pounds for a Prussian soldier; which was a more moderate price than that either we gave the Hanoverians or the Hessians, or indeed for any continental troops. He then moved, that 2,500,000*l.* should be voted, to enable the King to fulfil his engagements with Prussia.

In answer to this motion, Mr. Fox observed, that it appeared from the minister's speech, that the King of Prussia was no longer to act in the original character of a principal ally; while the real fact was, that he first took up arms in this contest, and that we were only accessaries; though, by artifice and contrivance, we had been brought so much forward as to become the very heads of the confederacy. It was by assuming this imprudent situation, that we were called upon

to support all the members. conduct of Prussia on this occasion he asserted, was equally pernici- and mean. After involving country in a quarrel which for the intrigues of that would have been avoided, it the burden upon us, and thence to abandon the contest, unless supplied the means of continuing it. With what face could Prussian ministry require any confidence from this country, after tray- ing it into difficulties of own creating, and leaving us to tricate ourselves without aid from them, unless we paid for it. But what reason would our ministry assign for entrusting command of mercenaries to a master, after such proofs that faith could be put in him, and he was averse to any risk in expensive and dangerous quarrels. Nor had ministry displayed sagacity in trusting to themselves for their share of expence. They were known to be not zealous in the business; providently determined to shew their concurrence therein only for a twelvemonth.—He concluded by moving, that no larger sum should be voted for the purpose in question than 1,500,000*l.*—These arguments were combated by Mr. Wynne, who added, that whatever the conduct of Prussia might have been, wanting men for the prosecution of the war, we could not procure them on more advantageous terms. We ought gladly to secure them. The amendment proposed by Mr. Fox was rejected by 134 against 31.

In the House of Lords, a motion to the same effect was brought into consideration. Lord Grey observed, that when this case

ought to foreign princes for the use of their troops, it was not from want of able men of our own to fight our battles; but good policy which led us to spare our own people for the cultivation of arts, business, and agriculture at home.—The worst policy, on the other hand, prompted our enemies to ruin their country, by draining it of every useful hand that could be taken from the necessary pursuits of a civilized nation, and sent into the field, where every useful habit was soon forgotten, and no improvements made but those of destruction. By those coercive means, the whole mass of society was forced into action; — but such efforts were too violent to be lasting. It was a dreadful but a short-lived exertion of all the strength and power of a nation; which being unnatural, and contrary to the fundamental principles of civilized society, must terminate in its dissolution as soon as the means of action produced by its cultivation began to fail. But while this exertion continued, our own should be proportioned to it, though not in the same desperate extreme. In order, therefore, to obviate so great an evil, we ought cheerfully to sacrifice all the wealth we could possibly part with, to procure such a proportion of strength, wherever it could be found, as would enable us to face the enemy until that period arrived, which must infallibly come when he would be radically subdued. On this principle, the treaty with Prussia was founded. We thereby acquired a numerous and well disciplined force at much less cost than we could have obtained levies of raw men, unfit for service till a long space of train-

ing had elapsed. Had we not taken this method to secure that power, it would have been lost to the confederacy.

The sentiments expressed by the Marquis of Lansdowne on this occasion were, that ministry had unreasonably narrowed the time for considering the treaty with due attention. This treaty had most completely reversed the order of things. Prussia, the leader of the allied powers, could hardly now be viewed in any other light than as a hirer of troops to the coalition. But these subsidiary treaties had long been the channel through which the treasures of this country flowed into the coffers of our allies; who seemed to claim a presumptive right to load us with all the expences of our connections with them. But what amity subsisted between Prussia and Austria to unite their co-operations against a common enemy? Their jealousies and suspicions of each other obstructed all cordiality; and the expence at which we underwent to encourage union between them, tended usually to render them rivals in rapacity, and eagerness which of the two could extort most from us, under the denomination of subsidies and loans, without reconciling them to each other. This mutual inveteracy was the cause of the ill success of the coalition: and would this treaty bring any remedy?—Prussia boasted that 70,000 of its choicest troops had been employed against the French; but that, with all their bravery and veteranship, they had been assailed by such multitudes, that valour and skill were unable to stem so incessant and overwhelming a torrent. This torrent was daily encreasing, and be-

coming

coming more irresistible; but instead of 70, we had little more than 60,000 Prussians to aid us in the approaching campaign; and these far from chosen troops. Upon what then did we build those sanguine hopes we were so confidently bid to indulge? The French royalists themselves complained that we held up no precise and determinate object to their view; and assigned this as a material discouragement, as it led them to suspect that plans of dismemberment and partition were in reserve for France, if the coalition were to crush the republicans. But this appeared a hopeless attempt, while the bonds of union between the confederates were so feeble:—it were imbecility to imagine that they felt a common cause with this country. They dissembled an attachment, while they felt our ability to supply their wants; and while this country and its allies remained on this respective footing, they were too wise to desert us. But as they entertained no cordiality for us, it were a contemptible debility to retain any towards them. The sooner we closed the difference between Great Britain and France, the readier this latter would be to meet us half way, and even to sacrifice some of the acquisitions we had made in the West Indies, in order to secure a cessation of enmity on our part.

The Earl of Mansfield insisted strongly on the good policy of the treaty. The subsidy he allowed to be the largest ever given; but no precedent subsisted of so critical an emergency. He expressed a favourable opinion of the King of Prussia's integrity, and violently reprobated the idea of compromising with the French in expecta-

tion of cessions in the West I This would completely degrade in the eyes of Europe, and ultimately the worst of policy detaching from us every ally; the reputation of our nation and honour had hitherto taught us to look up to us with the highest confidence and respect. To preserve this reputation unfulfilled, we must not hesitate to stand firmly to our coalition, till such a government was established in France as to secure the future peace of Europe.

Lord Lauderdale noticed the last words, as an avowal that the treaty were aiming at a specific mode of government in that country notwithstanding the reiterated assurances that this country claimed no interference in the internal arrangements of France. He then demanded whether, after the King of Prussia had broken the treaty, binding him not to assist his allies nor the prosecution of the war but by reciprocal conduct, it became us to trust him: a breach of the latter might as well be expected. A proof how Prussia thought itself interested in this war, was the enormous sum it required for its co-operation. The grand foundation of a fallacious hopes,—the fatal illusion which ministers were much pains and even expence to report truly, to satisfy their own minds, and to compare to that of the public, was the capital of France was in a state of rapid consumption, and soon come to an end: and the House of the industrious in which physical productions, talents, and virtues, had triumphed over the accumulations and revenues of an extensive commerce.

No

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Notwithstanding this observation, which had been so often made, and ably illustrated in both Houses, as well as various productions of the press, though indeed, the fact required but little illustration, we madly persevered in a course which supposed that the only nerve of power was finance, and that our own finances were inexhaustible.

Lord Hawkesbury affirmed, that though he could not foretell the period when it would arrive; yet it was easy to foresee, that want of means must inevitably befall a country, when every medium of public and private transaction was reduced to paper, esteemed of no value.

The debate closed with 99 in favour of the motion, and 6 against it.

While ministry were providing at this enormous expence, for a vigorous prosecution of the war with France, the nation was on the point of being involved in a serious dispute with another republic. Since the recognition of the independence of the British colonies in North America, under the name of United States, they had preserved a watchful eye on the conduct of the British court and ministry, convinced that the loss of so considerable a portion of the empire, had not been submitted to by the government of this country without the keenest regret; and that the re-acquisition of it at some future period, according to the usual spirit of sovereign powers in similar situations, was an idea not totally relinquished in the political speculations of our statesmen. On this ground they viewed the revolution in France, and its subsequent erection into a commonwealth, as events that added security to their own situation, by removing all pro-

bability that the French, after abjuring a royal government, would passively permit North America to revert by conquest to the British monarchy. They were of late become less disposed than ever to be satisfied with the conduct of Great Britain. A short time after the breaking out of the war with the French republic, the British government ordered all the American vessels laden with corn, to be seized, and their cargoes to be detained, paying a reasonable price for both those and freight. This behaviour was construed by the American states as an action of infraction on their independence; and was highly resented by the people at large in that country. This proceeding of the British government was not long after followed by one that gave still greater offence. In the ensuing month of November, an order was issued for seizing all American vessels carrying provisions and stores to the French colonies. The consequence was, that in the space of five months the number of American vessels seized, in virtue of this order, amounted to more than six hundred:—nor were American vessels permitted to sail from the British islands without giving previous security that they would land their cargoes in British or in neutral ports. These transactions were accompanied by another, that excited universal alarm among the inhabitants of the United States. The British troops in Canada retook possession of some forts on the boundaries, which had been ceded to the Americans by the treaty of peace in 1783. All these different events had raised a great fermentation among them. Those who favoured the French, represented the English as aiming to re-

cover

cover the mastery of North America; and exhorted their countrymen to make one common cause with France, and immediately to commence hostilities with Great Britain. Another occasion of alarm was the conference held with several Indian tribes by Lord Dorchester, the governor of Canada. They had repaired to Quebec, in order to lay before him their complaints against the people of the United States, for encroachments on their territory. The answer they received, seemed to imply a design of hostilities on the part of our government.

These various occurrences had created much anxiety among the British merchants. The commerce with North America was a source of great benefit to this country: it employed nearly 250,000 tons of shipping, and took off an immense quantity of our manufactures. In case of a war, the navigation from Britain to the West Indies would suffer great and inevitable depredations from the numerous privateers with which the Americans would cover the West Indian seas. Our islands too would lie exposed to their attacks; and, in conjunction with the French, they would certainly attempt their reduction. Happily, however, both for Britain and the United States, moderate counsels prevailed in the Congress, over the anger expressed by the public at the treatment they had experienced. Notwithstanding the violent temper of the public, the government yielded no further to its fury than to lay an embargo on the British shipping in the American ports, for thirty days. A minister was appointed to settle the differences between Great Bri-

tain and America. This was John Jay, chief justice of the United States; who repaired to land in the summer of 1794. memorial to the Secretary of on the subject of his mission presented at a time particularly favourable to the remonstrance contained. The allied arm the Netherlands had been repeatedly defeated, and the European war were decisive everywhere France. He complained of a large number of American had been irregularly captured and condemned in the British admiralty courts; and that American vessels had been used with great severity and compelled to serve on British ships of war. Lord St. Ville did not deny that irregularities had been committed; but attributed them to the difficulty of avoiding in a naval war of so great extent. He engaged at the time that strict justice should be done, and due compensation made to every person, according to the loss he had sustained. He assured the American minister that no intention was ever harboured to impress the natives of the United States; but, speaking the language, it was extremely difficult to distinguish them from Englishmen. All possible precautions should henceforth be taken, in order to obviate all complaints of this kind, and to procure the full satisfaction and redress for all irregularities. This answer from the British minister rendered farther presentations unnecessary, and happily brought about conciliatory measures between both parties.

In the mean time, the conduct of the government towards America

caused a motion in the House of Peers, on the 26th of May, by the Marquis of Lansdowne, for "An address to the King, requesting his Majesty to direct copies to be laid before the House, of the instructions sent to Lord Dorchester relative to all differences between this country and America, and such communications as had been made of conferences with the Indian tribes north-west of the Ohio."

Lord Grenville represented the necessity of annoying the enemy by all means, consistent with the law of nations: according to which the detention of ships going to France with provisions was justified, on payment of the cargo and also freights: conditions that were fully performed. These being valued, and honestly paid for, the American ships were released: an indulgence not allowed to other neutral states. The Americans had certainly no real cause to be offended at our detaining their ships for the sole purpose of purchasing the cargoes intended for our enemies; and which were paid for in British guineas instead of French assignats.

After some observations from the Marquis of Lansdowne, who stated that the law of nations did not authorize us to starve whole nations, nor interrupt the commerce of an independent people, his motion was negatived by 69 against 9.

A motion of the like tendency was made by Mr. Sheridan on the same day, in the House of Commons. Little stress was laid by opposition on the detention of the American vessels: and, for the affairs of Canada, Mr. Dundas positively asserted, that no instructions of an unfriendly kind to the Americans had been given to Lord Dor-

chester; on which Mr. Sheridan withdrew his motion.

Four days after, a debate of more importance took place in the House of Lords.—The Duke of Bedford, on the 30th of May, produced a series of resolutions for terminating the war with France. He prefaced them by a retrospect of the principal events that had occasioned its commencement and continuance; stating the various views professed, at different times, by its promoters and abettors. He requested the House to examine the domestic and foreign situation of affairs; and whether, from the measures pursued, there was any likelihoods of compassing the end proposed, of compelling France to submit to our terms. He then proceeded to the reading of his resolutions. From the facts on which these were founded, it appeared, he said, that the first ostensible motive of the war, was to oppose the navigation of the Scheldt, and to protect the Dutch from a French invasion: these ends having completely been accomplished, terms of pacification might have ensued on our part, instead of imprudently prolonging a contest, the professed object of which was attained; but our ministry had determined to interfere in the affairs of France, and declared accordingly for the re-establishment of monarchy. The French were charged with having first declared war; but had we not first given the provocation? After engaging in this war, on being promised the concurring aid of the other powers that formed the coalition, circumstances induced government solemnly to declare that, provided France established a government



on equitable principles, and capable of maintaining the accustomed relations of peace with other powers, this country, in treating for a pacification, would require only moderate and equitable conditions. If such were offered, said the Duke, the people of France would compel their rulers to accept them. As to the assistance to be expected from our allies, it was in us a matter of self-deception. We had, to use our own phrase, taken up arms in defence of the rights of all nations: but Sweden, Denmark, and America, did not look upon us as acting in this light; and Venice and Genoa refused to join with us. Of our alliances, Russia did no more than promise; and Spain, Portugal, and Sardinia, had hitherto effected nothing; the latter, indeed, was a mere burden. Prussia, after first declaring war against France, and acting as a principal, had formerly seceded from its engagements, and refused to act even as an auxiliary, without an exorbitant subsidy. Austria was approaching to a situation that would probably require the help of our finances, notwithstanding that it was more deeply interested in this war than any other member of the coalition. The conduct of the enemies to France had been invariably, said the Duke, marked by inconsistency and duplicity. Prince Cobourg, after uniting with Dumouriez to restore the constitution of 1789, and publishing a declaration to that purpose, totally revoked it four days after. All the other declarations, made subsequently by other members of the coalition, differed from each other, and could not, therefore, be relied on by that numerous party in

France, which, though a monarchy, knew, from experience, the necessity of limited. The Constitution, whose form of a government was probal of a majority of the Fre were unquestionably, f part, persons not onl but of virtue and abil system they formed w imperfect, and required dation; but the calamiterwards befell the Fre arise from this consti from the intemperate d expresse by the neighbes at the downfall power; which they c ominous, and preparat own. This roused tl and malice at those w fected this mighty ch government of Fran combined their whole f all their intrigues, to it. Discord and suspisily spread throughto The unfortunate mor ever pure his intentio the imprudent condu who assumed the char friends, and supporters and dignity, rendered jealousy and mistrust to lent partizans of liberty dom. Through the il invidious denunciat these, and the haughty in his favour by the de reigns, who, with mor sagacity, espoused his well-meaning and we became at last suspected to his people, and of be leagued with the ener newly acquired libertie hatred of the monarch

It was easily converted by these republicans into a denunciation of the very office of King. It was the radical cause of all calamities that had been permitted in France.

The Duke then adverted to the lessons so often expressed, it was necessary to prevent the loss of French principles into the country: but was it among a people enjoying such rational liberties as the English, that such lessons would be admitted? It could be welcome only to a people made frantic by false ideas. True freedom was the barrier against licentiousness. Ministers, in the heat of their animosity against French principles, had acted, in various respects, in an unbecoming and unbecoming conduct of the French government. No peace of any kind, it was alleged, could be made with France: but what were proof against inflexible opportunity and intrepid men to break them? The tribes of public faith seldom to be attended with condign punishment. Reflecting seriously, on the probable consequences of continuing a contest so unproductive of the good we had promised ourselves, the uncertainty of the result, had rashly placed on our altars, it was our duty to our national safety, by no longer to sacrifice our blood and our substance in the pursuit of so unattainable an object as the subjugation of France.

The Duke affirmed, in answer to the Duke, that the war was not on just grounds; and that the alternative to pre-

serve us from internal confusions and miseries: but despondency was inconsistent with so clear a truth, as, that the insatiation of the French must, in the nature of things, quickly terminate. Providence, he asserted, would not permit such a system of destruction to overrun mankind. We should shortly arrive at a close of this unfortunate, but dispensable war, and conclude it more auspiciously than either the open or the secret enemies of this country had taken upon them to prognosticate. Induced by these motives, he would move for an adjournment.

He was seconded by Lord Darnley and Earl Fitzwilliam. The latter observed, that it was highly becoming so high spirited a people as the English, to interfere in the defence of Europe: they had done it before, under the auspices of King William; and had resisted the ambition of France in the days of Louis XIV. with the universal approbation of all nations.

It was observed on the opposite side, by the Duke of Grafton, that four years ago, government would have involved this country in war with a long standing ally, in order to preserve the balance and the liberties of Europe; but was now labouring to destroy both, for the purpose of restoring an arbitrary government in France.

To adopt the resolutions proposed, would, it was asserted by Lord Mansfield, be highly dishonourable to parliament, after having so repeatedly approved the measures against which they were framed. France, he affirmed, and not Great Britain, had provoked the war. In proof of this assertion,

on, he quoted a letter from Cayes to Neckar, in which he addresses him in these remarkable words: "I shall ever regret that France has provoked war, and set all Europe against her."

Lord Lauderdale said, that it had been reiterated and confidentially asserted, that the mass of the French nation was inclined to the restoration of monarchy; but that he had been in France, and from all he had seen and heard, would aver that assertion to be false. Were the coalition, therefore, to succeed in replacing King on the French throne, the expense of maintaining him against the will of the majority, would form a weighty object of calculation.

The danger of interfering with the prerogative of the crown in the question of peace or war, was, by Lord Hawkesbury, represented as very great; particularly at this critical period. Were the French to imagine that the legislative department was at variance with the executive, their backwardness to peace would increase. Our allies too must necessarily be dispirited on respecting a branch of our legislature to be inimical to a confederacy, of which this country was the soul. The surest means of re-establishing tranquillity in Europe was a change of government in France. Twenty-five millions were too numerous a people to be governed by republican maxims. The English, a less opulous nation, had unsuccessfully attempted this form of government in the last century. The means of persevering in this important contest, were far from wanting. Money was continually owing in from our conquests in the West Indies. Through the ac-

quisition of the French island commerce of this country, in course the national revenue incessantly increasing.

In answer to Lord Hawkesbury's ideas on a republic, the Marquis of Lansdowne observed, that a resemblance existed between the situation of England before the restoration, and that of France on the present day. The division of property was much more equal among the French, than then among the English; and equalization was the very groundwork of a republic. Nothing continued, could more fully prove a defect of political principle, than to presume that a enthusiastic people as the English in the united defence of their country and its opinions, could be induced to subjection by the French, and the recruits of those armies of Austrians and Prussians that had not been able to stand before them.

Lord Grenville, in opposition to the resolutions, contended that it were absurd to depend on a treaty with a government so changing and unstable as that of the French republic: numbers of men who bore the sway last year were now no more. Ministers were perpetually challenged to declare to abide by an uniform object of war. He would produce the only justifiable of any, a safe and honourable peace: he would, however, and acknowledge that the establishment of monarchy was the sole security to be relied on for its continuance; by means of which, however, he did not mean to insinuate. He largely insisted on the desperate methods of raising

in France; on the unproductive state of their revenue; the approaching annihilation of their vigour, the only nerve of their power; the total ruin of their commerce, and the discontents of their nation, deterred only by the terror held over them, from breaking out in a general insurrection against the tyranny of their government.

The debate, closed by Lord Auckland's motion for adjournment, being carried by 113 against 12.

Fourteen resolutions, of the same import as those of the Duke of Bedford, were brought into the House of Commons by Mr. Fox on the same day. He therein contended, that the sole motive for the war had been the ostensible object held out to the public, not only before, but after the overthrow of the monarchy in 1792, and even subsequently to the horrors of September that year. He allowed the rectitude of the intentions then acknowledged by ministry, that if the French attacked our allies, or should pursue plans of aggrandizement, they would oppose them. The principle of a right to interfere in the settlement of the domestic affairs of France, was not avowed even after the commencement of hostilities; and no determined objection was made to treat with the existing government of France. Such had been the line of conduct adopted by ministry previously to the close of the last session; but since that time it had altered gradually, though they could not certainly assign a more valid reason for their interference at this, than at that period. The war was undertaken on the principle of self-defence; but the nation was now in-

formed of the necessity to prosecute it, from other motives; which, if mentioned at first, they would have disapproved. The stipulations made with the different powers in the coalition, were all to their advantage; as we thereby engaged to make no peace till whatever dominions they had lost, or might lose, were restored to them, without requiring similar terms on their part. The ministers of both Austria and Prussia were alike averse to open their treasures. Prussia had already applied to government in a direct manner: Austria had taken an indirect method.

Peace was affirmed to be unattainable while the present government of France was suffered to exist, which was pronounced subversive of all other governments. But the experience of ages had shewn that between governments totally different, and even repugnant in their very first principles, agreement and amity could subsist. Why should not a peace with France rest on a fair trial, before we presumed to declare it impracticable? But should we experimentally find it such, even then the transition from peace to war would be less difficult than from an unprosperous war to an honourable peace. As to the French principles, so virulently objected to, they were originally of English growth, and transplanted with our colonies to America, from whence they found their way to France. After arguing, with great energy, on a variety of other points, he concluded, that whatever the object of ministry in prosecuting the war might be, they ought openly to avow it: if it were the re-establishment of the former government, its adherents would probably join

us; if the constitution accepted by the late King, we might reasonably expect the co-operation of the constitutionalists. Were it even a constitution framed on republican principles, this was preferable to no avowal of any determinate object: but whatever plan was adopted, we ought to rest persuaded that the conquest of France was the project of folly. After the loss of 200,000 men, she still was able to meet the coalition with a superior strength, and to overwhelm it with fury and numbers, if not with regularity and discipline.

In answer to Mr. Fox, Mr. Jenkinson urged those many arguments that had so often been brought forward to justify the war. He added, that the principles on which the rulers of France founded their power, excluded all ideas of moderation; whoever, in the successive changes of men in power, had ventured to act on this principle, had been destroyed. Such a system must not therefore be permitted to exist. He then moved the previous question.

Before this was put, Mr. Sheridan animadverted on the sanguine hopes entertained by government, notwithstanding that the allied armies had been obliged to retreat before the French, and that every day's intelligence weakened the expectation of future success.

In reply to Mr. Fox's resolutions and prefatory discourse, Mr. Pitt asserted that they were designed to stand on the journals of the House, as an abstract of the sentiments of opposition. He denied the silence of government on the object proposed by taking up arms. In the King's message to the House, on the 28th of January, the pre-

ceding year, it was passed, that we armed against the danger to be apprehended from the power that assumed for the most part. The very mover of the resolutions had, at the close of the last session, concurred in the propriety of such a degree of interference in the domestic affairs of France as might prove for the security of this country. But the resolutions opposed interference, even now that we are at open war: this, how can it be a right sanctioned by the consent of all nations? Mr. Fox had explicitly recommended the late interposition on the part of the Stadtholder, that such a government should be established in Holland as would mutually secure our interest in the country.

It having again been asserted that a majority of the members of France were inimical to the present government, Mr. Fox, in proof of the contrary, mentioned the civility of the great number of the great number whose resolute endeavours to pursue their way at any rate to the assistance of Lord Moira, we have confidently relied. But this on the general devotion of the French to the royal cause constantly proved an illusion. Jourdan's defection, he followed by some intimate friends. At the Valenciennes, the garrison remained faithful to the King. When the royal standard was hoisted at Toulon, how small a number that repaired to it! It was, that however the French might wish for another government, they had

willom, as well as too great a spirit, to submit to the interference of other powers in the settlement of their domestic concerns. The behaviour of Austria and Prussia in the business of Poland, had taught the world what to think of them. This unhappy war, said Mr. Fox, too fatally resembled that ruinous one which lost us America: the same arguments were brought to justify it in parliament, and the same conduct and success attended it in the field,—nor had we the

least prospect of a more auspicious termination. As to the repugnance to treat with the present rulers of France, had not the minister himself treated with Chauvelin,—and Lord Auckland with Dumouriez? Ought charges of Jacobinism to stand in the way of nations? or should studied obstacles prevent the reconciliation of states?

This long and obstinate discussion concluded with 208 votes for the previous question, and only 55 against it.

#### CHAP. XIV.

*Motions in both Houses of Parliament for revising the Trials of Messrs. Muir and Palmer. Arrestations and Trials for Sedition and Freedom. Constitutional and Corresponding Societies. The Publications of Mr. Burke and Mr. Paine, the grand Signals for Political Controversy. Committee of Secrecy for the enquiry into treasonable and seditious Practices. Suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act. Popular Societies in all the three Kingdoms. Their leading Principles and Practices. Motions in both Houses of Parliament for Addresses of Thanks to his Majesty for his Communications respecting Seditious Practices.*

THE progress of what were called the principles of the French, scarcely less alarming than that of their arms, produced in Britain arrestations, trials, and discussions both in parliament and courts of justice, concerning the spirit and import of certain laws relating to sedition and treason.

By sentences of the court of judicary at Edinburgh, and of the circuit-court at Perth, in August and September 1793, Mr. Muir and Mr. Palmer, for the crime of *law-making* †, were adjudged to transportation; and Botany Bay was understood at the time the sentences were passed, to be the place to

which they would be transported. These were the first instances in which transportation was imposed by the court of judicary in Scotland for an offence of that nature. In the last session of parliament, within a few days after, the House of Lords had finally decided, that no appeal was competent from the court of judicary in matters of law.

Mr. Adam gave notice of his intention to propose early in this session, some alterations in the criminal law of Scotland, particularly on appeals from the court of judicary in matters of law. Accordingly, on the 27th of January 1794,

\* A term in the Scottish law importing the speaking of words tending to excite discord between the King and his people.

five days after the meeting of parliament in the present session, he intimated to the House, that he would, on the 4th of February, move for a bill to grant such an appeal. He stated at the same time that the cases of Mr. Muir and Mr. Palmer, which were unforeseen at the period of his original notice, would lead him, in some measure, to enlarge his plan, by moving, if the bill should be received, for an instruction to the committee on the bill to insert a clause that should have a retrospect to all cases in which the courts of judicary had pronounced judgments in the year 1793; thereby rendering it competent for Mr. Muir and Mr. Palmer to appeal for error in law.

Mr. Adam's motion for leave to bring in such a bill being rejected, he gave notice on the 14th of February, that he would bring forward a motion for the relief of Messrs. Muir and Palmer, in another form. The consideration of his motion was deferred to the 24th of February: and in the mean time, Mr. Sheridan presented a petition from Mr. Palmer, representing, that he conceived the sentence passed upon him by the high court of judicary, from which there was no appeal, to be unjust.

Mr. Pitt objected to the receiving of this petition, which, he said, would be an undue interposition between the sentence of a competent court and its execution.

The petition was justified by Mr. Fox, on the principle that it was the duty of the legislature to attend to all the complaints of the subject:

But Mr. Dundas signified, that the sentence was already executed; the warrant for the transportation of Mr. Palmer being both signed

and issued. This proceeding loudly condemned by opposition which asserted, that while the was about to deliberate on the fulness of the sentence, to be executed was a mock justice. A motion was made to stop the sailing transport; but negatived by majority, and the discussion petition was put off to the 27

Mr. Sheridan produced on that day such valid precedents in of the right to present it, that Pitt was obliged to retract his and the petition was admitted.

Mr. Adam, on the 10th of moved accordingly for a review the trials of Thomas Muir and the Rev. Foster Palmer. From records demanded, his objection said, was to question the legality the sentences passed upon them. But as no appeal could lie from the decision of the court, his questionable, he proposed in consequence of the doubtfulness of the case, to move for the production of certain records relating to the trials and for a petition to the crown for their favour. The crimes for which those men were indicted, were in Scotland leasing-making, and tending to that misdemeanor in England, called a public libel against government, and tending to the peace. No other crime charged in their indictments transportation could not be inflicted for leasing-making, only punishment for which was fine, imprisonment, or transportation. Nor, if the acts charged in the indictments did not amount to leasing-making, were they with any crime known to the law of Scotland. He then advanced various circumstances attend

which he decidedly reprobated as oppressive and unjust; and annulled the sentence altogether, legal, arbitrary, and unwarrantable. On these grounds, Mr. Fox maintained, that their punishment exceeded all the bounds of justice and moderation. He added by declaring, that he had undertaken the present business far from interested motives, and without affection to the sufferers, that he knew not, nor disrespect to judges who had presided at the trial; but solely from a persuasion that an impartial administration of justice was the surest preservative of public liberty, and that perversion of the law, where the safety of the whole community is at stake, tended to introduce anarchy.

A multitude of arguments and objections were brought forward on this important subject. The Advocate of Scotland, Mr. Erskine, and Mr. Pitt, contended strongly for the propriety of the sentence, and of the proceedings of the Scotch courts. The first of the gentlemen even went so far as to assert the superiority of the Scotch law over the English laws, for the punishment of libels and the punishment of sedition.—The second seemed to insinuate, that if the English laws were not equal to the purposes, the Scottish law might be substituted.—The supporters of Mr. Adam's motion were opposed by Mr. Sheridan. The latter spoke in very severe terms of the sentiments and opinions delivered by the Lords of judicature, to whom he said, that no man ought to speak of the constitution as he possessed landed property and another had asserted, that

since the abolishment of torture, there was no adequate punishment for sedition.

Associations, said Mr. Fox, had not many years before been formed in England, on the very plan and principles of those formed in Scotland by Mr. Muir and his associates. These unfortunate men, said Mr. Fox, did no more than the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the Duke of Richmond had done before them. The addresses of these two noblemen to the people of England, were not merely to petition for a reform in parliament—not simply to state abuses, and pray for redress, but to demand them as their right.

Mr. Sheridan was not less pointed at the Lord Advocate, whom he reprehended with the most animated indignation for his preference of the Scotch to the English law. Such assertions, he said, ought not to be made in the hearing of the House of Commons, without meeting explicit abhorrence and contempt. He examined with great freedom and spirit the particulars of the trial, which both he and Mr. Fox exerted their utmost abilities to represent as a base and iniquitous stretch of legal tyranny. The motion was on a division rejected by 139 against 32.

Mr. Adam still persisted in his determination to introduce, if possible, some regulations into the Scottish courts of judicature, that would be more favourable than the present to the liberty of the subject, and to a milder administration of justice.

But he was most strenuously opposed by Mr. Dundas, who coincided with the Lord Advocate in declaring, that the English laws were not sufficiently severe in their punishment.



punishment of seditious practices; and that some rigorous measures ought to be adopted. Mr. Adam's motion was then negatived by 77 against 24.

Motions for an examination of the trials of Messrs. Muir and Palmer were also made in the Upper House respectively, by the Earl of Lauderdale and the Earl of Stanhope. These motions being negatived by vast majorities, were followed by another from the Lord Chancellor, declaring that there was no grounds for interfering in the criminal courts of justice as now established. This motion was carried, and put an end to the discussions on these subjects; the importance of which had, while they were in agitation, greatly excited the attention of the public, and raised the hopes and fears of numbers, both in Scotland and England; the former being extremely desirous of an extension of the English laws to that country in the cases under debate; and the latter being no less apprehensive of the Scottish laws obtaining an introduction into England.

There were at this time two famous political societies in England: the one styled the Society for Constitutional Information; the other, which was the most numerous, the Corresponding Society. The avowed object of each, was, a reform in the parliamentary representation of the people. But far deeper and more dangerous designs were imputed to both, especially to the latter, which consisted of the middle and lower classes. The commercial and manufacturing towns were full of them. The members of this society in their meetings, were extremely free in their censures of

administration, in respect to war against France, and explicitly wishing success to the French. They did not entertain the least dread of royal power. Publications appeared, notoriously and circulated through the country, the contents of which, daring a nature, as equivalent to the astonishment of the public and the anger of government. They had organized their meetings and proceedings with regularity; and the variations and sentiments in their meetings, were put before the world by addresses and sentiments in the newspapers. They appeared resolutely determined to shun concealment, and to let people know their designs. Whatever these might be, their ostensible aim was no further than to bring about changes in the system of the representative body, to enlarge the number of electors, to shorten the duration of parliament. But they were charged with designs of another kind: they were accused of an enmity to the present constitution, and of covering their pretence of legal and radical design to destroy the present government, and to introduce a new form of government. Such designs were hardly many of them, cannot be denied; but that such a notion was applicable indistinctly to all, cannot with any propriety be asserted.

The publication of Mr. Paine's sentiments on the French Revolution, and the subsequent publication of Mr. Paine, in his celebrated pamphlet, styled the Rights of Man, increased the

were the first signals to the ministers and the popular parties in this country, to engage in that violent and acrimonious contest, which is not yet terminated. These two famous performances revived, as it were, the royal and republican parties that had divided this nation in the last century, and that had lain dormant since the Revolution in 1688. They now returned to the charge with a rage and animosity equal to that which characterized our ancestors during the civil wars in the reign of King Charles the First; and it remained a long time in suspense, whether this renewed contest would not be attended with the same calamities: so eager were the partizans of the respective tenets contained in those performances, to assert them with unbounded vehemence.

Among those who publicly and unequivocally maintained the doctrines contained in the publication styled the Rights of Man, were all the popular societies in the three kingdoms. The book written by Mr. Burke was chiefly patronized by the upper classes. But this, instead of intimidating the lower, served rather to rouse them to dangerous enquiries into the nature of that superiority claimed over them by those very classes. Thus, the dispute between the higher and the lower orders became every day more virulent, and threatened very serious consequences. It was not however till the middle of 1792, that government took any formal notice of those transactions. They then issued a proclamation against seditious meetings; which, instead of preventing the reading of that performance, against which it was chiefly levelled, the Rights of

Man, contributed to its dissemination throughout every part of Great Britain and Ireland, and gained it more readers and proselytes than ever. In the course of that year, the events that had happened in France so much alarmed government, that it was thought necessary to counteract the societies in this country, by opposing to them other societies, on principles wholly contradictory to theirs. With this view were instituted the associations against republicans and levellers. But these, associations, tho' numerous, and composed of the genteeler parties in society, did not deter their still more numerous antagonists. These continued resolutely to act on the plan they had primarily adopted, and to manifest a spirit of resistance to their new opponents; which afforded sufficient ground of alarm to the friends of domestic tranquillity. Government in the mean time kept a watchful eye on the proceedings of the popular societies. These continued to hold their meetings as usual, and to declare their sentiments with unlimited freedom. In some of those meetings, however, they exceeded the bounds of discretion so far as to use expressions that laid them open to the charge of sedition: but the circumstance which principally rendered them obnoxious was, the regular correspondence they had established with the many societies in the kingdom acting on their own principles; but chiefly the intimate communication they held with the convention that assembled in Scotland, and to which they sent deputies to represent them; intending shortly to summon a convention in England on the same plan, and composed of the deputies from all

the societies established in this part of the united kingdoms.

But after the trial and sentence passed on the principal leaders in the Scottish convention, government, it seems, resolved to pursue the same measures respecting the English societies. To this end the principal members of the Corresponding Society, and of that for constitutional information, were apprehended as guilty of treasonable practices, and committed to the Tower. Their names were Thomas Hardy, secretary to the Corresponding Society; Daniel Adams, secretary to the Society for Constitutional Information; the celebrated Horne Tooke; Jeremiah Joyce, domestic tutor to Lord Mahon, son to Lord Stanhope; and John Thelwall, well known as a political lecturer.

On the 12th of May, a message from the King was delivered to the House Commons by Mr. Dundas, informing them that seditious practices had been carried on by societies in London, in correspondence with other societies, to the intent of assembling a convention to represent the people of England, in defiance and opposition to Parliament; and on principles subversive of the laws and constitution of the kingdom, and introductory of the anarchy prevailing in France. Their papers had been seized, and would be laid before Parliament; to which it was recommended to examine them, and to adopt such measures as might appear necessary. They were produced accordingly on the next day; when Mr. Pitt moved an address of thanks to the King, for the communication received, and proposed that the papers should be referred to a com-

mittee of secrecy, consisting of twenty-one members, chosen by ballot. The report of the committee was produced to the House by Mr. Pitt on the 16th. It contained the proceedings of two societies, from the year 1789 to the present time, the most of which, however, were already published in the newspapers by the societies themselves.

It appeared to the committee that Mr. Pitt said, that a plan had been formed, and was in forwardness, to assemble a convention of the people; which was to assume the character and powers of a national representation, and to supersede the authority of parliament. The House concurred in the resolution, of which he entertained no doubt, not one moment lost in arming the executive with sufficient authority to execute such an assembly. A mere parliamentary resolution was not the real aim of these societies; their papers would make it evident, that they were, during the two last years, leagued in correspondence with other societies, and a neighbouring country from which the clearest might be drawn, that a conspiracy such as described, had been the original view; and that they were only waiting a fit opportunity to realize it. He bitterly inveighed against the doctrines contained in the performance termed the Rights of Man; charging it with evils that had befallen France as tending to propagate throughout Europe. The report, he said, shewed that a correspondence subsisted between these societies and the Jacobin club; that they had sent delegates to the convention at Paris, which had

men; and that when the Jacobin government commenced the war against Great Britain, societies had, to the use of their power, acted in part, manifested an adherence to the same cause, assumed positions and appellations, and were to disseminate their views. It was chiefly in the manufacturing towns their efforts were seen, from the number of and discontented people which they abounded. Notwithstanding their endeavours to carry out their intentions at times, they had not been able to disguise their views. In one of their letters to the society at Norwich, they intimated that they desired no reform but from the means they had in view, and, however, a continuance of the present for reform, as a cover to their designs. They had the audacity to the Scottish conventional representation of the people, and to justify those whom they had sentenced to punishment, the condemnation of those who gave the signal at which they expected to come finally to an end, the point, whether they should frighten them into compliance, or whether they should oppose it with their own weapons, force was required. What was this, Mr. Pitt declared, in other words, the time was come when they were to submit to the laws of the country, or resolutely to resist them! This society, despicable, and consisting of the most vulgar, had found the means of a most expeditious and increasing increase: it counted thirty in London only, some extending to six hundred

individuals; and it kept a regular correspondence with many others, systematically distributed through various parts of the kingdom, particularly in the manufacturing towns. It had audaciously assumed the task of watching over the transactions of parliament, and of limiting boundaries to its powers, threatening destruction if it dared to transgress them. It was no longer than six weeks, he said, since the Corresponding Society had laid before the Constitutional Society, a scheme for calling together a convention of the people, manifestly for the purpose of dissolving the government, and lodging the supreme power in their own hands. This was to have been executed in a few weeks. The addresses they had drawn up to this effect were circulated with the utmost care and expedition: they had chosen a central spot, in order to facilitate the assembling of delegates from all parts; and every society was requested to transmit an estimate of its numbers, that the strength of the combined societies might be exactly known. These wretches, said Mr. Pitt, expected, by following the precedents of the Jacobin principles and practices, to arrive at the same degree of power. They had, no longer since than the 14th of April, held a consultation, wherein the members of every department of the state had been most scandalously vilified, as unworthy and incompetent to hold their official situations. The report, he also said, mentioned that arms had been actually procured and distributed by those societies. In consequence, therefore, of the informations contained in this report, he would move for a suspension of the Habeas

Corpus

Corpus act, as particularly necessary when a conspiracy existed in the heart of the country; against which government ought to be empowered to proceed with all possible vigour and expedition.

In answer to Mr. Pitt, Mr. Fox expressed his astonishment, that so much pains had been taken by the committee of secrecy to lay before the House a collection of facts notoriously known to them and to the public at large for years. Whether the individuals concerned in the transactions just related, had acted consistently or not, was not deserving of consideration. One point in their conduct was clear: through the whole of the business they had taken in hand, they constantly expressed their wishes for a parliamentary reform. The Scotch convention had, in the most public manner, declared a resolution not to oppose government, but only to request a redress of grievances. Were convention and sedition synonymous terms? He had been a member of one in the year 1780, which corresponded openly with societies formed on the same principles in divers parts of England. They presented their joint petition to the House, which formally received it, without charging them with sedition. Conventions never, till the present period, been reputed contrary to the letter, or to the spirit of the constitution. By a convention the Irish had obtained a free constitution: by the same means the catholics in that kingdom had obtained the privileges they now enjoyed. He would not countenance the convention proposed by the societies; but it would be dangerous for a House of Commons, the immediate protectors of

the franchises of their subjects, to declare it illegal. It would tend alarm at their attention, and seize the reins of government in mere affectation. Were a convention formed on such a subject, it would be so dispossessed of their power as to venture on such a step at its own peril. It must immediately become the subject of too much derision to command any obedience. The House of Commons, of the ministerial measure less than to invest the power with absolute authority over every subject in the kingdom, and the restraints with which it fur every man, were incompatible with that manly freedom of the speech, without which no liberty could exist. The suspension of the Habeas Corpus act, was a means warranted by any necessity. The suspensions in place in the years 1715 and 1745 were no precedent for the present period. Those were truly times: the religion, the laws, the kingdom were both in a state of rebellion in favour of a pretender, and of a despotism.

Mr. Sheridan, in opposition to the bill, took severe notice of the impatience with which the ministerial party had called for its passage. Such conduct was a preclusion of all parliamentary discussion, and to impose silence upon the legislature. It would be more reasonable to limit the operation of the bill to individuals belonging to the carrying on of political undertakings, than to deliver up all men indiscriminately to the will of the minister.

Mr. Burke contended that the catholics in Ireland had no

in their assembling together  
vention, but simply a meet-  
f delegates. Their object was  
it and acknowledged; but  
vention alluded to, embrac-  
ry object, and assumed a la-  
of power superior to that of  
rat itself. The suspension,  
being an oppressive mea-  
ad frequently saved families  
in, by placing the heads of  
custody, and preventing  
sting into rebellion.

motion for a suspension be-  
ed by a large majority, the  
three o'clock in the morn-  
r going through a first and  
reading, was voted into a  
ce and reported.

the third reading was deferr-  
e next day, when it was  
ut strenuously opposed by  
y. He accused the mini-  
justifiable practices in ap-  
to the public voice when  
red himself it would be fa-  
to him, and by speaking  
disparaging manner when  
sted it would reprobate his  
s. He reminded him of  
viour when defeated in his  
projects of parliamentary re-  
d of the resolution in which  
icipated at the Thatched  
in conjunction with Mr.  
Tooke and other gentle-  
that, considering it was in  
look to parliament for a re-  
ion originating within itself,  
commended to the people  
out the kingdom, to assem-  
ng the ensuing summer, in  
, for the purpose of an ap-  
to parliament upon that  
." What difference could  
e, said Mr. Grey, between  
etings thus recommended,  
convention that was now  
f-

proposed? Were not their objects  
precisely similar? But how altered  
was the promoter of those former  
meetings! William Pitt, the refor-  
mer of that day, was the prosecutor  
and persecutor of reformers at the  
present! he then exerted himself  
to stir up the passions of the people,  
and to render parliament odious to  
them; but he now thought them  
unqualified to judge of their rights  
and interests; and he pursued with  
the rancour of an apostate his once  
intimate associate in the business of  
parliamentary reform. He had that  
very day been taken up in the exa-  
mination of Mr. Tooke, for perse-  
vering in the sentiments which he  
had himself warmly avowed. He  
ought therefore to be considered as  
an abettor of the doctrine of ap-  
pealing to the people, instead of  
applying to parliament: if there  
were guilt in this, the minister was  
eminently guilty.

It was asserted by Mr. Canning,  
on the ministerial side, that if pre-  
cedents were wanting, the occasion  
would justify the measure propos-  
ed, and it was clearly warranted by  
the report of the committee. He  
fully agreed in opinion with the  
minister, that though a parliamen-  
tary reform might be a proper ob-  
ject of discussion at a season of  
tranquillity, it was highly improper  
in times of war and popular agi-  
tation. He explicitly declared, that  
as he had sided with the minister in  
his ideas on this subject, he should feel  
no repugnance in adopting his sen-  
timents upon it on any future oc-  
casion, when he might be pleased  
to express them, confident that they  
would be apposite to times and cir-  
cumstances.

Mr. Courteney, after noticing,  
with much humour, the readiness  
of

of Mr. Canning to adhere firmly to the minister, and which had already produced not a little laughter, observed how strongly Montesquieu, in his Spirit of Laws, had recommended it to the English nation, to consider the Habeas Corpus act as the palladium of their liberty. Nothing therefore could justify its suspension, but the extremest necessity; but none existed at present: no arms had been taken up, nor correspondence carried on with the enemy; and no legal proof could be adduced of a conspiracy to subvert the government.

In answer to what had been spoken concerning precedents, Mr. Dundas observed, that an exact concurrence of circumstances precisely similar, was, in the nature of things, hardly possible. In matters of great moment, it was sufficient that incidents bore some resemblance to authorize a similitude of conduct. The Habeas Corpus act had been suspended nine times since the Revolution, under circumstances of danger to the state, without producing those evils that were described in such alarming colours. No undue severities had been exercised by government on those occasions, and no individual ever had just reason to complain of being ill-treated in consequence of that suspension. The low condition in life of the members and friends of the societies in question, was pleaded as a motive for viewing them rather with contempt than terror; but from individuals of this description much was certainly to be apprehended: having little or nothing to lose by civil disorders and confusions, and perhaps, in their imaginations, a great deal to expect, numbers if not the

majority, might justly to favour public distempered parliamentary; not answer their view their societies it had been stated, "That some not to be submitted to or without the sanction." But though all affect such a style the least doubt that met on the principle of universal suffrage parliaments, was total with the existence of and parliament.

Mr. Dundas was Mr. Sheridan, who took notice, that ever since revolution, ministry had remarkable apprehensions of parliamentary reform. If discontent existed, was a determination to revolt? Did the reports persisted on, make it appear arms said to be in possession of societies, had not been individuals to guard against the fury of a church and state?

Mr. Wyndham observed could not be reached that sufficient proofs were adduced of a conspiracy to subvert the constitution. The universal suffrage source of the most evils, as France could testify. The mild government having failed to stop the licentiousness of ill-intentioned individuals, time to employ severe measures if those did not produce the desired effect. Stronger measures still must be adopted if threatened must be prevented; and if the measures were inadequate to

was effectual ought indifferently to be framed. The observations occasioned a violent speech by Mr. Fox, condemning the measure of union in the strongest terms, and to the menacing terror Wyndham's discourse, which he portended a gradual deprivation of their liberties to Englishmen. Should the restraints already on them not answer the purpose, which were applied to break their spirit, and lead into submission, other measures to be tried, and others succeed, until those views were completely effected. But more usage than the present would be in the contemplation of them? Would they forbid to meet and communicate sentiments on public affairs? Was an injunction disobeyed, did they sentence them to death? Would they, in the resentment, at the hatred by their tyranny, erect tribunals to punish the indignant public? Was it resolved, in short, to alter the British constitution after another, under pretence of preventing its destruction by such principles? The fact was in England, as well as in France, terror was to be made the day, and not a voice raised up against the ministers. A Convention was now held, the subject of alarm, to terrify the people and induce them to accept of union. England was in imminent danger of great calamity. But a Convention but a meeting of people? wherein, if they were to be loudly, or did any of them were liable to be punished in the

same manner as if there were no convention. Where then was the danger of such a meeting? The object of the societies, which they scrupled not to acknowledge, was to obtain universal suffrage. Allowing such a system to be impracticable, it was far from clear that the confusions in France had arisen from that cause; it was a theory which, like all others, might through the iniquity of men be rendered instrumental to wicked purposes; but did it follow that, because improper ideas of liberty had been taken up by the French, or that liberty itself had been abused, every man who mentioned that word should be charged with disloyalty? The misfortunes of France were due to the previous oppressions of the former government, which had rendered the French nation desperate, and prepared it to receive any tenets that thwarted tyranny. Had that nation been protected by a Habeas Corpus act; had the government been constrained by standing laws, to respect the rights of the community, those tenets would not have found an entrance into that unhappy country. By a parity of reasoning, those misfortunes were not to be dreaded here, while the constitution remained free from perversions. But it was the very essence of the English constitution, that men should speak their minds. Were the freedom of complaining against grievances, and of meeting for the purpose of petitioning for redress, and of expostulating with persons in authority, to be branded with the name of sedition, what would become of our boasted constitution, of that liberty which distinguished the English from all other nations? But nothing



nothing was more certain than its very speedy dissolution, if ministers were permitted to carry every measure they proposed for the curtailment of the long established franchises of the people. As the thirst of power was never satiated, so those who possessed it, would, if unobstructed, proceed step after step, to surround themselves with all the terrors of parliamentary decrees in favour of the executive authority delegated to them, until that authority become finally paramount to all resistance. But why, said, Mr. Fox, should the manifest danger of so fatal an issue be incurred? Was it to punish the discontented, and root out all discontents? But if the suspension was to continue till this were effected, then it must never have an end: a supposition which would not suffer a moment's countenance.

The necessity of suspending the Habeas Corpus act, was argued no less strenuously by Mr. Pitt. The question, he said, was, whether the dangers threaten'd to the state, were greater than any that could arise from the suspension proposed, which would terminate in six months, and could not in the mean time anywise affect the rights of the people, or the privileges of any rank of society? Were the power thus conferred to be abused, the law would still lie open against the guilty, and prove more inexorable than in any other instances of misconduct, from the very nature of the offence; which would be a breach of public trust in the most criminal degree. It was unjust, he said, to compare the conduct of government in this country to that which was now exercised over the French. The truth was, that we

were necessitated to resist crimes by opposing to them principles. Whatever might be alleged against severer measures those already employed to the apprehended evils were cacious, more effectual if used. Was lenity to be a where the constitution was a Were a convention upon principles once established could foresee how it would No indulgence, no concession to be shewn to those foes How could they expect or any from a government astitution they indubitably to subvert? Not to stop the progress of their opinions, a better than granting a tolerance sedition and anarchy. As the extent of the rigour intended them, that must depend on the audacity of their attempt undue severities however, Pitt, would be resorted to; degree of punishment would exceed that of criminality. nugatory to deny the existing designs against the government constitution; and he doubted that the measure taken to these would appear extraordinary, as it did not oppose a right of the people to meet for lawful purposes, a petition for a reform, or a abuses. But the convention proposed by the societies, beyond all those bounds, appeared from their paper that thing would have satisfied than a controul over parliament itself.

Lord Grenville, on the 11th May, brought into the Lords a message from the King similar to that which had

to the Commons of the  
He moved, that the report  
secret committee of that  
should be referred to a se-  
committee of the House of

motion was opposed by  
Stanhope, on the ground of  
ers differing in those respects  
dly from that report; which  
not, for that reason, be con-  
as fair and impartial. But  
tion for a secret committee  
ried. This committee stat-  
the House of Lords, on the  
at having compared the re-  
the committee of the Com-  
with the papers it was ac-  
cused with, it had come to the  
resolutions that had been  
by that committee.

Grenville moved in conse-  
that, in order to strengthen  
ds of government, the Ha-  
rpus act should be suspend-  
e supported his motion with  
nts similar to those that had  
mployed for the same end  
house of Commons.

Stanhope opposed the mo-  
the same style of reasoning  
ich it had been combated  
Lower House. He repro-  
he bill of suspension as a  
part to the Bastille and the  
de Cachet.

Thurlow expressed himself  
at caution on this subject.  
eded to the bill, he said,  
on the presumption that its  
y had been proved. From  
section of the report, it con-  
in his opinion, many facts  
ing to real sedition, but not  
higher crime. The suspen-  
d not, he said, invalidate  
the Corpus act, which  
remain in full force, those

cases only excepted where an in-  
dividual was detained on suspicions  
well founded.

Lord Lauderdale spoke vehe-  
mently against the bill of suspen-  
sion. Ministry, he asserted, was  
pursuing a revolutionary system in  
this country by a chain of innova-  
tions fundamentally destructive of  
the constitution. It was hard to  
decide, he said, which was the  
greatest calamity to a state,—a suc-  
cessful struggle for an increase of  
despotic authority, or the introduc-  
tion of licentiousness. The bill,  
he contended, should not extend  
beyond the societies under accusa-  
tion; otherwise it would establish  
that system of terror which we so  
much reprobated in France. He  
concluded by moving an adjourn-  
ment.

Other Lords spoke for and against  
the bill.

Among a variety of arguments,  
it was alleged by the Marquis of  
Lansdowne, that the societies now  
so grievously accused, were in truth  
the offspring of those societies that  
made so much noise in this country  
towards the close of the American  
war; and to which much more re-  
proach, if any were deserved, was  
due, for having led the way in this  
method of calling upon government  
to do justice to the public. But  
the English Jacobins of that day  
had renounced their principles, and  
were now persecuting the Jacobins  
of the present. As to the demands  
insisted on by the Jacobins of both  
epochs, if they were justly founded,  
such was the disposition of the peo-  
ple and the nature of the constitu-  
tion, that they must ultimately be  
granted to them in despite of all  
ministerial opposition,—unless in-  
deed one were to suppose that the  
constitution

constitution was so far gone, as to be irretrievable, and the people become so degenerate, as to have lost all ideas of asserting their rights. What were the objects of the harsh measures already adopted, and of the still harsher, so explicitly threatened? Was total silence to be imposed upon the British nation on the imprudence and mismanagement of their rulers? Were armies of informers to be let loose on the community, to discover what preparations were making against their employers? But, without such odious and despicable instruments, why did not ministers, if they really apprehended that arms were fabricating against them, apply for information to some of the chief armourers in the metropolis? without whose knowledge no fabrication to any large amount could possibly take place.

The Marquis of Lansdowne was replied to by the Lord Chancellor, who, among other reasonings, alleged, that the constant mention of a parliamentary reform by the societies, could no more clear them of illegal intent, as their proposed convention, than the expression of God save the King, at the bottom of a seditious libel, could clear it of sedition. The individuals composing those societies, he asserted to be ten times as numerous as those condemned in the riots of the year 1780.

After the adjournment moved by Lord Lauderdale had been negatived, a motion for the third reading of the bill was opposed by him as irregular, and violating the standing order of the House, that no bill should go twice through a reading on the same day. Such precipitation, he said, would impress

the public with a belief, that intended to prevent a protest against the bill: but his opposition was over-ruled, not however without a spirited protest against the bill by the Duke of Bedford, the Earls of Albemarle, Stair, and Lauderdale.

An address being moved, 13th of June, by Lord Grey to assure the King of the loyalty and determination to the participaters in the conduct laid before it, and to invest with additional power for the suppression of attempts against government, it was warmly opposed by Lord Lauderdale, but carried to the Commons for the concurrence.

On Mr. Pitt's motion for an address to the King, similar to the House of Lords, Mr. L. took occasion to condemn the methods used in framing the report of the secret committee. Selections and extracts from letters and papers of the secretaries could not, he said, be considered as fair proofs of the charges against them. He appealed to the words of Algernon Sidney in his trial, "That if quotations were referred to be mangled and distorted to answer party purposes, he would prove from the Bible itself there was no God." Partial evidence in a court of law could not therefore be admitted as proofs by the court of parliament. The statements in the report were inconsistent and confused: he mentioned that arms had been fabricated: they amounted on computation to eighteen pike-battle-axes, and twenty bayonets. Such were the pre-

preparations for encountering and destroying the British government.

Mr. Lambton was seconded by Mr. Robinson and Mr. Martin, and opposed by Mr. Serjeant Watson, Sir Watkin Lewis, Mr. Alderman Newnham, and Mr. Burden.

The address was opposed by Mr. Fox. He thought it unnecessary in the present case, and tending to make it appear of more importance than it really was. No motive existed to prompt government to the extraordinary exertions of power, recommended by ministers: — the courts of law were amply competent to punish the individuals arrested on treasonable charges, if they were found guilty. The loyalty of the House could not be questioned on this or any other occasion, and its advice was not called for. What could therefore be the purport of an address at present, unless to assure the King of their persuasion that a conspiracy existed, the reality of which had not however been legally proved? Was this a matter worthy of an address, which was solemnly to declare the constitution in danger? He strongly reprobated the affected alarm at the term Convention, as if the thing itself were necessarily pregnant with evil. He reminded the House that a convention had called the King's ancestors to the accession of the British crown. This alone proved the utility of conventions, and that popular meetings ought not to be held in odious light. Were people once deterred from assembling in order to discuss political subjects, it would infallibly prove a mortal wound to the constitution, of which it might linger a while, but would ultimately die. The old Tory faction, he said,

was fast reviving in this country, and zealously striving to destroy the only fence to the constitution, in cases of extremity. This only effectual fence was the lawful resistance to lawless proceedings, authorized both by the theory and practice of the constitution. Was it impossible to suppose a case wherein the people might legally assemble by their delegates, and call upon parliament to do that which of its own accord and motion it would never have done? Why, therefore, countenance doctrines and measures that would necessarily establish passive obedience and non-resistance, and rob us at once of that constitution which some persons invested, in an evil hour for this country, with high credit and authority, durst not asperse with their words, but were indefatigably striving to subvert by their actions? When we viewed with a dispassionate eye the persons implicated in the supposed plot, they appeared to be men who might co-operate in a revolution, but would never produce one. Such men the law could easily reach, if guilty of what they were accused. They might have held imprudent and even seditious language; but that was punishable without recurring to severities to terrify the whole community, and without anticipating the declaration of their guilt in a court of justice after a regular trial. Such an anticipation parliament could manifestly be charged with, by declaring its belief in the accusations brought against them. He acknowledged, that in states where the destruction of a few persons subverted the order of things, a small number of obscure individuals might effect a revolution; but in this

this country, where such an event must rest on the broadest foundations of popularity, it was unreasonable to think that so insignificant and diminutive a set of men could seriously, with any remains of sanity in their minds, have engaged in such an undertaking. He concluded a long speech of great animation, by recommending principles of moderation as the firmest security of government, and finally moving to omit that part of the address which specified the persuasion of the House, that a conspiracy had been carrying on against the constitution.

Sir William Dolben warmly rejected the proposed amendment, as disrespectful to the Lords, and tending to expose the proceedings of both Houses on the subject before them, to public derision. Were such an amendment adopted, we should then have, he said, a passive obedient King, non-resisting Lords, and a rampant republican House of Commons.

The Attorney General, in support of the address, contended that the societies had incontestibly the most treasonable views. He considered, in particular, that which was styled the Friends of the People; and another instituted for the Liberty of the Press, as peculiarly dangerous, from the persons of birth and distinction that formed them: the latter of these societies made it their business to applaud and patronize individuals convicted of misdemeanours against government, and to extol the integrity and patriotism of those members of the law who had pleaded their cause, as if those retained on the opposite side merited reprobation. *He warmly maintained the pro-*

priety of the address. The expressions it contained relative to the conspiracy, were found indubitable facts; and to reject them, would deprive it of its essential part. The measures proposed by ministry, were the opposite to the threatened they went to prevent them; was certainly better than till the punishment became necessary. Had government taken preventive measures in the year much mischief would have obviated.—The issue of this and warm debate, was the rejection of Mr. Fox's amendment, and the passing of the address.

In this manner terminated the parliamentary discussions on the apprehension of the members of the societies, and the suspension of the Habeas Corpus act. The members remained, in consequence, close prisoners in the Tower. They were brought to a trial before a special commission at the Old Bailey, on the 2d of October. A bill of indictment had been previously found by the jury, at the Sessions-House, against Thomas Hardy, John Tooke, J. A. Bonney, Stewart, Jeremiah Joice, Thomas W. Thomas Holcroft, John F. Matthew Moore, John T. R. Hodson, John Baxter, and Martin.—The first person tried was Mr. Hardy:—His trial began with a long statement, specifying the overt acts of treason, where the fellow-prisoners were equally involved. They were accused of conspiring to raise a rebellion in the kingdom, in order to overturn the government, and to depose the King. For this purpose

posed and published val-  
 ks and addresses, recom-  
 the election of delegates  
 vention: they had con-  
 the means of forming a  
 on, and where it might  
 they had agreed among  
 s and others, to meet to-  
 r the execution of those  
 they had procured arms  
 e to that intent; and they  
 ed to aid the King's ene-

eech made by the At-  
 eneral, on opening the  
 n, lasted nine hours: it  
 a circumstantial account  
 particulars mentioned in  
 of the secret committee.  
 ie papers he produced in  
 many were intemperate,  
 e of persons in the mid-  
 d of high rank in official  
 its; but however severe  
 racter of individuals, or  
 : expression of sentiments,  
 of treason could strictly  
 t against the writers.

remarkable circumstance  
 celebrated trial, that of  
 esses who deserved credit,  
 inated the prisoner; and  
 who deposed against him,  
 d, on examination, to de-  
 :. Another circumstance  
 ourable to him, was, that  
 edings of the societies  
 ible notoriety. They had  
 members of parliament,  
 olliciting that they would  
 air petitions to the House  
 ons for a parliamentary  
 hich appeared uniformly

sole object of their re-  
 e legality of Mr. Hardy's  
 ras convincingly proved  
 answers to every question,  
 examination by those who

were summoned to give their evi-  
 dence. A variety of means was  
 tried to substantiate and bring the  
 charges of treasonable practices  
 home to the prisoner; but they  
 proved ineffectual; and the good-  
 ness of his character repulsed every  
 insinuation to his disadvantage.

The speeches of Mr. Erskine and  
 Mr. Gibbs, in defence of Mr. Har-  
 dy, were universally considered as  
 finished pieces of professional know-  
 ledge and eloquence. The public  
 was loud in its mutual congratula-  
 tions on the forcible and effective  
 manner in which they silenced  
 every attempt to establish the fatal  
 doctrine of constructive treason.

The satisfaction of the public on  
 the acquittal of Mr. Hardy, which  
 took place on the 5th of Novem-  
 ber, was for this reason great, and  
 expressed without restraint. Every  
 man felt himself interested in op-  
 posing the introduction of maxims  
 destructive of all personal security,  
 and that subjected him to the ini-  
 quitous interpretation of the law  
 in cases that ought never to need  
 explanation.

The trial of Mr. Hardy lasted  
 eight days; during which the anxi-  
 ety of all men how it would ter-  
 minate, was visible not only in the  
 metropolis, but in every place  
 throughout the kingdom. When  
 the circumstances of the trial were  
 made known, the verdict of the  
 jury impressed the public with the  
 highest sense of the importance of  
 that strongest bulwark to justice  
 and liberty, that had been felt for  
 many years.

Mr. Tooke was tried on the  
 17th of November: his personal  
 character and his distinguished ta-  
 lents contributed to render his  
 trial peculiarly remarkable. It was

attended by personages of the first rank. The abilities of Mr. Erskine and Mr. Gibbs were again eminently displayed in his defence; and, notwithstanding the endeavours to criminate him, he was cleared of every charge and imputation brought against him on this occasion; and his acquittal was accompanied with the same approbation and applause that had marked the preceding.

Mr. Thelwall was tried on the 22d. The grounds of accusation were much the same as those alleged against the other prisoners, with the addition only of rash and violent language on particular occasions: but the evidence in proof of this allegation, which was that of two informers, being fully invalidated, he was also acquitted, to the great satisfaction of the public. The zeal and capacity of Mr. Erskine and Mr. Gibbs were exerted in his cause, as they had been in the two former. They were no less ready to undertake the defence of the remaining prisoners; but this task was rendered unnecessary by

the cessation of all further proceedings on the part of the consequence of which a sons indicted were set at

Such was the issue of which had by numbers expected to have terminate another manner. Those of ministry who, previous trials, had manifested hopes that the arrested of the societies would condemned to severe punishment did not appear so dissatisfied with acquittal as it had been. They could not help perceive dangerous consequences they themselves must incur with all men have been expected that condemnation ensued they were so imprudently. Those also who had been by rumours of the vast influence of that party, from which consequences were dreaded, could not be gratified at the thought that its power and means for the purposes imputed to it were too inconsiderable to excite any reasonable apprehensions

## CHAP. XV.

*Motion for an Account of the Money advanced to the King of Prussia for Troops employed by him in the Service of the Coalition. Presented in Parliament. Naval, Colonial, and Commercial Affairs.*

THE sessions of parliament were now drawing to a close; but the intelligence from the continent did not promise ministry an opportunity of dismissing the members with any well-founded hopes of success to the arms of the confederacy. On the eve of the prorogation, opposition entered into an animated discussion on the situation

of affairs, and the gloom of the prospect abroad.

Mr. Sheridan moved for a count of the money advanced to the King of Prussia, a number of troops employed by him in the service of the coalition. What was the King of Prussia doing? Was he massacring the French? Was he fulfilling the stipulations

which he had been so much money? It is notorious, and past for-  
 minister, to tell par-  
 he had not imagined  
 would have deceived  
 the minister's busi-  
 have thought other-  
 nance of his character:  
 earned what to think  
 and of other princely  
 he confederacy. After  
 various other particulars  
 imation, Mr. Sheridan  
 s his opinion, that the  
 the objects now preff-  
 tention of the public.  
 of ministers to come  
 every information in  
 for the satisfaction of  
 ought to induce them  
 ical season to advise  
 rogation.

dicted by Mr. Pitt, that  
 of so powerful and im-  
 lly as the King of Prus-  
 ot to be scrutinized or  
 in a public manner,  
 of a campaign so event-  
 ive.

period of prorogation  
 d, it would argue un-  
 prehensions to prolong  
 f the two Houses: mi-  
 e still answerable to  
 out the necessity that  
 remain on the spot to  
 conduct.

y adverted with great  
 to the reluctance of  
 hen called upon to ex-  
 mduct of Prussia. That  
 observed, was wrapped  
 y; it was a secret why  
 as made; a secret why  
 s so enormous a price;  
 why the troops were  
 ingly. One thing

only was no secret,—that the King  
 of Prussia had received the money.

This debate was accompanied by  
 many personal charges on both  
 sides, urged with great vehemence  
 and acrimony.

Mr. Sheridan concluded it at last  
 by withdrawing his motion, in  
 consequence, he alleged, of mini-  
 stry's refusal to give the informa-  
 tion for which he had applied.

On the 11th of July, the sessions  
 of this year, after having lasted  
 nearly six months, were closed by  
 a speech from the throne; where-  
 in, after thanking Parliament for its  
 assiduity and zeal in the public ser-  
 vice, the King congratulated them  
 on the victory over the French at  
 sea, on the 1st of June, and the ac-  
 quisitions in the East and West In-  
 dies; exhorting them to firmness  
 and perseverance, notwithstanding  
 the successes of the French in the  
 Netherlands. He commended their  
 diligence in the investigation of the  
 designs formed against the govern-  
 ment and constitution, thankfully  
 acknowledging the trust reposed in  
 him, and promising a vigorous but pru-  
 dent use of the powers he had been  
 additionally invested with for the  
 preservation of public tranquillity.  
 Relying on the affection of his peo-  
 ple, he doubted not effectually to  
 repress every attempt to disturb the  
 peace of the community. He re-  
 minded them that the inimical de-  
 signs against government, were con-  
 nected with the system prevailing  
 in France, the principles of which  
 were irreconcilable with those of  
 every other government. It was  
 therefore incumbent on them, from  
 every consideration of domestic  
 safety, faithfully to co-operate with  
 the allies of this kingdom in the  
 contest wherein they were united  
 for



for their reciprocal interest; on the prosperous issue of which depended the future security of this and every country in Europe.

It remains for us to satisfy the curiosity of our readers, by a summary account of the several objects, just mentioned, of his Majesty's congratulations to parliament. On the morning of the 28th of May, the French fleet were discovered far to windward by the British Channel fleet, under Lord Howe, cruising off the north-west coast of Brittany. The French fleet consisted of 26 ships of the line; the British of 25. Partial actions took place on the evening of the 26th; and on the 29th, by vast exertions, the British Admiral weathered the enemy's line. On the morning of the 1st of June, he beheld them to leeward, waiting his approach, and not declining battle. He soon brought the hostile fleet to a general and decisive action. Six sail of the line were taken, one sunk, and many crippled. The disabled ships, with the remainder, retired from the scene of action, and took shelter in the harbour of Brest. The usual intrepidity and exertion of British seamen were fully displayed on this glorious day; but it was a hard contest. The valour of the French could not be exceeded; and it is but justice to say, that the victory turned on the British Admiral's superior knowledge of naval tactics. His own ship, the *Queen Charlotte*, of 100 guns, and a few more, gallantly went through the enemy's line; and by this, combined with other manœuvres, obtained the weather-gage: and again on the day of the general action, he performed the opposite manœuvre, by breaking through their

line, and fighting them in close action to leeward.

While the enemy's fleet went back into port, ours regained, in triumph, their native shore; and were welcomed with the loudest applause by all ranks and degrees of loyal subjects. The grateful public, with the usual sympathy by which our countrymen are much distinguished, generously contributed to assuage the sufferings of the wounded and maimed, and to dry up the tears of the fatherless and widow.

Though the attempt on Martinico in 1793 had failed, the plan of reducing the French islands was not abandoned. An army of 5000 men, commanded by General Charles Grey, protected by a fleet under the command of Sir John Jarvis, sailing in the end of 1793 for the West Indies, reduced Martinico after a gallant resistance on the part of the French, in the different forts, particularly in Fort Bourbon, the last that fell; where the Generalissimo, Rochambeau, commanded. The date of this event was the 25th of March 1794. Soon after this, the English made themselves masters also of St. Lucia and Guadaloupe, with its dependencies, the Saints, Marie Galante, and Desiderade. The island of Tobago, as mentioned in our last volume, had already fallen once more under the protection of the British arms and government.

The burning bilious fever incident to Europeans in hot climates, and called, from the tinge which it gives in its last stage to the complexion, the Yellow Fever, is at all times to be dreaded by troops newly arrived from northern regions; but particularly in war, when the blood

ly agitated by excessive  
 during the day, and the  
 laly chilled by the heavy  
 le night. This disease,  
 peaceable times, and in  
 ry course of things, is  
 consume two thirds of an  
 regiment in three years.  
 tely for the British army,  
 ity was not confined to  
 ry limits of devastation.  
 ity was aggravated by a  
 infection, imported in a  
 n from Africa, and com-  
 not only to the West  
 is, but also to America;  
 n the keenness of a fro-  
 where did not stop its de-  
 career till the second

uring the prevalence of  
 mic distemper, that a  
 ment of about two thou-  
 from Brest, elcaping the  
 of the English cruizers,  
 g in Guadaloupe, imme-  
 rmed and overpowered  
 and sickly English garri-  
 s fort of Grand Terre.  
 h General, by collecting  
 ents from the other  
 deavoured to reticve this  
 the ranks of every regi-  
 e so thinned by sickness,  
 of so many islands, and  
 of so active a campaign,  
 was no easy task. A re-  
 force being at length col-  
 landed, drove the enemy,  
 ed by the French commi-  
 dor Hugues, after a stout  
 ; from some commanding  
 hat lay between him and  
 but the pursuers, on the  
 were attacked more than  
 inforced multitude of  
 ites, blacks, and mu-  
 uniforms, and oblig-

ed to have recourse to the bayonet  
 before they could be compelled to  
 remain sheltered behind their for-  
 tifications.

As the commencement of the  
 rains had now terminated the sea-  
 son for military operations, the  
 General, about the end of June,  
 made a concluding effort to expel  
 the French by a nocturnal attack.  
 From different accidents and mis-  
 takes, the attempts of our men,  
 though made with their usual gal-  
 lantry, were completely frustrated.  
 In various rencounters five hundred  
 brave British officers and privates  
 were killed, wounded, and missing.

The British General retired to  
 Martinico, leaving a force for  
 maintaining the other posts that  
 yet remained in the hands of the  
 English. This force, soon reduced  
 by mortality to one hundred and  
 fifty privates fit for duty, was  
 taken (though not without a long  
 and vigorous defence) by the ene-  
 my: and the whole island fell  
 again into the hands of the repub-  
 licans.

From St. Vincent, the seat of  
 the Caribbs, or what remained of  
 the ancient inhabitants of the  
 islands, the passion for liberty and  
 equality was communicated to the  
 minds of the mulattoes and negroes  
 in Martinico, St. Lucie, and the  
 Grenades; and a spirit of disor-  
 ganization and anarchy introduced  
 into every part of the West Indies.  
 Of all the French West India  
 islands, Martinico alone escaped  
 (and that through the vigour of  
 the regulars and colonists) the cruel  
 devastation of invasion and insur-  
 rection. The contagion spread to  
 Dominica; but was repelled, though  
 not without a long struggle, and  
 much loss of property. In Jamaica  
 the

the maroons, or original inhabitants living in the mountains, commenced a war of unexampled barbarity, putting prisoners to death with the most excruciating tortures; and when reduced to extremities, cutting the throats of their own wives and children. By the vigilant and active policy of Lord Balcarras, and the military skill of General Walpole, they were at last surrounded in the woods and fortresses, and reduced to the necessity of surrendering at discretion.

By the British conquests in the West Indies, large additions were made to private fortunes by captures or plunder, which did not escape the boldest change of unfeeling rapacity; and, what was of more importance, the national revenue of Britain was prodigiously increased by duties levied on imported sugar, rum, coffee, indigo, and cotton. A new source of revenue, was also opened in the East Indies, by that participation of the trade of India, under certain limitations and restrictions, which was granted to individual traders of this country, by the lately renewed charter of the East India company: a wise and important measure, of which we shall have occasion to

take more particular notice when we come to mark its effect the progress of its operation, future volumes.

On the whole, the affairs of Britain in 1794, though unstable on the continent, stood firm on her natural element. Wounded with America; our government and possessions in the lately enlarged, were now, by wise and judicious regulations, increased, and our commerce every day more prosperous.

But this splendid horizon clouded by an apprehension that the French should retain possession of maritime Flanders, make with the continental power bend all her efforts to the construction of a navy, the construction of Great Britain would, at a future period be diminished of France proportionably to its ruin; and the political principles of the French prevail their prevailing power over all. All the advantage, therefore, of the present good, and indeed in more in the anticipation of resources, was absorbed in the prevention of contending but what were deemed to be the most dangerous evils.

# CHRONICLE.

## JANUARY.

*Petersburg,* **T**HE king of r. 19. O.S. Great Britain been graciously pleased to receive Charles Whitworth, Esq. of Extraordinary and Minipotentary at this court, to his right Companion of the most Order of the Bath, and his being desirous that he should be knighted, and invested with the said order in the most able and most distinguished manner, Mr. Whitworth applied to her imperial majesty, the empress of Russia, by order of the king his master, to desire she would be pleased to represent his majesty on this occasion: to which her imperial majesty very readily consented, expressing in the strongest terms her sentiments of friendship and affection towards his Britannic majesty, and at the same time pleased to accept of his service, for the service of the ceremony, which follows:

Whitworth having at noon arrived at the palace, according to appointment, he was there received by the grand master of the ceremonies, who conducted him into the ceremony-room, where her imperial majesty was attended by count Orloff, the vice-chancellor, the Duke and Duchesses, and all the principal officers of the court, XXXVI.

being in an adjacent apartment, with the folding doors open. Mr. Whitworth, being introduced by the grand master of the ceremonies, made a low reverence on his entrance, a second in the middle of the room, and a third on his approaching her imperial majesty: and Mr. Whitworth then kneeling, her imperial majesty immediately invested him with the ribbon and badge of the order: and then taking from a table a gold hilted sword, richly ornamented with diamonds, the empress touched his left shoulder three times with it, pronouncing these words, *Soyez bon et honorable chevalier, au nom de Dieu*: and on sir Charles Whitworth's rising up, and kissing her imperial majesty's hand, the empress added, *Et pour vous prouver combien je suis contente de vous, je vous fais present de l'épée avec laquelle je vous ai fait chevalier*. Then sir Charles, after expressing to her imperial majesty his respectful and grateful sense of those most gracious and extraordinary marks of favour, withdrew from the empress's presence, observing the same ceremonies as at his entrance.

Last week arrived from Sierra Leone, the *Felicity*, captain Wrenham, with a cargo of wax, carwood, &c. The dispatches by this ship contain very flattering accounts of the health of this colony, and of its progress in commercial pursuits; but we are sorry to add, that they bring also

also an account of the death of prince Naimbonna, who died, on the evening of his arrival at Sierra Leone, of a putrid fever, contracted by him on shipboard, in the course of his passage from this country. This amiable young man had been for some short time in England, under the protection of the Sierra Leone company. He possessed a very excellent understanding, a disposition earnest in the pursuit of knowledge, and great facility in receiving instruction. His mental acquirements, during his stay in this country, were the subject of much admiration, and his easy address and suavity of manners endeared him to all those to whom he was introduced. He had imbibed, and he professed to the last moment of his existence, the strongest attachment to the principles of the Protestant faith; and by his will (made in the beginning of his illness) he earnestly requested his relations to set their faces against the slave-trade, and to belicnd the Sierra Leone company to the utmost of their power.

6th. Monday morning, at nine o'clock, came on before the high court of Justiciary, at Edinburgh, the trial of William Skirving, accused of different seditious practices. He conducted his defence without the assistance of agent or counsel, and after a long trial, which lasted till one o'clock this morning, he was found guilty of sedition, and sentenced to fourteen years transportation. After the verdict was recorded, and before sentence was passed, the pannel addressed the court. He said, by an unlucky accident he had been deprived of counsel yesterday on his trial, but had this morning received, by post, what he had expected, viz. the opi-

nion of English counsel on 1 and although it had arrived degree too late, yet even period it might not perhaps together useless. He then the opinion of the English to be, that the indictment gal in so far as it charged him guilty art or part of the crime. On such a charge as was informed, no legal trial proceed. He also stated, this hour, although he has asked, he had never yet formed what sedition was. their lordships delivered th nions as to what punishment be inflicted, they also took the opinion of this English sel, of whom they said, the ever learned he might be law of England, he was ignorant of the law of S else he would have known it was a Special Act of Parliament authorizing the charge of part.

After sentence was pronounced the pannel addressed the court, the sentence did not affect him, that he had long since to throw aside all fear of men this sentence would be no and that was all his comfort his hope.

9th. *Edinburgh.* This about ten o'clock, a vast assembly in front of the Black Inn, where Maurice Margdicted for seditious practices. He shortly after came out, by three friends. When the length of the Register-Office mob forced all the four into which they had provided, which they had previously horses. This done, they ately drew the carriage to

lose, where Mr. Margarot and his friends alighted, and walked to the Parliament-house, he himself at the bar. On his return, Mr. Margarot was again taken to a carriage by the mob, with five of his friends, and was being taken from the carriage when the mob drew him to his cell at the Black-Bull Inn.

The king in council signed warrants for the transportation of Buir and Palmer to New South Wales for the term sentenced by the Court of Justiciary.

Mr. Margarot was accused of sedition and seditious practices. He defended his own defence. After trial, the jury found him guilty, and the court sentenced him to seven years transportation beyond seas.

In consequence of the proceedings on the 17th instant, while Mr. Margarot was in the Court of Justiciary, every day was taken this day by the magistrates, and the sheriff prevented any breach of good order and police. A great crowd gathered at his lodgings in Leith-street at ten o'clock, and he was surrounded with a wreath or arch held up by the people, with inscriptions of Reformation, &c. About the middle of the North Bridge, however, the arch was met by the lord sheriff, constable, peace-officers, &c. and immediately the arch demolished, and its members taken into custody. A party was then sent to assist the magistrates. Mr. Margarot then returned to the court, escorted by the provost and sheriff, and no disturbance ensued.

At the Old Bailey, John Buir was indicted capitally for sedition, on the 4th of Novem-

ber last, for several receipts, purporting to be receipts for the payment of certain dividends, of a loan, to be raised under an act of parliament, for the service of the year 1793, with an intent to defraud the governor and company of the Bank of England. When the clerk of the arraigns put the usual question to the prisoner, "How say you, are you guilty or not guilty?" The prisoner replied, that he should beg leave to decline making any defence, on account of the nature of the evidence intended to be produced against him. He was recommended by the judges to plead not guilty, but he persisted, and the plea was recorded; but the judge's humanity, to prevent the prisoner from being in some degree the instrument of his own death, urged Mr. Wood, who was counsel for the prisoner, to try his influence with him; it occurred to Mr. Wood, that as the evidence of his sister was the ground of the prisoner's objection to plead, that he might demur to the indictment, which, by an admission of the facts, left it to be argued in point of law: after Mr. Wood had explained the nature of the demurrer, and that his sister would not then be called in evidence against him, he consented to demur to the indictment. The prisoner was also indicted for the same offence in another form, to which he also demurred. His counsel applied for copies of the indictments, which were not granted. The demurrer came on to be argued on the 20th instant, but the decision of it was postponed to a future day.

17th. This morning a fire broke out in the hot-house of Mr. Parker, of South Lambeth, which consumed many valuable exotics, among which were several Botany-Bay plants. --

The flames were very fierce, and threw the whole neighbourhood into the greatest consternation; providentially the damage was confined to Mr. Parker's premises.

28th. The following are some circumstances attending a late marriage between a branch of the royal family and a daughter of a northern earl. About eighteen months since, lady Dunmore, whose husband is now governor of the Bahama Islands, went with her two daughters into Italy, where they resided till very lately. His royal highness prince Augustus, being at Rome, met with those ladies, and very naturally courted their agreeable society: the consequence of which was, a mutual attachment between his royal highness and lady Augusta Murray, and they were there married. Lady Murray became pregnant, and returned to England. His royal highness did the same: and, at the instance of the lady and her friends, a second marriage took place. The parties were regularly asked in the church of St. George, Hanover-square, in the month of November last, and on the 5th of December they were again united, according to the ceremonies of the church of England, under the names of Augustus Frederick and Augusta Murray. The circumstances having come to the king's knowledge, his majesty instituted a suit of nullity in his own name, in the Arches Court of Canterbury, to set aside the validity of this marriage, on the ground of an act of parliament passed early in the reign of his present majesty, for the prevention of the marriage of any male branch of the royal family, without the previous consent of parliament. On the 8th instant Mr. Hefeltine, the king's proctor, served

a citation on lady Murray, to answer the charges of the superior privy-council has been over two days, in the investigation of the circumstances attending the marriage of his royal highness Augustus Frederick and lady Murray. The persons who examined on this business were, Dunmore, lady E. Murray, merchant and his wife who were taken, to come to the residence of one month in the city of St. George, Hanover-square, a clergyman who married them, and a gentleman who resided at Twickenham. Lady Augusta was brought to bed of a son on the 13th instant, which is likewise well.

30th. *Dublin.* Came on in the court of King's Bench, Archibald Hamilton Ross, on an information *ex officio* for libelling, on 16th December a seditious libel, purporting to be an address from the United Irishmen in Dublin to the volunteers of that city. Mr. Curran made an admission for the prisoner, but the defence was so conclusive against him, that the jury, in three minutes, returned a verdict of guilty.

10th. *DIED.* After a long illness, aged 84, Sir Clifton Tringham, bart. M. D. fellow of the royal colleges of physicians at London and Paris, F. R. S. &c. general to the army, and very ordinary to his majesty, esteemed by all who knew him as a man of amiable manners and of extensive knowledge.

11th. Aged 65, Dr. H. bishop of Peterborough and of Durham. This learned and eloquent orator, was

His father kept a livery-swallow-street. The son, ing through the forms of her School, went to Trinity Cambridge, where he had taken a degree before he was to be companion of the Grafton during a tour of He attended the duke of also on his travels, and attended Mr. Crewe, of Cheshire, whose sister he The duke of Grafton, administration, conferred be valuable vicarage of h, and by the same minis- tence he obtained, in 1769, ric of Peterborough. In was promoted to the vane- ry of Durham. his 57th year, Edward Gib- be celebrated historian.

down; while those who followed immediately were, by the same irre- sistible impulse, hurried over them. The scene that ensued may be easier conceived than described; the shouts and screams of the dying and the maimed were truly shocking; while those who were literally trampling their fellow-creatures to death, had it not in their power to avoid the mischief they were doing. Seven bodies, completely lifeless, were carried into Mr. Wynch's, the druggist, next door to the theatre, some to the shops of other gentlemen, and the remainder to St. Martin's bone- house, to be owned. Medical aid was called in, and every thing done to restore animation, if it was only suspended; but we are sorry that success attended the process in one case only, which was that of Mr. Brandram, of Tooley-street. The following is a list of the persons who were trampled to death: Mrs. Fisher, sister-in-law to Mr. Brandram of Tooley-street. Miss Brandram, niece of Mr. Brandram. Mr. Brandram, his nephew. Mr. Brandram himself was carried out apparently dead, but was recovered; he is since dead. Benjamin Pingo, esq. York herald, of the heralds' college. J. C. Brooke, esq. Somerset herald, of ditto. Mrs. and master Willis, wife and son of Mr. Willis, attorney, of Gray's Inn. Mr. Garbutt, late master of the Three Sisters, of Whitby. Mrs. Gwatkin, wife of Mr. Gwatkin, dancing-master, Bartlett's Buildings. Mrs. Spencer, St. James's Market. Miss Williams, Pall-mall, daughter of Mr. Williams, of Shee-lane. Mr. Robinson, of Coleman-street, and Clerkenwell, farrier. Miss Bushnel, niece of Mr. Norton, of Berner's street. Mrs. Edgar and son, of Pall-mall. In all fifteen persons.

## FEBRUARY.

is evening a melancholy appened at the Haymarket : which their majesties had ad " My Grandmother," gno Supper," and " The it was occasioned in the manner: In the crowd e deceased was thrown e people kept pushing for- ers were thrown down and all were trampled the crowd, who passed bodies into the house. s lower than the threshold r leading into it; those who go in must go down re it was that the mis- pened; for the people the unfortunate sufferers, knowing any thing of the eing hurried on by the the crowd behind, fell



The inquest of the coroner is local. That of St. Martin's parish have returned a verdict of—"Accidental death by suffocation, and being trampled upon at the pit-door of the Haymarket theatre." Exclusive of these lamented victims, who were all respectable persons, near twenty others suffered material injuries, in bruises, broken legs, and arms, some of whom are since dead.

5th. This morning were executed before Newgate, pursuant to their sentence, John Rabbitts and William Brown (alias Bartlett), two very old offenders. They confessed several robberies, amongst which was that and the murder of Mr. Eaton in Berwick-street, Soho; of Mr. Woodcock, who was knocked down and robbed of his watch in Bedford-row, &c. &c.

7th. This night, at eight o'clock, the duke of York arrived at Whitehall from the continent. His royal highness came passenger in the *Vestal* frigate, which conveyed the prince Adolphus to Ostend, and landed at Ramsgate, after a short passage of fourteen hours. The duke of York, immediately upon his arrival in town, set off for Oatlands, where his duchess was. His royal highness was accompanied on his journey to England by colonel Hewgill, of the guards, and captain Crawford, his royal highness's aides-du-camp.

9th. On Wednesday morning the arrival of the *Swallow* packet at Torbay, with the most noble marquis Cornwallis and part of his suite, was announced at the India-house. The *Swallow* left Madras the 10th of October, when all the presidencies and possessions of the company were in an unexampled state of prosperity.

10th. This morning *Me* Margarot, Skirving, and were removed from New post-coach and four, attended two king's messengers. that they were taken on b sels bound to Botany-Bay.

By the court of King's Ireland, it has been decided Mr. A. H. Rowan shall n new trial; and judgement pronounced, that he shall foned for two years, pay 500l. and find securities fo behaviour, under a penalty for seven years.

11th. A fire this night at the floor-cloth manuf Knightbridge. By it ne 20,000l. worth of property buildings, was destroyed, farthing of either insured. fire, it is said, was occasion neglect of a boy, who, i some colour, suffered it to

13th. *Cardiff*. The c Merthir Tidvil to this pl completed, a fleet of ca arrived from Merthir, la the produce of the iron-w to the great exultation of This canal is 25 miles in l

14th. This day was de in the court of King's I action of crim. con. Howa Bingham, attended with c ces so peculiar, that we fl fuller account of it in the to the chronicle than we here.

22d. *Leicester*. Last nig belonging to Messrs. Ella, and Poynton, arrived at th in the Friers, freighted chandize from Gainfborot advantages of an immec munication by water from to the coasts of Lincoln

through the heart of the  
ad the whole southern dis-  
Nottinghamshire, are ob-

3d. At Dublin, the ho-  
Richard Power, L.L.D. se-  
a of his majesty's court of  
in Ireland, was drowned  
geon-house, Dublin. The  
on the body, and returned  
accidental death. The ba-  
erty in the English funds  
ted at upwards of 60,000l.  
was usher and account-  
l of the court of Chan-  
virtue of the latter office,  
pending on suits in that  
lodged with him. A cause  
andos family, having been  
ars in that court, lately  
decision; and, by virtue  
the claimant of the pro-  
anded the interest which  
pon the principal; this the  
fed, alleging that the prin-  
was adjudged. The party  
d to the chancellor, and his  
dered the baron to appear  
in court to answer the  
. This the baron's pride  
it, having been a judge of  
rs standing, even when the  
was a barrister; but he  
y to account to the claim-  
his lordship's decree. The  
was inflexible, and allow-  
e days to appear. On the  
baron (after making his  
leaving his papers in a re-  
aner) put a period to his  
by drowning himself at the  
re.

chweighauser, professor of  
d oriental literature in the  
of Strasburg. This Ger-  
; who published Appian  
ed notes in 1775, at Stras-  
Polybius in 6 vol. 1792,

at Leipzig, and Observation and Cor-  
rections on Suidas, has lately, with  
two other professors, been guillotined  
at Strasburg; an event by which li-  
terature has sustained an important  
loss.

28th. J. B. V. Guillotine, M. D.  
formerly of Lyons, was among the  
multitude of persons who have late-  
ly been executed there. He was  
charged with having corresponded  
with persons at Turin. It is an ex-  
traordinary thing that he should die  
by an instrument of his own inven-  
tion. He died with great reluc-  
tance, and declared, that, when he  
produced his instrument to the world,  
it was from motives of humanity  
alone.

## MARCH.

1st. *Copenhagen.* On Wednesday  
evening, about five o'clock, a dread-  
ful fire broke out in the royal palace  
of Christianbourg, which, commu-  
nicating from the hereditary prince's  
apartments, where it began, to the  
rest of the building, in the space of  
seven or eight hours reduced the  
whole to a heap of ashes. The royal  
family have happily escaped without  
accident, but the greater part of  
their valuable effects have been a  
prey to the flames. It is not yet  
known what number of lives have  
been lost, but it is to be hoped, con-  
sidering the rapidity of the conflagration, which was increased by a  
very strong wind, that the number  
is not great. This palace, one of  
the most commodious and most sumptu-  
ously furnished in Europe, was  
built in the reign of Christian the  
sixth, and is said to have cost, in  
building only, considerably above a  
million sterling; it seems, therefore,

B +

not

not an exorbitant calculation to suppose, that, with the loss sustained by the hundreds of individuals by whom it was inhabited, the whole damage may amount to two millions sterling. It is some consolation, in so great a disaster, that the royal library, consisting of between two and three hundred thousand volumes, which stood detached from the principal pile, has been fortunately saved.—During the whole of this distressful scene, the garrison and the citizens were under arms, and every effort was made, both by the military and the sailors, to prevent disorder and pillage. His Danish majesty is lodged for the present in an apartment at count Bernstorff's, and the rest of the royal family are dispersed in different quarters of the town, where they will remain till houses proper for their reception can be got ready.

4th. The right honourable W. B. Ponsonby introduced his promised bill on the subject of a parliamentary reform in the Irish commons, on which a debate took place. At twelve the house divided, on the motion of sir Hercules Langrishe, that the bill be read the second time the 1st of August—Ayes 142—Noes 44—Majority against the bill 98.

10th. *Edinburgh.* This day came on the trial of Joseph Gerald, esq. late of Bloomsbury-square, London. The accusation, at the instance of the lord-advocate of Scotland, charged him with being a member of a seditious association, called "The British Convention," which met at Edinburgh in November and December last; and that, on the 21st and 28th of November, he made addresses of a seditious nature to the members of the said convention. The indictment also charged Mr. Gerald with being present in the convention

when the magistrates and went to disperse the meeting. When the court met, before the indictment was read over, Mr. Gerald objected to the lord justice Clerk sitting on the bench. Upon the objection, lordship rose, and lord Hen took the chair. Mr. Gerald presented a written minute, containing the specific objections to lordship's sitting on the bench, and the facts which he offered to prove in support of these objections were, that his lordship had judged his cause, inasmuch as a time since, when in the hall, Mr. Rothead, of Inverleith, "What would they think of giving Margarot to Botany-Bay?" giving him a whipping all round. This minute he desired to be entered on the records of the court. Their lordships in general gave their opinion that the objection was well founded, for the words used were merely part of a conversation at table; and could not suppose that such language could have any influence upon a judicial procedure? Would it be proper to give force to such a charge, founded on a few loose words, and not connected with the proceedings of the court, nor delivered in the capacity of a judge? If such notions were to be tolerated, might be attended with the most dangerous consequences. It was an indignity upon the court, and was intended as a foul aspersion upon the character of that respectable and learned judge who was vice-chancellor of the court, and who sat in honour to the bench. Suppose such words really had been spoken, how could they tend to prejudice the cause of Mr. Gerald, who remained with a jury to try

their lordships remarked, charge against the defendant, was highly aggravated - founded charge he had upon that respectable d, if a verdict were found in by the jury, he would it he might consider four- transportation as too small sent to be inflicted. In the Mr. Margarot, he hesitated other fourteen years ought : punishment, or whether severe should be imposed; sidered the conduct of that i the course of his trial, as prehensible. The accusa- the defendant now made igrate in malice. Their resumed the consideration ection, and were of opinion is irrelevant, and ought to ed. Upon this, lord chief erk was called to the chair. Ament was then read over, the defendant pleaded, not

to stop at the house, and an ill-looking fellow came out of it with a sack, containing, as was supposed, a body, which he carried into the house, and returned immediately with a large hamper; — they then drove off to a neighbouring public-house, when, after a short stay, they took up some others, and were traced to the Launch at Deptford. In the mean time the parish-officers were informed of the circumstance. About six in the evening, the coach again returned with a similar lading, which was deposited in the house. Some constables, accompanied by a number of people, surrounded the house, and, forcing an entrance, they found two men and a woman drinking tea on a bench, at one end of which lay the bodies of two children. They were secured; and on entering an adjoining room, the bodies of six adults were discovered unmutilated; besides which, the floor was strewed with limbs in a state too shocking for public description.

26th. The Brown Bear public-house, Upper Moorfields, was entirely destroyed by a dreadful fire, in which the landlord, his wife, and two children, perished. Two lodgers escaped by jumping out of a two pair of stairs window.

*Boston, North America.* In the assembly of New York, on the 13th of January, Mr. Willocks moved, "That the titles of excellency, honourable, esquire, and every other characteristical designation not warranted by the constitution, and which are unnecessary and inconsistent with the plainness and real dignity of republican manners, be abolished." — which motion was negatived the 17th of the same month.

Willies then addressed the defence of Mr. Gerald. The High Court of Justice, agreeably to adjournment lay, on the trial of Joseph for sedition. The pleadings sides continued till eleven at night, when the jury r, and brought in a verdict ming at eleven o'clock, unafinding the pannel guilty, the lords passed sentence of ent beyond seas for fourteen ce. The diet against Sin- leserted *pro loco et tempore*, unt of the imbecility of his

This evening a set of resur- its were apprehended at a ear the turnpike, Mile-End. urning a coach was observed

## APRIL.

2d. *Bury, Suffolk.* This morning ~~were~~ executed, pursuant to their sentence, John and Nathan Nichols, father and son, for the wilful murder of Sarah Nichols, daughter to the one and sister of the other. The father and brother way-laid the helpless girl in the evening of the 14th of September last; the former drew a stake out of a hedge, and, giving it to his son, urged him with threats to commit the horrid deed; whereupon the boy, striking his sister on the head, knocked her down, and repeated his blows till he had deprived her of life: he afterwards, at his father's desire, went and tied one of her garters round her neck, and dragged her into a ditch, where she was found the next morning. Nathan Nichols was nineteen, and his unfortunate sister seventeen, years of age. On their arrival at the fatal tree, they both persisted in their innocence: and, notwithstanding the very ample confession of the boy, he then said his father was innocent, for all he knew, of the fact for which they were to suffer. The behaviour of the elder Nichols was very undaunted, declaring his innocence to the last moment. After hanging the usual time, the body of the elder Nichols was conveyed to Fakenham, to be hung in chains, and the younger one was taken for dissection at Bury. John Nichols was about sixty years of age, and had been many years employed as hedge carpenter to the duke of Grafton.

5th. At two o'clock, the lord mayor, accompanied by a select committee of the corporation of London, proceeded from the Mansion-house to New Burlington-street, the residence of marquis Cornwallis, attend-

ed by the city marshal on music, and colours, to present a nobleman with the freedom of the city, in a gold box of one guineas value. When the box was delivered by the clerk, the lord mayor addressed him in a handsome speech.

The marquis returned his thanks to the mayor for the very flattering compliment in which the freedom had been presented to him. The marquis returned, with the marquess's friends, to a very elegant dinner that had been prepared for them at the Mansion-house.

11th. *Brussels.* On Wednesday about five o'clock in the evening, the emperor our king gratified the wishes of the Belgians, by visiting this city with his presence. He was preceded by his states, in a body, presented to his majesty at the gate of the city, on which the following oration was read:—

*"Cæsar adest, tremite"*

Young men, dressed in white, representing his people, dismounted from the coach. Some detachment of cavalry preceded and followed at a certain distance. The procession repaired to the church of St. Michael, where the *Te Deum* was sung. His majesty passed afterwards through a part of this city, amidst the acclamations of the crowds, who thronged on the banks, rendering the air with the shout of *Vive l'Empereur! Vive!*

14th. At the assizes at Hereford, before Vickery Gibbs, esq. commenced the trial of Mary Perry, charged with having committed adultery with C. Clarke from a board of the ship in this city. The prosecution was opened in a very able manner by Mr. Bond. Evidence was examined, on the part of

, but interrupted by Mr. who with his usual force of ability contended that Mrs. as a legal evidence, and that luding her the court would ived of the only proper wit- This was warmly objected to counsel for the prosecution, ired to the decision of the r, who admitted the evidence . Perry. After a trial of more ght hours, Mr. Perry was ac- , the jury finding him " Not without going out of court. e Edinburgh theatre the tra- Charles the First was per- . The house was much filled occasion. When the play be- ral hisses were heard at any nt of loyalty uttered by the ers, and applauses attempted ontrary doctrines were incul- but this being still persisted orchestra was desired, by some in the boxes, to play " God e King," which was accord- rformed. It has been usual , when this tune is played, for ole audience to rise, and the nen to stand uncovered; upon ing done, about eight or ten liscovered, sitting in the pit, either rose nor took off their it was immediately concluded ese were the persons who turbed the entertainment, and was a loud cry of " off hats," ch the others paying no ret was soon changed into " out, ith them." This still produ- o effect, a general uproar took ; a few gentlemen, and several s of the Argyllshire fencibles, ere in the boxes, rushed into it, and a scuffle ensued: at last, refractory persons were turned and the rest compelled to take hats. The play afterwards

went on without any interruption; and, upon a second call for " God save the King," many respectable people, of their own accord, immediately retired from the pit. On Wednesday, the tragedy was performed again; when a renewal of the disturbance took place, which was, however, quieted without any bad consequences.

18th. The tumult has by no means subsided; the magistrates, last night, and their friends, nearly filled the house, insisted on the audience being uncovered at the playing of " God save the King:" they succeeded in their demands, for the opposite party, on the supposition that the transaction was at an end, had neglected to attend.

30th. New Drury theatre contains in the pit 800 persons, whole range of boxes 1828, two shilling gallery 675, one shilling gallery 308, total 3,611, amounting to 826l. 6s. There are eight private boxes on each side of the pit, twenty-nine all round the first tier, and eleven back front boxes; twenty-nine all round the second tier, of which eleven are six seats deep; ten on each side the gallery, three tier; boxes in the cove, nine each side. The diameter of the pit is 55 feet, opening of the curtain 43 feet wide, height of the curtain 38 feet, height of the house from the pit floor to the ceiling is 56 feet 6 inches.

DIED. 11th. At Mr. Welling's engraver, Tavistock-street, of a mortification in his bowels, aged 60, that ingenious artist, Samuel Hieronimo Grimm; the exertions of whose pencil were not confined to his more immediate patrons, Mr. Rhodes, sir William Burrell, bart. and the rev. sir Richard Kave, bart. dean of Lincoln, but will be remembered with regret

regret by all the lovers of our national antiquities. Mr. Grimm was a native of Switzerland; and to a niece, still resident there, he has bequeathed the little fortune which he had vested in the British funds, amounting to about 200*l.* or 300*l.* and whatever may arise from the sale of his drawings and other personals, by private contract, in which he has given, by will, a preference to Mr. Rhodes and sir William Burrell, with an apology to sir Richard Kaye, 'for whom (says he) I have made so many drawings which I shall never have it in my power to finish.' His remains were interred in the church-yard of St. Paul, Covent-garden, the dean of Lincoln paying the last office to his departed friend. Those who have seen the almost innumerable subjects of Mr. Grimm's pencil, in Sussex, Derbyshire, and Nottinghamshire, will earnestly wish that they may be perpetuated by good engravings, at the expence of the respective proprietors under whose patronage they were taken, as the Maundy Celebration has been by the then sub-almoner. The last legacy to the public was the views of Cowdry-house, in its perfect state, purchased by the Society of Antiquaries for their "*Vetusta Monumenta*."—For them, Mr. Grimm, by anticipation, preserved the historical paintings on the walls of that noble mansion; for them, he copied the funeral of John Islip, abbot of Westminster, from a roll ascribed to Holbein, in the possession of the dean and chapter of that church.

Lately, the celebrated traveller, Major Houghton, who, some years since, left England on a journey of discovery in the interior parts of Africa, and had proceeded a considerable way in the object of his

journey. He was discovered dead in his bed, and although without any visible signs of violence, there is much reason to fear he was murdered by those who attended him for the sake of the little property he had about him.

Aged 65, at his residence at Kin-naird, near Falkirk, in Scotland, James Bruce, esq. the well-known Abyssinian traveller; of whom some biographical notice will be taken in a subsequent part of this volume.

## MAY.

1*st.* Hamilton Rowan made his escape from the prison in Dublin in which he was confined; and William Jackson, a divine of some notoriety in England, with some others, was apprehended for high treason.

3*d.* *Dublin.* Some circumstances of a most alarming tendency and treasonable nature, which have transpired relative to Mr. Rowan since the apprehension of Jackson, are supposed to have been the motives that urged the former to attempt a precipitate escape, in which he effectually succeeded. Matters, it is said, were so well preconcerted in this business, that Mr. Rowan had a horse in waiting, upon which he set off immediately for Russia, from whence he was directly conveyed on board an American vessel, which waited for him off that place, and failed the instant he came on board. The charge made against Jackson we understand to be, that he has held a correspondence of a criminal nature with several persons who now belong to the existing government of France, in which treasonable information was given to the enemy respecting the force in Great Britain

tain and this country, with the  
 tended opinions of the people as  
 the prosecution of the war.

4th. A mob of poor people met  
 Streatham common, and set the  
 ath furze on fire; the conflagra-  
 n was tremendous, but the neigh-  
 urs rather promoted than lent any  
 istance for extinguishing it. It  
 ms that the duke of Bedford used  
 merly to let the poor have the  
 rze, but this year he sold it for  
 50l. On Saturday Mr. McNam-  
 ra, his agent, by his grace's or-  
 e, took in some ground from the  
 mon which was formerly used  
 the poor people's cattle, and in  
 e evening a hackney-coach drove  
 the spot, when six men, dressed  
 black, and crapes over their faces,  
 t out of the carriage, and with  
 penter's implements cut down  
 e paled inclosure, returned into  
 e coach, and drove off.

A horrid murder has lately been  
 mitted on the body of Mr. Reed,  
 Swanley, in Gloucestershire. Hav-  
 g been lately ill in health, his wife  
 rsuaded him to make his will in  
 r favour of the whole of his pro-  
 rty, amounting to 6000l. Soon  
 er the execution of his will, there  
 as reason to believe she had infused  
 dose of poison in some broth, as it  
 is observed, after he had taken it,

began to be very sick, and vo-  
 ted in a most violent manner.  
 r. Reed then persuaded him to  
 to bed, where he had not long  
 en before one James Watkins  
 e into the house, when the told  
 a the job was not completed.  
 ooner had she spoken the words  
 n he took a broom-stick in his  
 id, and said he would finish it;  
 l, going up stairs, struck the un-  
 nate man several blows upon  
 head, one of which cut the flesh

down three inches over the fore-  
 head, and he repeated the blows  
 till he was dead. Hearing, soon  
 after the deed, that it had gone  
 abroad, and that the coroner was  
 determined to have an inquest, Wat-  
 kins absconded, but the woman has  
 been taken, and admitted to bail  
 by the Gloucestershire magistrates.  
 The voluntary narrative of Robert  
 Edgar, a stripling of the Dorsetshire  
 corps, led to the discovery of this  
 murder, and the apprehension of  
 Mrs. Reed, the surviving widow,  
 by the vigilance of the Bow-street  
 magistrates. Since her admission to  
 bail, she has written to the brother  
 of her murdered husband in London,  
 that the perpetrator of the horrid  
 deed was her own brother—Wat-  
 kins; and that the remorse and con-  
 trition impressed on his own mind  
 " had led to the destruction of him-  
 self by a pistol." The investigation  
 of this circumstance remains to be  
 unfolded; and the measures of the  
 Bow-street magistrates are well ar-  
 ranged to developé this extraordi-  
 nary mystery. Mrs. Reed, when at  
 Poole, was enamoured with Edgar,  
 who was bred a surgeon, and is yet  
 a mere boy, to appearance not more  
 than 15 years old; and, according  
 to his own narrative, was led to  
 promise her marriage in case of her  
 husband's death, and Watkins un-  
 dertook to rid them of him on a  
 promise of 200l.

An inquest has been taken, at  
 Bishop-croft, Herefordshire, on the  
 body of Watkins, who had shot him-  
 self at his father's house in that pa-  
 rish, where he had been concealed  
 since the murder of Mr. Reed. The  
 jury brought in their verdict, *Felo*  
*de se.*

14th. London. Mr. Stone, a coal-  
 merchant of Rutland-street, Thames-  
 street,



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street, was taken up on a charge of high-treason; and, after various examinations, was committed to Newgate for trial.

Mr. D. Adams, formerly clerk in the Auditor's Office and secretary to the society for Constitutional Information, and Mr. Hardy, who signs himself secretary to the London Corresponding Society, were taken into custody.

17th. The king having been pleased to order that the colours taken at Martinico, which were safely brought to the palace at St. James's, should be this day deposited in the cathedral of St. Paul: detachments of horse and foot guards were ordered to parade at St. James's at ten o'clock, and marched before his majesty, who was pleased to see them pass by in the following order:

A captain and forty life-guards.

A sergeant and twelve grenadiers.

Music of the first regiment of guards.

Twenty-nine sergeants with the French colours.

A field-officer and 100 life-guards.

In this manner they proceeded to the west gate of St. Paul's, where the colours were received by the dean and chapter, attended by the the choir; about which time the guns at the Tower and Park were fired. The colours are since put up in the said cathedral church, as a lasting memorial of the success of his majesty's arms in the reduction of the important island of Martinico.

20th. The rev. Jeremiah Joyce, private secretary to lord Stanhope, and tutor to lord Mahon, was last week arrested; as have been since, Mr. Thelwall, Mr. Bonney, Mr. Richter, Mr. Lovatt; and, on the 16th, Mr. Horne Tooke. On the 19th, after examinations before the privy-

council, these six were carried to the Tower, charged with treason. The prisoners were conducted to separate apartments. Mr. Joyce is in the house of the head gaoler, Graux, guard wardens, and two soldiers attend the door; and no person except the count is suffered to have him. Tooke is in the house of the head gaoler, Kinghorn, and the same guard. Thelwall, whose less conduct caused great offence in the mind of Timms, the keeper, was sent to the apartment formerly occupied by the queen Mary Queen of Scots. Richter was put into strong apartments in the Tower. Bonney was committed to an apartment in the east wing, and the same orders and guard.

The prisoners were committed to separate coaches, and escorted. They went by the new and two bridges.

A few days since, as painters were removing articles of furniture in Leeds castle, King found concealed there, in a box, half-guineas, and other coin to the amount of 500*l.* they restored to Dr. F. the present proprietor of the mansion, who rewarded him 10 guineas each for the discovery. The money is of Queen Anne's reign, and is supposed to have been there ever since the beginning of this century.

10th. DIED. Guillotins, madame Elizabeth, the late king of France, was fetched from the Temple, preceding and taken to the guillotine the next day, where he was examined before the revolutionary tribunal, which examined

as very summary. The only is put to her, were her name divy. To the first she answered that her name was Philipina Elizabeth Helena, of France, quality, she said, was aunt king. This assertion was it, she was immediately deguilty of conspiring against public, and executed the same

## JUNE.

As Mr. Clarke's stage wagon was passing along the road near L, Leicestershire, it was overturned, owing to the horses taking it a peacock, and three valuers were killed.

A fire broke out in a rooming the laundry at Oatlands, of the duke of York, which with great fury for nearly an hour and a half, when it communicated to the grand armory, where the amount of 2000l. were destroyed, and had it not for the activity of the neighbouring inhabitants, the whole of the place had been levelled with the ground. The whole damage is valued at 3000l. The duchess left Oatlands at the time, and the dreadful conflagration in her sleeping apartment, which situated in the centre of the mansion and from which the flames prevented communicating by the hewing down a gateway, which the wing joined to the

His majesty visited her highness on Saturday morning, and gave necessary orders for clearing the place and rebuilding the wing of the house which had been destroyed.

10th. Lord Chatham carried the account of lord Howe's great naval victory (see Appendix to the Chronicle) to the Opera, and just after the second act it was made known to the house. A burst of transport interrupted the Opera, and never was any scene of emotion so rapturous as the audience exhibited, when the band struck up Rule Britannia. The joy continued for the whole night, and at intervals the acclamations of triumph drowned the performance. Moricelli joined in the general joy, and God save the King was sung by her, Morelli, and Rovellino. Not content with this, the spectators seeing Banti in a box, she was called on by every voice to sing God save the King! She cheerfully obeyed the summons, came on the stage, and the transport of the night was crowned by her singing the song.

The duke of Clarence went to Covent-garden theatre, where he communicated the joyful intelligence to the manager, who ordered it to be announced to the house, which was accordingly done by Mr. Ingleton. The music played God save the King! and Rule Britannia! which were loudly applauded.—Lord Mulgrave and colonel Phipps in the mean time went to Drury-lane house, and informed the manager of the glorious achievements of the British navy, which he ordered to be announced to the audience by Mr. Suett. The music and performers joined in the loyal sounds of God save the King! and Rule Britannia! which were loudly applauded by the whole house. The event was celebrated throughout the night by the ringing of bells, firing of cannon, &c. and this day at noon the Park and Tower guns were fired as testimonials of sincere joy.

13th. The

13th. The metropolis was illuminated for three successive evenings, and some windows were broken belonging to those who refused to exhibit this mark of satisfaction at the important victory obtained. — Among others, the house of lord Stanhope was damaged, in consequence of which, he next day inserted the following advertisement in the newspapers:

*"Outrage in Mansfield-street.*

"Whereas a hired band of ruffians attacked my house in Mansfield-street, in the dead of the night, between the 11th and 12th of June instant, and set it on fire at different times: and whereas a gentleman's carriage passed several times to and fro in front of my house, and the aristocrat, or other person, who was in the said carriage, gave money to the people in the street, to encourage them: this is to request the friends of liberty and good order to send me any authentic information they can procure, respecting the names and place of abode of the said aristocrat, or other person, who was in the carriage above-mentioned, in order that he may be made amenable to the law.

June 12, 1794. *Stanhope."*

17th. *Naples.* On the 13th ult. at ten o'clock at night, all Naples was sensible of the shock of an earthquake, with a horizontal motion, which lasted about thirty seconds. — On Sunday last, the 15th, about the same hour, the earthquake was repeated, which was followed by a violent eruption of mount Vesuvius. The mountain opened in two places towards the centre of its line, when columns of black smoke, mixed with liquid inflamed matter, issued from each mouth; soon after, other mouths were opened, and in a line towards

the sea. The explosions from these mouths, louder than the mixed with sharp reports, and the heaviest pieces of artillery accompanied by a hollow subterraneous rumour, like that of the storm, caused all the houses to totter to their very foundations. The gushing from these mouths having run four miles in a few days destroyed the greatest part of the town of Torre del Greco, a mile from Portici, and made considerable progress into the sea, it formed a promontory about six feet above its surface, and a quarter of a mile broad, having raised the water to such a degree that it could not be borne in it at the distance of one hundred yards from the lava. It cannot yet be ascertained how many lives have been lost in that city; many families missing; but whether they have escaped, or are buried under the ruins of their own houses, is not known. Naples is covered with ashes, and every object is obscured as in fog. But Vesuvius, though now calm, continues very turbulent, and more mischief may be expected though the lavas are all stopped at this moment. The head of the lava was carried in process yesterday, and opposed to the train by the cardinal archbishop of Naples, attended by many of the inhabitants of this city.

18th. The bishop of Lincoln consecrated the manor of which Mr. Pelham has erected the memory of his late wife by his feat at Brocklesby in Lincolnshire. It is esteemed the finest thing, of the kind, in this kingdom and is supposed to have cost 30,000*l.*

30th. *Portsmouth.* His

On Thursday morning, in accordance with the resolution he received of visiting the fleet, he proceeded by the governor's barge, and conducted to the river, whence he proceeded with the royal family. The king's flag was shifted to a barge, and the royal standard hoisted on the Queen Charlotte, which his majesty and the queen remained till six o'clock. The admiral hoisted his flag on board the Queen, admiral's flag being removed from the admiral's barge. The whole garrison fired; the concourse was immense. The king, in his own hand, carried a valuable sword, from the queen's house down to the river, where he presented to earl St. Vincent on board the Queen Charlotte, as a mark of his satisfaction. The admiral's approbation of his conduct, his majesty also presented a sword, to which a medal is to be annexed, to admiral Hood and rear-admiral Boscawen. The like honour was conferred on lord Howe's first captain, Curtis. The wounded admiral, Sir Peter Parker, who could not attend, have been distinguished with similar marks.

The royal family, in their return from Spithead, proceeded up the harbour to view the prizes, which are at anchor there. On Friday, the king attended to the officers of the fleet, and afterwards indistinctly to all the other naval and military officers. Some marks of distinction were conferred. On the evening of the 10th, the royal family dined at the commissioner's house, and then proceeded to dinner, and in the evening proceeded up the river to view the French prizes. The town was brilliantly illuminated in the evening, and every possible demonstration of joy manifested. On Saturday, the royal family attended the launching of the Prince of Wales, a fine second rate. Four flags were flying on board the Prince of Wales, during this ceremony, the royal standard, the admiralty flag, sir Peter Parker's white flag as port-admiral, and the union flag. The cheering of the multitude, in honour of the royal visitants, wherever they appeared, made the air ring; and bands of music continued playing in the yard, and on board the ships and yachts up the harbour. Immediately on the Prince of Wales being brought up to her moorings, their majesties, prince Ernest, and the princesses, embarked in order to go on board the Aquilon frigate, captain Stopford, at Spithead. As the barges approached the ships at Spithead, two guns from the Queen Charlotte were fired, as on a former marine trip, the signal for a general salute; every ship, in consequence, fired twenty-one guns, and the crews cheered as the barges passed. On their majesties going on board the Aquilon, and getting under sail, the like salute was fired; and the bands of the different ships played martial symphonies for the greatest part of the day. The Aquilon, after sailing round the fleet, stood away towards the Needles. Owing to there being very little wind, soon after the Aquilon frigate had got to the eastward of Cowes point, she, in going about, touched the ground, by which accident they were stopped an hour or two; and, night coming on, their majesties and all the royal party took to their barges. The Aquilon, on the

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the rising of the tide, was got off without receiving damage. On Monday morning, their majesties, prince Ernest, and the princesses, went on board the *Niger* frigate, and sailed for Southampton, where they landed in the afternoon, and immediately proceeded in carriages for Windsor.

DIED. 24th. At his apartments in Westminster, Charles Pigott, esq. author of "The Jockey Club," in two parts; "The Female Jockey Club;" "Strictures upon Burke;" "Treachery no Crime;" and many other well-known publications. His remains were interred in the family vault at Chetwynd, Shropshire.

## JULY.

2d. About four o'clock in the afternoon, the earl of Waldegrave, a youth about ten years of age, was unfortunately drowned as he was bathing in the Thames, near a field called the Brocas, in the parish of Eton. His lordship was educating at Eton school, and, going out with two of his companions, the latter were induced, from the heat of the season, to bathe, but desired his lordship, as the water was deep, and he not an expert swimmer, not to venture in; lord Waldegrave, however, jumped into the river, and was never perceived to rise, as it is supposed he got entangled among the weeds. The body was not found till Monday morning, and was taken up close by the place where he sunk.

6th. There was a violent storm of thunder and lightning at Malden, in Essex, which moved in a north-east direction. The lightning, which was awfully splendid, set fire to a barn,

upon the farm called 1 near Tiptree-heath, and destroyed it.

At Hereford, the same there was a very heavy storm attended by thunder and At Goodrich, in that county the most dreadful storm experienced by the oldest inhabitant fell in such torrent accompanied with such lightning, as to occasion alarm. Three sheep, belonging to a farmer in the parish, were killed by the lightning, which split a large elm that stood near the church, and killed several birds that had taken refuge in the tree at the commencement of the storm. Considerable damage done at various other places, particularly at Shrewsbury, and throughout the county of Salop, a violent storm fell with awful violence in the neighbourhood of Lutterworth, where three horses were killed by lightning; numbers of cattle perished a similar fate.

In the neighbourhood of London there was much thunder and lightning, attended with violent storms of rain. Great damage done by the lightning, in various places; and at Albourn, in Bedfordshire, a violent storm of rain, which was very destructive, particularly to all the glass that was exposed to its direction. Stones measured five inches in diameter.

The parish church of St. Andrew, in Valence, Berks, of which the well-known writer, Mr. Staël-Holstein, was many years vicar, was destroyed by lightning.

At Northill, Bedford, a barn was shivered in a most extraordinary manner by the lightning, which fell at six and seven o'clock.

large splinters being driven a distance of nearly thirty yards from the spot. Three men standing under another tree, in the field, one of whom was slain, and appeared lifeless at the time; in the course of two or four hours he so far recovered as to be able to walk, but was unable to go about his

This afternoon, at 5 o'clock, a fire broke out at the bakehouse and shop of Mr. alderman Curtis, which was unfortunately burnt to the ground. A sugar-house, adjoining, caught fire, but, by the exertions of the firemen, a considerable part of it was preserved. A dreadful fire broke out at Radcliffe, three o'clock in the afternoon of this day, which consumed more houses than any one conflagration since the memorable fire of 1790. It began at Mr. Cloves's, a miller, at Cock-Hill, near Stepney, and was occasioned by the overturning of a pitch-kettle, that fell over his warehouse, which was burned in a very short time. Communicated to a barge, it was water, lying adjoining the warehouse, laden with saltpetre and gunpowder. This occasioned the explosion to spread widely in a short time. Several other vessels, small craft, lying near the warehouse, after taking fire, without the possibility of getting them off. The blowing up of the saltpetre in the barge, occasioned large quantities of fire to fall on the warehouses belonging to the East-India Company, whence the saltpetre was going to the Tower (20 tons of which had been fortunately taken on the preceding day). The flames soon reached the warehouses, and here the

scene became dreadful: the whole of these buildings were consumed, with all their contents, to a great amount. The wind blowing strong from the south, and the high-street of Radcliffe being narrow, both sides caught fire, which prevented the engines from being of any essential service; and, in the course of the evening, it extended itself to the premises of Mr. Joseph Hanks, timber-merchant, in London-street, where it again raged most furiously, and communicated to Butcher-row, the whole of the west, and part of the east, side of which was consumed. The fire then took its course up Brook-street, Stepney causeway, caught the premises of Mr. Shakespeare, rope-maker, and burnt through to the fields on the one side, and the whole of the dwellings on the other; forming altogether a square of great extent. What is very remarkable, the dwelling-house of Mr. Bear, an extensive building, although surrounded by the flames, was fortunately preserved, without the least injury.—Mr. Devaynes carried an account of this dreadful fire to the cabinet ministers, who were assembled at Lord Grenville's; and measures were immediately taken for giving every assistance in the power of government, for extinguishing the flames, and preserving order and tranquillity in the midst of such a dreadful calamity.—A survey has been taken by the wardens, and other officers of the hamlet, whose report was, that out of 1200 houses, of which the hamlet consisted, not more than 570 were preserved from general conflagration; and, what is more to be regretted, the greater number were the principal contributors towards the support of the poor. It having been reported that the fire was maliciously

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liciously occasioned, upon the most minute inquiry it is clearly ascertained it was intirely accidental, from the cause above mentioned. It raged with so much violence, that it was with the greatest difficulty Mr. Cloves and his servants escaped, one of whom was terribly burnt, and is now in the London hospital; and Mr. Cloves himself had, unfortunately, his arm broke, and is otherwise much hurt. That some idea may be formed of the very great loss sustained by this unfortunate event, the warehouses of Mr. Whiting contained sugars to the amount of upwards of 40,000*l.* which were intirely destroyed. The distress of the miserable inhabitants exceeded all description. In the surrounding fields were deposited the few goods, consisting chiefly of bedding, they were able to save. Stepney church was opened for their reception, and above a thousand people were obliged to remain all night in the fields watching the remnant of their property. Children crying for their lost parents, and parents lamenting the fate of their children, added to the horrors of a scene not equalled during the present century. At least 1400 people are thrown on the public benevolence. By the humanity of government, there were, on the 25th, about 150 tents pitched in an inclosed piece of ground adjoining to Stepney churchyard, for the reception of the poor sufferers, and bread was distributed from the vestry for their relief. The tents being found insufficient to contain all those who have been thus so suddenly deprived of their habitations, a number of covered waggons have been sent from the Tower, to accommodate the remainder of these distressed objects. The number of Spectators to view the ruins of the

late fire at Radcliffe-croft, encampment of the poor in whom this unusual conflagration driven to live in tents, is *wt*. A meeting of the affluent in*l* of the city was held at th house, Welcklose-square, on *l* to take into consideration, effectual means of alleviating tress, when a sum very little 1000*l.* was immediately sut the East-India company ga On the same day, the sub taken into consideration at and about 700*l.* collected. humane gentlemen, who *wt* Welcklose-square meeting, h attended at the different leading to the desolated *l* the purpose of soliciting t*l* violence of those persons v riosity led them to witness tresses of their fellow-creatu

The late subscription, so fortunate sufferers by fire dreadful conflagration, disco traits of universal charity, to Englishmen; but the *l* though of the humbler kind, to be recorded: on one S*u* lection of the visitants who to see this encampment wretched, 800*l.* was receiv*l* odd, of this sum, was col copper; and 3*l.* 14*s.* of it *l* in farthings.

18th. As some work*u* undermining a lime-pit, in ty of Staunton Harold, a lar which was forced to a gre*l* in the air, in descending, nately fell upon William young man who was pass*l* the top of the pit with a *l* hay on his arm, and kill*l* instantly.

21st. A fire happened at ton, Northamptonshire, b

dwelling-houses were destroyed, and a great number of other buildings adjoining, early the whole of the property of the inhabitants, who were assured. The loss is computed at 3000l. to 4000l.; and the number of most of the sufferers is indeed pitiable indeed.

number of ingenious French artists have found employment in Buckinghamshire, Bedfordshire, and other adjacent counties, in the manufacture of lace; and it is expected, through the means of the officers, considerable improvement will be introduced into the arts of making English lace.

On the 28th. At Paris, aged 35, the guillotine (with nearly fifty of his party, members of the Convention). Maximilian Robespierre, an emulor of Cromwell was of stature, being only five feet three inches in height. His countenance was firm, and his quick pace in the Convention announced great activity. He had a kind of contraction of the face, which he used often to fold and press his hands in each other; and the same contractions were perceived in his shoulders and neck, the effect of which he moved convulsively from side to side. In his dress he was neat and even elegant, never to have his hair in the best

His features had nothing remarkable about them, unless that general aspect was somewhat singular; his complexion was livid and sallow; his eyes dull, and sunk in their sockets. The constant blinking of the eye-lids seemed to arise from convulsive agitation; and he never without a remedy in his hand. He could soften his voice, but was naturally harsh and croaking, and could give grace to his pro-

vincial accent. It was remarked of him, that he could never look a man full in the face. He was master of the talent of declamation; and as a public speaker was not amiss at composition. In his harangues, he was extremely fond of the figure called *antithesis*; but failed, whenever he attempted irony. His diction was at times harsh, at others harmoniously modulated, frequently brilliant, but often trite, and was constantly blended with common-place digressions on virtue, crimes, and conspiracies. Even when prepared, he was but an indifferent orator. His logic was often replete with sophisms and subtleties; but he was in general sterile of ideas, with but a very limited scope of thought, as is almost always the case with those who are too much taken up with themselves. Pride formed the basis of his character; and he had a great thirst for literary, but a still greater for political, fame. He spoke with contempt of Mr. Pitt; and yet, above Mr. Pitt, he could see nobody unless himself. The reproaches of the English journalists were a high treat to his vanity: — whenever he denounced them, his accent and expression betrayed how much his self-love was flattered. It was delightful to him to hear the French armies named the “armies of Robespierre;” and he was charmed with being included in the list of tyrants. Daring, and cowardly at the same time, he threw a veil over his manœuvres, and was often imprudent in pointing out his victims. If one of the representatives made a motion which displeased him, he suddenly turned round towards him, with a menacing aspect, for some minutes. Weak and revengeful, sober and sensual, chaste by temperament, and a libertine by the



the effect of the imagination, he was fond of attracting the notice of the women, and had them imprisoned, for the sole pleasure of restoring them their liberty. He made them shed tears, to wipe them from their cheeks. In practising his delusions, it was his particular aim to act on tender and weak minds. He spared the priests, because they could forward his plans; and the superstitious and devotees, because he could convert them into instruments to favour his power. His style and expression were in a manner mystical; and, next to pride, subtlety was the most marked feature of his character. He was surrounded by those only whose conduct had been highly criminal, because he could, with one word, deliver them over to the punishment of the law. He at once protected and terrified a part of the convention. He converted crimes into errors, and errors into crimes. He dreaded even the shades of the martyrs of liberty, whose influence he weakened by substituting his own. He was so extremely suspicious and distrustful, that he could have found it in his heart to guillotine the dead themselves. To enter into a strict analysis of his character, Robespierre, born without genius, could not create circumstances, but profited by them with address. To the profound hypocrisy of Cromwell, he joined the cruelty of Sylla, without possessing any of the great military and political qualities of either of these ambitious adventurers. His pride and his ambition, far above his means, exposed him to ridicule. To observe the emphasis with which he boasted of having proclaimed the existence of the supreme being, one might have said, that, according to his opinion, God would not have

existed without him. When night of the 27th of July, 1794, he himself abandoned by his friends, he discharged a pistol in his hand, and, at the same time, a *globe* wounded him by the discharge of another. Robespierre fell in blood; and a *sans-culotte*, addressing him, very coolly pronounced words in his ear, "there is no Supreme Being." Previous to his execution, the bandage being removed off his head, his jaw fell off in consequence of the wound which had given himself.

### AUGUST.

1st. The commissioners appointed by parliament for issuing exchequer bills, for the relief of the commercial credit of the country, have made their final report on the business entrusted to them, in which the following state appears:

Amount of Exchequer bills granted under the act of parliament . . . . .	5
Lent upon different applications . . . . .	2
There were applications for above . . . . .	1
more; but they were withdrawn, and some few were refused for want of the security required.	
Profit arising from interest paid . . . . .	
Expence of executing the commission . . . . .	

Profit paid into the Exchequer

7th. The most violent rain and hail, accompanied with thunder and lightning, too

the metropolis, that has been known for many years. It commenced between three and four P. M. and was accompanied by long and livid flashes of lightning. The rain at the same time burst down from the clouds like cataracts. The oldest inhabitant of London, it is believed, never witnessed so awful an event. The thunder was so loud, that those who have faced the rage of the elements in all climes do not remember ever to have heard peals of such force. The lightning, attracted by an iron weather-cock, struck the roof of the examiner's office in Rolls-yard, Chancery-lane, and made a hole large enough for a man to creep through, shattering many tiles, bricks, &c. and just afterward a ball of fire fell near the lodge in the same yard, which killed two persons for a moment without hurting them, and, rising again, made its course through one of the windows, which was open, of the Crown-office in Chancery, and, it is apprehended, must have passed out at one of the back windows of that office, which was also open. From the clouds of smoke that immediately issued and continued for several minutes, it was feared the office was on fire; but, on opening the door, it was happily discovered to have received little or no injury. On examination it was found, that the nails and iron-work, which the lightning met with in its passage, had been melted, and partly vitrified by the intense heat. The Cock public-house, Temple-bar, received some damage; fortunately, however, it did not catch fire: the flash which hurt this house was seen to come down, in an immense body, a few yards east of Temple-bar; it wheeled about with great velocity, and struck the street with immense

force. Fortunately the heavy rain had driven every person from the street; and no coach was passing. The first effect observed was similar to that produced by an explosion of gun-powder; every particle of straw, mud, and even the water, was completely swept from the street; and the doors and windows of the houses, particularly on the north side of the street, were shaken, and some others driven open. The centre-beam at Lloyd's coffee-room suddenly cracked during the storm, and a great part of the ceiling fell down: the torrent of rain was so great that in a few minutes the floor was covered with water; no accident, however, happened in consequence. In Great Windmill-street, two balls of fire fell within ten minutes of each other, the direction of which extended towards the south, of prodigious length, but without much injury. *Gent. Mag.*

8th. A few days ago, at his majesty's suit, the cause respecting the marriage of prince Augustus Frederick and lady Augusta Murray, which had been solemnized at the parish church of St. George, Hanover-square, was finally determined in the Arches court, Doctors Commons; when Sir William Wynne delivered the judgement of the court, that the said marriage was utterly null and void; and also declared, that a former marriage, pretended to have been had at Rome, was also, by the law of this country, invalid and illegal.

By a late decree of the court of Exchequer, in a tithe cause, instituted by the rev. D. Collyer, vicar of Wroxham, against two of his parishioners, it is established, that no tithes are due for clover cut green, and given for want of other food to horses used in husbandry, and that

clover cut for hay is to be tithed by the swarth.

14th. At Maidstone assizes came on the trial of Thomas Purefoy, indicted for the wilful murder of colonel Roper, in a duel in December, 1788, since when Mr. Purefoy had chiefly been out of the kingdom. In the year 1787, major Roper was commander-in-chief at the island of St. Vincent, and Mr. Purefoy was ensign in the 66th regiment. The latter having obtained leave of absence, had a festive day, with some others of the junior officers, in which they committed such excesses as occasioned a complaint to major Roper, by whom the absence was recalled. The remonstrances of Mr. Purefoy were made in such a style as to induce major Roper to bring him to a court-martial. By their verdict he was declared to have forfeited his commission, and this verdict was afterwards confirmed by his majesty. This sentence was difficult, said the counsel, undoubtedly to be borne, as breaking in on all the pursuits of a young and ardent mind. Yet it was still the duty of Mr. Purefoy to have submitted. The witnesses were then examined, amongst whom were general Stanwix, the second to colonel Roper. The prisoner being called on for his defence, said, "that he entertained no malice against the deceased. He felt not the asperity of revenge. He was led by a call of honour, or, more properly speaking, driven by the tyranny of custom, to an act, which in early life had embittered his existence, but without which, he was taught to believe, that he should lose all the consolations which society could afford. The last challenge, he observed, had come from colonel Roper; and, as some expia-

tion for his offence, he had suffered near six years of exile and nine months of close confinement. [The latter part of his address read from a written paper. Erskine, the feelings of Mr. being such as to overpower tolerance.]

The prisoner called nine men to his character, most of whom had known him from early youth. They all spoke to the general merits of his character, and the humoured ease and aversion which marked his deportment. After a charge by the judge, Mr. baron Hotham did equal honour to his justice and sensibility, the jury, without hesitation, returned their verdict Guilty."

15th. About two o'clock, a melancholy accident happened at the common-law court, Charing-cross. Howe, a genteel young man, taken to a recruiting-office then holding at the East-India company's barracks, to be enlisted; and, upon being told that he was going to make his escape, he was tied behind his back, in that situation he was put into a cart, where he was not many minutes before he jumped from the window, and was killed upon the spot. This circumstance very naturally attracted the attention of the passengers, and presently a great number of people was collected, who, fired by curiosity, pulled down the horse-drawn detachment of the Guards which was led in, and with difficulty it was dispersed.

16th. The populace seemed inclined to attack some other public-house in the neighbourhood of Charing-cross. The foot-patrol had remained upon the spot, and a detachment of the horse

to them, who patrolled night round Charing-Martin's lane, and their the coroner's inquest re- evening, after a delibe- sight hours, was, that we, the deceased, had is death in consequence ring to escape from il- ement in a house of bad

is morning, between one fire broke out on the of Westminster-bridge, amphitheatre, which was moral blame, and totally together with several out of the Westminster-lio-house and some other ned down Stangate-street: with difficulty prevented ting to the wheel-manu- s boat-builders, and a l in the neighbourhood.

ra. Hanau, the mistress in Johnson's court, was the public-office, Queen- it as no evidence was criminate her, she was ly discharged. — John who kept a recruiting- s next house to that of was also examined re- person found sick of the a his house, who, on the lation of Mr. Reynolds, : surgeon, had been sub- moved to the work-house rtin's parish, where he next morning. He also ged.

he White-horse public- iscombe-street, Charing- erting-house, wherein ant, a mariner, had been - was saved this evening m by the intervention

22d. On this and the preceding days some riots took place in the city, in consequence of which the following hand-bill was posted up and circulated in the city this morning :

" The lord mayor fees, with inex- pressible concern, that notwithstanding all the caution which has been given, and the endeavours of the good citizens to preserve peace and good order, that the same daring attempts to overpower the civil of- ficers of this city, which were made on Wednesday night, were last night renewed in Shoe-lane. The inha- bitants of this city must be convin- ced that the authors and actors in these tumults have no other view than that of overturning and de- stroying our laws, our constitution, and the liberties which through them we enjoy, in order to introduce among us the same bloody and fe- rocious government which France now groans under.

" The lord mayor, therefore, gives notice, that, if any farther riots or tumults shall be attempted, he shall feel himself obliged to use *the most effectual means* to suppress the same, and therefore enjoins you to keep your lodgers, servants, and all others of your family within doors as soon as it is dark, as you will answer for the consequences which may arise from any breach of the peace.

" *Mansion-house, Aug. 22, 1794.*"

*Plymouth county, New England.*

This is become one of the most po- pulous districts of the United States, notwithstanding the barren and late uncultivated state of this part of the country. The inhabitants are en- lightened and virtuous: crimes appa- rently are unknown, or, at least, sel- dom if ever committed; for a capi- tal execution has not taken place there for upwards of sixty years.

A dread-

A dreadful fire took place at Boston nearly at the same time as the late shocking fire at Radcliffe, London; and, what is very remarkable, from the same cause (the boiling over a pitch-kettle), which burnt with such rapidity as to consume nearly one-fourth of the place, destroying several wharfs and stores in a few hours. The loss of property is estimated at 100,000*l.* sterling, and, it is believed, the whole is uninsured; if that is true, it will occasion the ruin of many very respectable families.

An action was tried at the last Shrewsbury assizes, before a special jury, brought by two young gentlemen of the name of Pallingham, against a Mrs. Lloyd, of Chester, to recover estates of the value of 150,000*l.*, which she had enjoyed for 20 years. The plaintiffs produced 104 witnesses in support of their claim, which was clearly established; and the jury returned a verdict in their favour.

One hundred and five snakes, in one nest, were discovered and killed in a dunghill, at Halebury, in Wilts.

Stanley, who was lately executed at Ilchester, was about three years since elected king of the Gypsies.—His wife and daughter attended at the place of execution, and were not more remarkable for the beauty of their persons than for the very costly appearance of their dress.

The Dutchess of Marlborough has just built and endowed six almshouses at Blenheim, for the residence of as many indigent females, who are to have an annuity of 10*l.* each, and linen and fuel, for life.

DIED. At Paddington, George Colman, *c'q.* patentee of the theatre-royal Haymarket. Further particu-

lars of this gentleman v in a subsequent part of t

In the Fleet prison, a imprisonment of eleven years months, in his 67th year Pope, *esq.* He was remarkable a character as Elwes, of usurious and memory. He was originer in Southwark, and largely and extensive branch, that his stock for many years supposed 60 or 70,000*l.* In the of his time in this trade he was well known to much money as to be c Pope, he took to the money, discounting, annuities, mortgages, & branch of business, it a Pope was not so successful former trade; for the n the usurer every now appears in the proceedings courts of law, when the law commonly diff from Mr. Pope in their his practices in this branch. The most remarkable instance of this sort he was cast in 10,000 for some usurious or illegal in some money transaction Alexander Leith. This raily thought a smart perhaps the well-known scouted character of the buted not a little towards Pope himself thought it five and unjust, that he all his life afterwards, complaining loudly of it, and ed a case, setting forth and great loss he suffered Mr. Pope, to be ever plaintiff, went abroad with all his effects an

in his advanced years, me, and without any fault of his wife, a most worthy and woman, might certainly have lived very comfortably. Pope abroad was removed friends and customers; and, being idle, which was considered by him as a great loss, he resolved to come home, to shew his resentment at all this oppression, sub-imprisonment rather than money. This he did most bravely, and suffered the long imprisonment of eleven years and three months. In the course of this time his affairs wore very difficulties; and at one time he had got his liberty for a pound, but he remained in prison, and sent them word, that he would be acknowledging the debt, which he would sooner than do," and he was free. Mr. Pope, in many opportunities of inebriety propensities he had been remarkable for. He always at the pint pot beer before he paid for it, and it was full; a precaution which was somewhat excusable; a pint lasted him generally, water being his common drink as to strong beer, it used to excite of admiration with his friends when he drank any at their apartments; but sending for any for him, that he never was guilty. The farthing candle he always weighed, that is, had the weight of six, eight, or ten, for his share all this time, near twelve years never had a joint of beef; his greatest luxury at plate from the cook's

shop, and that generally served him for two meals. But in these points he was not much at a loss; for his family, though living at a great distance, knowing of his penurious disposition, sent to him very frequently a very comfortable and proper supply: and on these occasions he has even been known, sometimes, to give some leaveings to his errand-girl, or else to some distressed object. To do justice to such an eccentric character as Mr. Pope, it is proper to state, that, while in trade, he had early begun the benevolent practice of giving away, every week, a stone of meat, and often more, among his workmen and poor neighbours; and this practice he never left off, not even when he was every day weighing his candle, or looking after the measure of his small beer. In money transactions Mr. Pope suffered many frauds and impositions in prison; as he had not that scope of customers in his confined state, and, always bent upon making the most of his money, was more easily imposed upon; so that he is supposed to have lost, by such means, more money than would have paid his debt and costs, large as they were.

## SEPTEMBER.

1st. As the corpse of a gentleman was proceeding to the burial-ground, it was arrested by a sheriff's officer and his followers, under the usual warrant on a writ of *capias ad satisfaciendum*. The friends, who followed, immediately left their coaches, and told the officer, if he chose, he was welcome to take the body, but he should not have coffin, shroud, or any one particle in which the body was enveloped, as those things were

were the property of the executors; and farther insisted, that, as the deceased had, by his will, bequeathed his body to them, no execution would hold good against the corpse. The bailiff, after attending to many literary and persuasive arguments, and having discussed the matter as fully as the time and place would admit of, was very properly convinced that the spirit of the law meant a living and not a dead body, and accordingly marched off without insisting farther on the legality of his capture. This, it is presumed, is the first and only instance of the kind that has happened since the arrest of the dead body of a sheriff of London, not many years since.

Among the vast number of persons liberated from the King's-bench prison, a now almost uninhabited place of confinement, under the late insolvent act, was a farmer, who had remained in custody there eleven years, for the costs of an action, in which he failed, for having killed a hare on his own grounds.

3d. *Edinburgh.* On Wednesday came on, before the court of over and terminer in this city, the trial of Mr. Robert Watt for high treason. The particulars of the charge were, that he belonged to certain committees of the Friends of the People in Scotland, called the committee of union, and the committee of ways and means, whose professed aim was, in conjunction with certain societies in England, to form, at a certain time and place not specified, a convention of persons, whose avowed aim was to usurp the powers of government, to compel the king and parliament by force to make laws, altering the mode and duration of parliament, and thereby

to subvert the constitution; with having, to effect this purpose, caused certain pikes and battle-axes to be fabricated; with having formed a design to seize the castle, the judges, &c. and with having attempted to seduce the soldiers from their allegiance, by causing a number of printed handbills, addressed to a regiment of foot, to be distributed at Dalkeith. After evidence had been adduced in support of the facts, Mr. William Luskine, counsel for the prisoner, said, that he would rest his defence on the correspondence carried on between the right hon. Henry Dundas, the lord-advocate, and the prisoner, by which it would appear, that he had attended the meetings of the Friends of the People with no other view than to give information of their proceedings. A letter from the prisoner to Mr. secretary Dundas was read, which stated, that, as he did not approve of the dangerous principles which then prevailed in Scotland, and was a friend to the constitution, he thought it his duty to communicate to him, as a good subject, what information he could procure of the proceedings of those who styled themselves Friends of the People. From an acquaintance with several of the leading men among them, he flattered himself he had this in his power; and he then went on to mention some of the names of those leading men in Perth, Dundee, and Edinburgh. It concluded with enjoining secrecy. To this letter an answer was returned, which was also read. It acknowledged the receipt of Watt's letter, and, after expressing a hope that things were not so bad as he had represented, desired him to go on, and he might depend upon his communication.

communications being kept perfectly secret. Another letter from Mr. Dundas to Mr. M'Ritchie, the prisoner's agent, was next read, in answer to one from Mr. M'Ritchie, requesting of Mr. Dundas what letters he had of the prisoner's. The answer was, that all the letters he had received from Mr. Watt had been delivered to the lord-advocate. The lord-advocate then gave an account of this business. He had conversed with the prisoner several times at his own lodgings, and he had at one time given him some information which he thought of importance; this was respecting the disaffection of some dragoons of Perth, which, upon inquiry, turned out to be ill founded. In March, 1793, an offer had been made to him to disclose some important secrets, provided he would give the prisoner one thousand pounds; this he absolutely refused; however, some time after, the prisoner having informed him that he was much pressed for money, to discharge a bill of thirty pounds, his lordship (who was then in London), not wishing he should be distressed for such a small sum, sent an order for the payment of it. All this happened previously to the meeting of the convention; since which time, at least since October last, he did not recollect seeing or having any connection with Mr. Watt.

Mr. Hamilton, counsel for the prisoner, dwelt long on the correspondence between Mr. Dundas and Mr. Watt. He said, the prisoner had not deserted the service in which he had engaged, but had not had an opportunity of exercising it, till the very time he was apprehended. He was a spy for government; and it was well known, that a spy was obliged

to assume, not only the appearance of those whose secrets he meant to reveal, but even to take part in their proceedings, in order to prevent a discovery. A spy in an army, he said, was obliged, not only to assume the uniform of the enemy, but even to appear in arms; and it would be exceedingly hard, indeed, if taken in a conflict, that he should be punished for discharging his duty.

After the lord-president had summed up the evidence, the jury retired, at half past five in the morning, and, in about five minutes, returned with a verdict—guilty.

The trial lasted nearly twenty-two hours.

Yesterday came on the trial of Mr. David Downie, on the same charge; and, nearly the same evidence being produced, he was found guilty: but the jury unanimously recommended him to mercy, on account of some favourable circumstances in his case.—And this day, the prisoners being placed at the bar, the following awful sentence was passed on them:—"Robert Watt and David Downie, you have been found guilty of high treason, by your peers; the sentence of the court is, therefore, that you be taken to the place from whence you came, from thence you shall be drawn on a sledge to the place of execution, on Wednesday, the 15th of October, there to hang by your necks until you are both dead, your bowels to be taken out and cast in your face, and each of your bodies to be cut in four quarters, to be at the disposal of his majesty; and the Lord have mercy upon your souls!"

13th. An alarming fire broke out in the new corn-mills and drying kiln, situate at Wigan, belonging to Messrs. Bevan, Chapman, and co.—The buildings (which cost 12,000l.) were



were very large and extensive, being seven stories in height, and were entirely consumed, as the fire commenced in nearly the attic story, whereby there was no possibility of saving it. Fortunately, it was a very calm morning, or the greater part of the lower end of the town must inevitably have been destroyed. The fire was not extinguished the next evening.

14th. This day (Sunday) Saffron-Walden church was robbed of about thirty prayer-books; the thief made choice of all the most valuable.

16th. A fire broke out at Wincanton, Somersetshire, which burned about eight houses in the front of the street, and some tenements behind. It is supposed to have been occasioned by a sack of lime being put against a faggot-pile.

18th. The roof of part of Battle Abbey, in Sussex, which has been used for some time as a town-hall, was by the violence of the wind and rain driven in, one part of that noble building totally destroyed, and the inhabitants of the town thrown into a dreadful consternation.

19th. About 9 o'clock this night, as the Stourbridge waggon was going from Oxford to Woodstock, it was overturned in passing King's bridge, across the Oxford canal, in the parish of Woolvercott, by which accident two men were killed on the spot, and a boy so much hurt that his life is despaired of.

28th. The chapel of the new house of correction for the county of Middlesex was opened for divine service this day with great solemnity. Mr. Mainwaring, the chairman of the sessions, and a great number of magistrates and other respectable gentlemen, attended on the occasion. Nearly seventy prisoners were pre-

sent, who were thoroughly and new clothed, and made decent appearance: and their behaviour was extremely proper. The service was performed by two reverend magistrates of the county, at the request of the prisoners. The prayers were read by the first; and a sermon, suitable to the affecting situation of the prisoners, was preached by Dr. Gill. Matthew, xxv. 26, "I was and ye came unto me." The prisoners were led, on their return, to the chapel, with a mess of broth; one only excepted for his misbehaviour within the prison, was in close confinement, on the prison allowance.

29th. A melancholy accident happened at Stradishall, in Suffolk, a chimney-sweeper's boy, John Brewster, between the fourteen years of age, stuck in the tunnel of a chimney. Though every endeavour was used to extricate him, it proved fruitless, as he was suffocated; all the means used to relieve him proved ineffectual.

The privy council was assembled for the examination of a petition which have been entered into by some significant young men, for the purpose of taking away the life of their gracious sovereign.

At the close of the session, the unfortunate men, capitally convicted at the Old Bailey, were brought to receive sentence of death. Anthony Purchan and Warbeck, for being concerned in the late crimping riots; Thomas Gott and Thomas Sturt, for being concerned in the late riots at Henry Cramer, an old man, for perverting and swindling seamen's wages; Samuel black man, for stealing six

g-house; Patrick Murphy, s; Francis Rose and James, for forgery; Thomas Borrobbery; and William Moor setting a dwelling-house

ches were received at the zone house, from that fetdated the 13th of June, the ly, and the 5th of August, ompany's ships, the Ocean Amy, which have both arPlymouth with African prot appears that the colony vancing, and the affairs of any improving in every reien a temporary interruption in to the peace and order ttlement by the turbulence al disaffected Nova Scotia who endeavoured to rescue ractory persons of their own at had been arrested for a f the peace. Both the ins, whose rescue was demandthe ringleaders in the fuctumult, have been either p and sent to England, or to quit the colony. The id been severe; no death, r, had happened among the for many months, though seere indisposed. An expediabout 450 miles circuit, had ide to the interior country, of the company's servants, whom, accompanied by anompany's servant, encouraged uccess of this adventure, was ag to set out on a journey to floo, in the hope of being penetrate through the contiAfrica. The last dispatches id about three weeks lubiee the tumult which has been sed, when the peace of the seemed to have been fully l. All the company's ships

which were expected to have reach- ed Sierra Leone had arrived.

DIED. 12th. At Warsaw, prince Michael Poniatowsky, brother to the king of Poland, archbishop of Gnesna, primate of Poland and Lithuania, sovereign of the principality of Lowitz, abbot of Czerwin, and knight of the orders of the white eagle, saint Stanislaus, and Malta; born October 12, 1736. This truly benevolent prince was in London in the year 1791, and, during his residence here, was elected a fellow of the Royal Antiquarian Societies, and assisted at several of their meetings.

At Pinner, Middlesex, Daniel Dancer, esq. a man not more remarkable for his riches, than for his having lived in a state of apparent extreme poverty. Though scarcely allowing himself the common necessities of life, he has left landed property, to the amount of 500l. a year, to dame Maria Tempest (daughter of — Holmes, esq. of Wigton, Leicestershire, and widow of sir Henry Tempest, bart. of Tong, Yorkshire), and, after her death, to her only son, sir Henry Tempest, of Stoke End, Hereford. During Dancer's last sickness, lady Tempest accidentally called upon him, and, finding him laying up to the neck in an old sack, without even a shirt, remonstrated against the impropriety of his situation; when he replied, that, having come into the world without a shirt, he was determined to go out of it in the same manner. Requesting him to have a pillow to raise his head, he ordered his old servant to bring him a truss of hay for that purpose. His house, of which captain Holmes (formerly of the royal navy) has taken possession for his sister, lady Tempest, is a most miserable building, and has not been repaired for half a century.

Though

Though poor in external appearance, it has been recently discovered to be immensely rich within; captain Holmes having, at different times, found large bowls filled with guineas and half-guineas, and parcels of bank-notes stuffed under the covers of old chairs. Mr. Dancer generally had his body girt with a hay-band, to keep together his tattered garments; and the stockings he usually wore had been so frequently darned and patched, that scarcely any of the original could be seen; but in dirty or cold weather they were thickly covered with ropes of hay, which served as substitutes for boots; his whole garb much resembling that of a miserable mendicant. Notwithstanding his extreme penury, Mr. Dancer possessed many praiseworthy qualities. He observed the most rigid integrity in every transaction, and was never averse to assist those of whom he entertained a good opinion, and whose embarrassments required a temporary aid; although, at the same time, it must be confessed, he did not lend his money without expecting the usual interest. We have not heard whether he has left any legacy to his faithful and only domestic, old Griffiths, who, however, has for many years past fared much better than his master, having been indulged with whatever he chose to eat and drink, besides a good and comfortable bed to sleep on. The latter, Mr. Dancer always deemed an unnecessary luxury.—Mr. Dancer seems to have been the principal branch of a thrifty tree, every scion of which was of a similar texture. He inherited a considerable property by the death of a sister, who exactly resembled him in temper. She seldom quitted her obscure residence,

except on being roused by the noise of hunters and their hounds, when she would sall forth, armed with a pitch-fork, in order to check the progress of the intruders on her brother's grounds; on which occasion she had very much the appearance of a mere bundle of rags.—A brother is still alive, very rich, and said to be (if possible) more penurious than the deceased.

Drowned, in crossing the Thames, at Chiswick, Benjamin Vandergucht, the famous picture-dealer and collector. He was the only son of Mr. John Vandergucht, picture-dealer, in Lower Brook-street, and was one of the first students at the Royal Academy on its institution in 1769. He was returning from Chiswick, where he was employed in cleaning and arranging the duke of Devonshire's pictures. A barge, by the carelessness of the boy who was guiding the horse in the towing-path, ran foul of the boat, which overfet. As Mr. Vandegucht could swim, it is imagined he was drowned by the clinging of a woman-passenger, who sunk with him, and had in her arms a child a few months old, which was providentially saved by the humane exertions of another of the passengers. After two hours search, his body was found and taken home. His fate is the more to be deplored, as he has left a worthy and amiable widow, and eleven children, to lament their great loss. Mr. Vandergucht was one of the first connoisseurs in painting; he had indeed more experience in the art than any of his contemporaries. He was a temperate, placid, unoffending man, and very much attached to his family.

## OCTOBER.

A curious fraud was put in at the Stock-Exchange, by Lara, a stock-jobber, who sold 500 Irish lottery tickets of cost, and gave him a draft amount on Ladbroke and said that Mr. Lara never had with them. It was soon discovered that he had sold 2,600l. of a friend, for he had left the tickets as a collateral security, and then got the notes he received from him and put into smaller ones. The affair was immediately discovered, and a party went to his house in Lambeth, where a post-chaise and coach were waiting at the door; but some short time before having arrived and spoke to concerning the business, by Mr. Da Costa's son, it was not then apprized of its fraud, he had taken an opportunity of escaping by the back of his house. One of the notes was found in the house. He was afterwards apprehended by Mr. Kennedy, belonging to the Office, Bow-street, owing to the following circumstance:—The officers, thinking that some information might be gained by going to Lara's house, in Abchurch-lane, in the fields (the mother of the fraud), set out for that purpose. They had got near the house, and saw a person whom they supposed from a description they had previously received of him, to be the frauder's brother, and took him into custody. On searching his pockets they found a letter, which, when signed with the name of John Jennings, from its confidential direction, convinced them it came from Benjamin Lara; XXXVI.

on which Miller immediately went to the Golden-Cross, Charing-cross, the place mentioned in the letter, where, on inquiring for Mr. Jennings, he was introduced to the prisoner, on whom he found bank-notes and money for the whole of the sum received for the tickets, except about 40l. which he had expended since the affair took place. Some other letters were also found on his brother; by which it appeared, that, when Lara left his house, near Kensington, he proceeded to Portsmouth, but, being disappointed in getting an immediate conveyance to the continent, returned, by cross roads, to London, and put up at the Golden-cross, from whence he sent the letter that caused his apprehension. He was taken before Mr. justice Addington, for examination, who, on learning that the offence had been committed in the city, ordered the officers to conduct him to the lord-mayor.

*Brighthelmington.* A dreadful accident happened yesterday at Hove, in consequence of the inadvertency of a boy who was attempting to blow up flies with gunpowder, at a public-house. He had formed a train, for this purpose, across the side of the room, at the end of which stood a closet containing a great quantity of powder. A spark of the former unfortunately got among the latter, and, such were the dreadful consequences of the explosion, that the boy had one of his eyes blown out, and his face most shockingly mangled. Two soldiers have likewise suffered so much by the same, that their lives are despaired of. There were several more in the apartment, who escaped unhurt. That part of the room, however, where the gunpowder stood, was entirely knocked down by the violence of the explosion.

the shock, and the house considerably damaged.

7th. *Brighton.* The tempest this evening was the most tremendous that has been known here for some years. The sea came nearly upon the Steyne, whilst the wind was so violent as to take away several parts of the adjoining houses. The most distressing event that occurred, took place about three in the morning: a ship was driven near half a league from the town; she fired signals of distress, and hoisted out the lights; the fishermen crowded to the sea-side, and, finding every relief impracticable, they soon afterwards became melancholy witnesses of the ship's sinking; and, what renders the tale more lamentable, is, that we have not since heard of a single life being saved,

A boat, with eight people on board, was upset at Sandgate, when three of the passengers were unfortunately drowned.

*Harwich.* Inured as the inhabitants of a sea-port town are to the distresses incident to tempestuous weather, yet the calamitous effects of a dreadful storm, of twenty hours duration, have been so great as to amaze even those most familiar with such unhappy scenes. The tempest commenced about eight o'clock on Sunday evening, and, by eleven o'clock on the next morning, there were thirty-five vessels wrecked within twenty miles of Harwich harbour. At one o'clock on Monday, the crew of the *Restoration*, captain Walker, a fine new ship in the Norway trade, and the people from a North Shields collier, in three boats, with the utmost peril and difficulty, made the harbour. They had been in their boats from eleven o'clock the night before, and, when they at length

happily reached the shore, were reduced, by fatigue and the inclemency of the weather, to the greatest weakness. Captain Walker reports, that in the morning of Monday he saw upwards of seventy sail of vessels making signals of distress. The wrecks of several vessels are plainly to be seen from the town, and many lives must inevitably have been lost. A boat, with four men and two women, in attempting to cross at Landguard fort, on Monday, was driven out to sea, where the unhappy people must doubtless have all perished.

18th. This evening a dreadful fire broke out in a stack of warehouses near Joiners hall, Upper Thames-street, containing cotton, coffee, indigo, and other goods, which burnt with great fury, and resisted every effort of the firemen and engines; but, as with the assistance of a number of others they succeeded in their exertions to save Mr. Bell's sugar-house, in which an immense quantity of sugars were under process, and which, being distant only a few feet, caught fire several times, its farther progress was happily stopped, after destroying only the warehouses where it began, and their valuable contents.

17th. Robert Watt, convicted of high treason, was executed at the west end of the Luckenbooths, at Edinburgh, pursuant to his sentence. About half past two o'clock, the two junior magistrates, and the reverend principal Baird, walked from the council-chamber to the Castlehill, preceded by the city constables and town officers, the city guard forming a hollow square. When they reached the Waterhouse (the limits of the burgh), they were met by the procession from the Castle, in the following order:—the two head of-

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of the shire of Edinburgh, in with batons; two county constables with batons; the sheriff-depute and sheriff-substitute, dressed in black, with white gloves, and rods; six county constables, and two, with batons; the hurraed black (drawn by a white), in which were seated the executioner dressed in black, with the sword in his hand, and the criminal facing backwards, and tied to the hurdle; six under-constables on each side of the hurdle, twelve on the one side, and twenty in the other; two hundred of the Argyle-shiremen keeping off the mob, marching the dead march from the castle to the Waterhouse. Here the executioners went back to the castle, and the procession came down escorted by the city guard, the magistrates, constables, &c. going first. Having passed the Tolbooth, the criminal, attended by the sheriff's magistrates, came out upon the scaffold, where he was assisted in his preparations by principal Baird. About three minutes before three he ascended the scaffold; but, craving some indulgence, he came down, kneeling, prayed with much fervency for a short time, when he mounted, and, having dropped the handkerchief as the signal, the arm dropped about 3 o'clock. When the body had hung about 32 minutes it was cut down, completely, and placed on a table. The executioner then came forward with a large axe, and, at two strokes, severed the head from the body. The head, having been received in a basket prepared for the purpose, afterwards, in the usual form, was put up by the executioner, who pronounced, "This is the head of a traitor!" The remains were then put into a coffin, and conveyed

away. This execution was conducted with much regularity, and the procession was solemn and impressive. Watt himself exhibited a picture of the most abject dejection. He was wrapt up in a great coat, a red night cap (which on the platform he exchanged for a white one), with a round hat, his stockings hanging loose, and his whole appearance wretched in the extreme. During the procession, his countenance was fixed, his body motionless, and he seemed altogether regardless of the multitude that surrounded him. On the scaffold he assumed a little more animation, and, after finishing his devotions, took leave of the clergyman very collectedly; and on the platform conversed with the executioner with much apparent composure. He appeared very penitent, acknowledging in general terms the justice of his sentence; but made no particular confession. It is said he has given an account of some circumstances of his life in writing. The crowd on this occasion was slow in collecting, and, though numerous at last, scarcely amounted to what has appeared on former remarkable executions. When the platform dropped, little agitation was perceptible amongst the spectators; there was evidently a becoming acquiescence in the justice of the sentence, accompanied with that silent sympathy, which even the most atrocious criminal never fails to excite. But the appearance of the axe, a sight to which they were totally unaccustomed, produced a shock instantaneous as electricity; and when it was uplifted, such a general shriek or shout of horror burst forth as made the executioner delay his blow, while numbers rushed off in all directions to avoid the sight.

20th. This morning, about half past 9, a fire broke out at a wax-chandler's, in Dean-street, Soho, which consumed the whole of the premises, and burnt very furiously backwards, towards the square, into which it made a complete opening. In the whole, four houses and the workshops of a coach-maker were totally destroyed.

25th. The judges, under the special commission, at the Old Bailey, proceeded to an arraignment of the several persons charged with high treason. On an application from the counsel for the prisoners, the time of trial was extended to Tuesday; one of the ten clear days, allowed by law, having been last week lost by the removal from the Tower to Newgate.

28th. The trial of Thomas Hardy began at 8 this morning, and continued till 12 at night; when the court adjourned. The jury were accommodated (but very inconveniently) with beds and mattresses in the Sessions-house.

29th. The court was resumed at 8 A. M. and sat till 12 at night; when, the counsel for the crown having not quite ended, the court again adjourned; and the jury were permitted to retire altogether (attended by proper officers) to the Hummums, Covent-garden.

The sum total of the subscriptions (originally begun at Lloyd's coffee-house, and promoted with great zeal in various parts, for the benefit of the sufferers in the late fire, at Radcliffe-highway, amounts to 16,000*l.* and upwards; which, the committee inform the public, will, they conceive, be sufficient to answer their benevolent views.

**DIED.** In an apoplectic fit, James Adam, esq. of Albemarle-street, architect. Before the reform of the

Board of Works, by Mr. Burke's bill. Mr. Adam held the office of architect to his majesty. The Adelphi-buildings and Portland-place are monuments of his taste and abilities in his profession. Besides his excellent treatise on agriculture, published some year ago, Mr. Adam was preparing for the press a history of architecture, which all lovers of the art have reason to lament he did not live to finish. Several numbers of the works of the two brothers have been occasionally published.

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## NOVEMBER.

5th. The interesting trial of Mr. Hardy was this day terminated. When the lord-president had concluded an excellent charge, the jury were asked whether they wished for a slight refreshment before they proceeded to their own chamber to deliberate, as they could have none after they were inclosed. This offer they respectfully declined. The jury retired at half past twelve. The judges remained on the bench till three, when they retired with the lord mayor and sheriffs to partake of some refreshment. In less than half an hour after, the jury returned into court, having been inclosed nearly three hours. When they were empaneled with the usual forms, and the judges had taken their places on the bench, the clerk of the arraigns asked—"if they were agreed in their verdict?"—foreman of the jury, "yes."—"How say ye—is Thomas Hardy guilty of the high treason charged in the indictment, or not guilty?"—Foreman of the jury, "Not Guilty."—Mr. Hardy bowed modestly to the jury, and, with a voice scarcely audible, said, "fellow-countrymen, I thank you." The

The lord president expressed his sense, and that of the bench, respecting the attention and patience of the jury in discharging the laborious task allotted to them, for which they were intitled to the utmost commendation. The prisoner was then discharged; and the court adjourned till Monday the 16th.

7th. A dreadful accident happened in the narrow part of St. John's street: a loaded waggon was overturned, which, falling on two children passing by, crushed them both to death on the foot-pavement.

16th. The judges, under the special commission, met this morning at 8; when, after a jury had been with some difficulty obtained, the trial of the rev. John Horne Tooke commenced; and continued till 9 in the evening, when the court adjourned till the next morning; and the jury, attended by proper officers, were lodged in Surgeons-hall. Mr. Tooke assisted his counsel, by pleading his own cause with much animation.

22d. The lord president having concluded his charge; the jury, after withdrawing a very few minutes, pronounced their verdict *not guilty*. Mr. Tooke was accordingly discharged; and the court adjourned to Monday, Dec. 1.

23d. *Edinburgh.* This morning, about one, a dreadful fire broke out in Mr. Bell's great brewery, in the Pleasance, which, in a very few hours, was intirely consumed, together with the valuable stock of grain and utensils therein. Upon the first alarm, the lord provost and magistrates, a great number of the Edinburgh volunteers, firemen, city guard, and two companies of the Argyshire fencibles, at present in the castle, attended, together with fire-engines, by whose exertions the fire was confined within the walls of

the buildings, and prevented from stretching to Mr. Bell's dwelling-house, and other adjacent tenements. The Edinburgh volunteers rendered essential service, by keeping off the mob, and accompanying the property that was removed to a place of safety. The flames were so great that the whole city was illuminated, as well as Arthur's seat and Salisbury-rocks; a person could have seen to have picked up a pin on the pavement, or read the smallest print in streets. Happily the premises were insured, but not nearly to the amount of the loss. Fortunately the ale-vaults were not touched, but it is not known if the liquor is soured. Bell's ale has been famous all over the world for these 30 years past, and he was always very careful to guard against fire in his premises. This, it is said, began in one of the kilns where the malt was drying.

25th. This evening, about 8, a new-built house, not quite finished, belonging to Mr. Goddall, coach-maker, in Long-acre, fell to the ground. The workmen having previously left off work for the night, no lives were lost; and the wooden fence, placed in the front of the building, prevented any misfortune happening to the people who chanced to be passing at the moment.

26th. In the court of King's Bench, the application made by Mr. Frend's counsel for a mandamus to re-admit him into the university of Cambridge was rejected. Lord Kenyon said, the university had acted according to precedent; and in this opinion the other judges agreed.

*Archangel.* The navigation here never experienced greater activity; 207 vessels have been cleared outwards, 135 of which were English, which exported planks, &c. but no ship-timber,



ship-timber, the lading of which the empress has strictly forbidden.

The prince-bishop of Passau, in Bavaria, has ordered the mode of teaching used by the ancient jesuits to be re-introduced in the schools of the circle. Several professors, adverse to this measure, have been dismissed from their offices, and banished the principality.

The papal staff, and other insignia, have lately been burnt by the populace at Antwerp. All coaches, three excepted, have been sent to France, and the horses marked with the republican signature; and so great has been the want of provisions, that three persons, unable to bear their sufferings any longer, killed each other by mutual consent. Bread is only to be procured in the inns, and at Bois-le-Duc a pound of butter costs forty stivers.

The accounts received by the American packet are replete with the most distressing intelligence of the renewed havoc of the yellow fever at Philadelphia. — At the house of Mr. Clifford, in Water-street, several persons had died in consequence of it, and in the two adjoining streets the mortality had been alarming. At Baltimore and Newhaven, in Connecticut, it had been fatal to great numbers. It is some consolation to hear, that it is not so contagious as the fever that raged on that continent last year; and the coolness of the weather, it was hoped, would check its ravages.

The legislature of Pennsylvania, with a view to soften the rigour of penal law, have passed an act, declaring that no crime, except murder of the first degree, shall be punished with death. Murder in the first degree is defined to be killing by means of poison, by lying in wait, or with other kind of wilful, delibe-

rate, premeditated intention, or which shall be committed in the perpetration or attempt to perpetrate any arson, rape, robbery, or burglary. All other kinds of killing shall be deemed murder in the second degree. The kind of murder to be ascertained by a jury. Persons liable to be prosecuted for high treason shall be proceeded against and punished as in other cases of murder. High treason is punished with confinement in the prison and the penitentiary house, not less than six nor more than twelve years; not less than ten nor more than twenty-one years; murder of the second degree not less than five nor more than eighteen years; forgery not less than four nor more than fifteen years, with payment of a fine not to exceed 1000 dollars; manslaughter not less than two nor more than ten years, and giving security for good behaviour during life; maiming not less than two nor more than ten years, with a fine not exceeding 1000 dollars. Persons being charged with involuntary manslaughter, the attorney-general, with leave of the court, may waive the felony, and proceed against them as for a misdemeanor, and give in evidence any act of manslaughter; or the attorney may charge both offences in the same indictment, and the jury may acquit the person of one or both. The benefit of clergy is for ever abolished.

DEED. At Bengal, sir William Jones, one of the judges of the supreme court there. His death is a great loss to the republic of letters, for he had made profound researches into the literature of the East, and with great success. He was himself a very good poet; and to his translations we are indebted for many beautiful effusions of the Persian muse. Sir William, however, amidst  
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shment to the mules, did not disregard the god of riches, supposed to have left a very ample fortune to his family, contrary to the usual turn of he was severely economi-

At his prebendal house in Ely, at the advanced age of eighty-six, the rev. James M. A. F. A. S. prebendary of that cathedral, and rector of Rickhill, in the county of Bucks; well known in the learned world as the author of "The Antiquities of the Cathedral Church of Ely," and universally respected in the society of that place, where he long resided, for his piety and simplicity of his manners, and his unwearied endeavours to promote the interest and welfare of his city and diocese, through the course of his life.

Rome, after a long illness, of nearly nine years and five months, died on the 10th of Bernis. He was one of the most remarkable men in the reign of Louis XV. whether as a man of letters, a poet, or a statesman. He has left 300,000 livres in effects, money, jewels, particularly 80,000 crowns in all which he has, by will, put in the hands of the chevalier de Bernis, the Spanish minister, to whom he has recommended his family in the order in which they be entitled as heirs.

## DECEMBER.

The judges under the special commission met at the Old Bailey, John Augustus Bonney, Jere-

miah Joyce, Steward Kyd, and Thomas Holcroft, were brought to the bar; and the jury being sworn in, and the prisoners, arraigned in due form, the attorney-general said, "that when he, on the last trials, had the honour to stand there in the discharge of his official duty, he had addressed the jury on those occasions in order to state the grounds of the prosecution, and that the juries on those trials had found a verdict of Not Guilty. It then became his duty to consider what was proper for him to do in respect to the public and the prisoners at the bar. The result of the consideration was that as the evidence adduced on those trials, and that which applied to the prisoners, were the same, and as, after the best consideration, the persons had been acquitted, he would submit to the jury and the court, whether the prisoners should not be acquitted, and for that purpose would not trouble them by going into evidence." The lord chief-justice then said to the jury — "Gentlemen, as there is no evidence, you must of course find the prisoners not guilty." The jury then pronounced a verdict of "Not Guilty;" and, by direction of the court, the prisoners were discharged.

The mails from Scotland, Yorkshire, the whole of the North, Lincolnshire, Cambridgeshire, &c. were nearly lost on Cheshunt Wash this morning about four o'clock; they were obliged to return to Hoddeston to get a chaise, and cross the country to Hatfield, and by Barnet. They arrived at the General Post-office about nine o'clock, which is about four hours after their usual time. The exertions of the guards on this occasion are very commendable.

5th. This day the trial of Mr. Thelwall, before the high-commission court in the Old Bailey, was ended; and the jury, after retiring for three quarters of an hour, gave in their verdict "Not Guilty."

The event of the late important trials, it is hoped, will have the good effect of conciliating the mind of every Briton to a constitution, in which the laws are with such purity administered. And to the inhabitants of the metropolis, in particular, it must have been highly gratifying to behold the pre-eminent dignity and splendour of the city of London; her magistrates assessor with the greatest number of judges perhaps ever in one commission, in a matter the most critical and important to the very existence of religion and law, to government, liberty, and property.

6th. Lord Abingdon was this day convicted of a libel on Mr. Sermon, a respectable attorney of Gray's inn, being a parliamentary speech of the noble lord, conveyed by him to the public through the channel of a public newspaper.

7th. A fire broke out at the Crown and Shuttle public-house, Shoreditch; owing, it was supposed, to the carelessness of a man who went to bed drunk. The fire raged with great violence for some time, but was happily got under by the assistance of the engines. The man perished in the flames; and, what is most surprising, a woman and boy, supposed to be his wife and son, left him in bed with an infant, by whose cries the fire was discovered.

10th. At Gnnby, county of Lincoln, was shot, by Edmund Frost, jun. game-keeper to sir Peter Burrell, bart. an eagle, whose wings, when extended, measured nine feet, and from

the beak to the end of the feet four inches, and the very thick and long.

A statement has lately concerning the house of Shrewsbury, for the last by which the gentlemen perintend this excellent prove, that the reduction pence of maintaining th that place, in that per wards of 16,000l. beside of 2475l. now in hand i the house. Before this of management was ad ppoors rates of the united Shrewsbury amounted to annum. On its establi were immediately reduce at which sum they have ever since. But another arisen, of infinitely grea ance than the pecuniar which is the wise plan a improving the morals of by training up the childr of cleanliness, industry. The best families are no to obtain servants from th industry; and as soon dren grow up fit for p find a preference to any vants that are to be hired.

13th. Early this mor broke out at Cefn, the r Roger Kenyon, esq. whic so rapidly through the in of the house, that the f were all in bed, had so to escape the dreadful r flames. The alarm beir great number of person lected, by whose exerti by the Wrexham engin was prevented from con to any of the adjacent which in all probability been demolished. The i

house suffered considerably, and a great part of the furniture is destroyed; fortunately no lives were lost, nor have we heard of any one being materially hurt. The fire was pretty well got under by day-break.

15th. The court under the special commission was this morning again opened at the Old Bailey, at nine o'clock; a jury was impanelled *pro forma*, when Richter and Easter were put to the bar, and acquitted; no evidence against them being produced on the part of the crown. The court then adjourned to the 26th.

17th. The merchants trading to North America gave a splendid entertainment to Mr. Jay, envoy extraordinary from the United States, at Freeman's tavern. The company was numerous and respectable: the lord chancellor, Mr. Pitt, the duke of Portland, lord Grenville, Mr. Dundas, Mr. Pinkney, Mr. Hope of Amsterdam, &c. &c. Mr. Samson, chairman of the committee, president. The toasts were received with loud acclamation. Among others, "the King and Constitution;" "Prince of Wales;" "Queen and Royal Family;" "President of the United States;" "May the Treaty of Amity, Commerce, and Navigation between Great Britain and the United States of America be the Basis of permanent Friendship between the two Countries!" "May Britons and Americans never forget that they are of one Family!" And Mr. Jay having given "An honourable Peace to the Belligerent Powers of Europe;" the following was given in return: "May the united exertions of England and America induce the Indian Nations to bury the Hatchet for ever!" Many excellent songs were sung; and every

person seemed to feel high satisfaction from the consideration that so friendly a meeting should have taken place at so short a period from the time when apprehensions were entertained that the two countries would be involved in all the horrors of war.

20th. About six o'clock a fire broke out in Buckingham-street, York-buildings, near the Adelphi, by which two large houses were totally consumed and burnt to the shell in about three hours, notwithstanding every exertion on the part of the firemen. The fire broke out in the house of Mr. Sanders, a tailor, and was occasioned by the snuffings of the tailors' candles having caught among the shreds of cloth in the second floor, and continuing to spread unperceived during the whole of the night. The flames communicated so rapidly, that it was impossible to save any of the furniture; but, happily, no lives were lost.

26th. Mr. justice Lawrence was the only judge who this day appeared on the bench under the special commission. The court opened a few minutes after nine o'clock, and then adjourned to Wednesday, Jan. 14, the day on which the usual goal delivery is to commence. James Martin, the attorney, whose trial was expected to take place, was not liberated, as being detained also on an attachment for contempt of the court of King's Bench, issued against him on the motion of Mr. Bearcroft previously to the prosecution for high treason.

31st. A little before twelve o'clock, two store-houses at the powder-mills belonging to Messrs. Pigou and Andrews, at Dartford, in which were about 2600 pounds of gun-powder, blew

blew up, by which unhappy accident eleven men employed in the same unfortunately lost their lives. Several have left wives and families to deplore their unhappy loss. The explosion was so great, that it shook most of the buildings in the town, and the concussion was sensibly felt at the distance of more than fifteen miles round; and the horrible scene on the spot was shocking beyond description, as the adjoining fields were covered with fragments of the building, consisting of large beams of timber shivered into thousands of splinters, sprinkled with blood, and interspersed with the mangled limbs of the unfortunate sufferers, many of which have been gathered up for interment, but not one of their heads have yet been found. Fragments of nine bodies were collected, and interred in five coffins in the upper burial-ground at Dartford, on Saturday evening, and a trunk of another body was since found at a greater distance from the mill than could have been expected, as also part of a foot suspended on a tree. The explosion of this corn-mill was felt at the parsonage house at Wilmington, where it cracked a pane of glass, and at Mr. Tasker's, near the church, drove in three. The concussion was the greater from the cakes being under the press, and but a short time before upwards of 45 barrels of powder had been removed. How the accident happened is at present, and probably ever will remain, unknown. The explosion took place a few minutes before twelve o'clock, when providentially the overseer and two boys had just left the works, and one of them was ringing the bell for dinner, or they could not have escaped the untimely fate of their companions.

Mrs. Wilkes, the wife of the manager, standing at her own door, about 200 yards distance, was knocked down, but happily not materially hurt. Only six men were blown up in the explosion of October, 1790; the body of but one could be ascertained.

#### BIRTHS for the Year 1794.

- Jan. 4. Lady of James Bland Burgels, esq. under-secretary of state, a daughter.  
 Mar. 3. Lady of sir John Dryden, bart. a son.  
 9. Countess of Beverley, a son.  
 10. Her Catholic Majesty, a prince.  
 14. Lady Arden, a son.  
 May 10. Lady Bruce, two daughters.  
 24. Lady Susan Thorpe, a son and heir.  
 June 8. Empress of Germany, an arch-duchess.  
 17. Lady of sir John Sinclair, a son.  
 July 3. Lady Deerhurst, a daughter.  
 22. Countess Camden, a daughter.  
 27. Lady Strathaven, a son.  
 Aug. 25. Viscountess Mount Stuart, a son.  
 Lady of sir Alex. Grant, bart. a daughter.  
 Sept. 20. Lady of sir John Dooley, bart. a son.  
 Oct. 5. Lady Cosby, a daughter.  
 8. Lady of sir Alex. Munro a daughter.  
 10. Countess of Northesk, a daughter.  
 15. Countess of Hardwicke, a daughter.  
 24. Lady Napier, a son.  
 26. Lady Clifden, a daughter.

Lady

- Lady of fir James Tylney Long, bart. a son and heir.**  
**Nov. 3.** **Lady Helen Hall, a daughter.**  
**8.** **Lady Calthorp, a daughter.**  
**26.** **Lady of fir Wm. Manners, a son.**  
**Dec. 10.** **Marchionefs of Blandford, a daughter.**  
**21.** **Lady of fir Thomas Whichcote, a son.**  
**Aug. 8.** **Sir Archibald Grant, bart. to mifs Macleod.**  
**28.** **Earl of Ilchefter, to mifs Maria Digby.**  
**Sept. 8.** **Lord Say and Sele, to the hon. mifs Eardley.**  
**23.** **Captain Williams, of the foot-guards, to the countefs of Barrymore.**  
**Oct. 13.** **Captain Gill, of the life guards, to lady Harriet Fleming.**

## MARRIAGES, 1794.

- Jan. 6.** **Sir John Ord, to mifs Frere.**  
**13.** **Lady Betty Delme, to Geo. Garnier, efq.**  
**Mar. 3.** **Edward, earl of Oxford and Mortimer, to mifs Scott.**  
**11.** **Duke of Athol, to lady Macleod, relict of lord Macleod.**  
**Lord Baltimore, to mifs Caldwell.**  
**29.** **Sir Charles Style, bart. to mifs Whatman.**  
**April 24.** **Viscount Weymouth, to hon. mifs Byng.**  
**28.** **Viscount Belgrave, to hon. mifs Egerton.**  
**May 27.** **Hon. Mr. Bingham, to lady Elizabeth Bellafyfe, the divorced wife of Mr. Howard.**  
**June 9.** **Hon. Mr. Stewart, to lady Amelia Hobart.**  
**July 5.** **Viscount Conyngham, to mifs Denison.**  
**23.** **Sir James Murray, bart. M. P. to the right hon. Henrietta Laura, baronefs Bath, only daughter of Wm. Pultney, efq. M. P. Sir James has taken the name and arms of Pultney.**  
**Lieut. Nicholas Tomlinfon, of the royal navy, to mifs Eliz. Ward, fecond daughter of Ralph Ward, efq. of Wimpole-ftreet.**  
**20.** **Lord Dynevor, to the hon. Harriot Townfhend.**  
**Nov. 1.** **Sir Montagu Burgoyne, bart. to mifs Burton.**  
**Sir Archibald Dunbar, bart. to mifs Cumming.**  
**29.** **Earl of Mornington, to madame Roan.**  
**Dec. 26.** **John, lord Sheffield, to the hon. mifs Lucy Pelham.**  
**Lord Gormanftown, to the hon. mifs Southwell.**

## PROMOTIONS for the Year 1794.

- Jan. 1.** **Viscount Mountgarret to be earl of Kilkenny in Ireland.**  
**Viscount Valentia to be earl Mountmorris of Ireland.**  
**Viscount Defart to be earl of Defart in Ireland.**  
**Viscountefs dowager Wicklow to be countefs of Wicklow in Ireland.**  
**Viscount Clonmell to be earl of Clonmell in Ireland.**  
**Lord Cafflefwart to be viscount Cafflefwart in Ireland.**  
**Lord Leitrim to be viscount Leitrim in Ireland.**

Lord

Lord Landaff to be viscount Landaff in Ireland.

Lord de Montalt to be viscount Hawarden in Ireland.

Lord Fitzgibbon to be viscount Fitzgibbon in Ireland.

11. Sir John Dick and J. M. Leake, esq. to be comptrollers of the army accounts.

25. Richard Byron, esq. to be gentleman usher of the privy chamber.

Edmund Armstrong, esq. to be groom of the privy chamber.

Hon. William Frederic Wyndham to be envoy extraordinary to the court of Florence.

William Jackson, esq. to be commissioner of excise.

26. George, earl of Pembroke, to be lord-licutenant of Wilts.

30. Major-general Goldsworthy to be colonel of the 1st regiment of dragoon guards.

General sir William Augustus Pitt, K. B. to be governor of Portsmouth.

Feb. 6. Dr. Spencer Madan, bishop of Bristol, to be bishop of Peterborough.

Dr. Charles Manners Sutton, bishop of Norwich, to be dean of Windfor.

8. Dr. James Cornwallis, bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, to be dean of Durham.

John Hunter, esq. to be captain-general and governor of New South Wales.

Lieutenant-colonel his royal highness prince William to be a colonel in the army.

March 1. John Atkinson, esq. to be Somerset herald.

5. Viscount Macartney to be earl of Macartney in Ireland.

Viscount Loftus to be earl of Ely in Ireland.

12. Soulden Lawrence, esq. to be a justice of the Common Pleas, and knighted.

15. George Naylor, esq. to be York herald.

Lord St. Helens to be ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the States-general of the United Provinces.

Sir Morton Eden, K. B. to be ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to his Catholic Majesty.

April 8. Rev. Reginald Courtenay, L. L. D. to be bishop of Bristol.

30. Duke of Newcastle to be lord-licutenant of Nottinghamshire.

May 2. Colonel his royal highness prince William of Gloucester to be colonel of infantry.

12. Earl of Euston to be ranger and keeper of St. James and Hyde Park.

23. Henry Hamilton, esq. to be governor of Dominica.

27. Joseph Smith, esq. to be agent and paymaster to the out pensioners of Chelsea hospital.

29. Duke of Buccleugh to be knight of the garter.

Hon. rear admiral sir Keith Elphinston, and captain sir John Borlase Warren, bart. to be knights of the bath.

Earl Poulett to be knight of the thistle.

June 23. Captain Henry Wilson, of the first regiment of life guards, knighted.

27. Earl of Carhampton to be lieutenant-general of the staff of Ireland.

28. Dr. William Bennett, bishop of Cork and Ross, to be bishop of Cloyne.

Hon. and rev. Thomas Stopford, dean of Fernes to be bishop of Cork and Ross.

July 4. Herbert Sawyer, esq. sir Richard King, bart. Jonathan Faulkner, esq. and Philip Affleck, esq. vice-

vice-admirals of the white, to be vice-admirals of the red.

Thomas Fitzherbert, Samuel Cornish, John Britbanc, Charles Wolfeley, Samuel Cranston Goodhall, esqrs. Hon. Keith Stewart, and the duke of Clarence to be vice-admirals of the blue.

Richard Onslow, and Robert Kingmill, esqrs. rear-admirals of the red to be vice-admirals of the white.

Sir George Collier, knt. George Bowyer, esq. sir Hyde Parker, knt. Rowland Cotton, and Benjamin Caldwell, esqrs. hon. William Cornwallis, William Allen, John Macbride, and George Vandeput, esqrs. rear-admirals of the red to be vice-admirals of the blue.

Charles Buckner, John Gell, William Dickson, and Allan Gardner, esqrs. rear-admirals of the white to be vice-admirals of the blue.

John Lewis Gidom, George Gayton, George Murray, and Robert Linzee, esqrs. sir James Wallace, knt. William Peere Williams, and Thomas Pasley, esqrs. rear-admirals of the white to be rear-admirals of the red.

John Symons, esq. and sir Thomas Rich, bart. rear-admirals of the blue to be rear-admirals of the red.

Charles Thompson, James Cumming, John Ford, John Colpovs, Skeffington Lutwidge, Archibald Dickson, George Montagu, and Thomas Dumaresq, esqrs. and hon. sir George Keith Elphinstone, K. B. rear-admirals of the blue, to be rear-admirals of the white.

Captains James Pigott, hon. William Waldegrave, Thomas Mackenzie, Thomas Pringle, hon. William Clement Finch, sir Roger Curtis, knt. Henry Harvey, Robert Man,

and William Parker to be rear-admirals of the blue.

William Young, and James Gambier, esqrs. and lord Hugh Seymour, to be colonels of his majesty's marine forces.

11. William earl Fitzwilliam to be lord president of the council.

Duke of Portland to be one of his majesty's principal secretaries of state.

Right hon. William Windham, to be secretary at war.

Duke of Gordon, to be keeper of the seal appointed by the treaty of Union to be made use of in Scotland.

Earl Spencer to be keeper of the privy-seal.

Evan Nepean, Stephen Cotterell, and James Bland Burges, esqrs. appointed commissioners for the custody of the privy seal in the absence of earl Spencer, gone on an embassy to the court of Vienna.

His royal highness prince William of Gloucester, and his grace the duke of Portland, elected knights of the garter.

19. Charles Saxton, esq. of Cirkow, Berks, created a baronet.

Gen. George, marquis Townshend, appointed governor of Hull.

Gen. sir Henry Clinton, K. B. appointed governor of Gibraltar.

Right hon. William Windham to be a privy councillor.

26. Henry Strachey, esq. to be master of his majesty's household.

August 6. Marquis of Titchfield to be lord-lieutenant of Middlesex.

12. John, earl of Upper Ossory, of the kingdom of Ireland, to be baron Upper Ossory, of Amptball, co. Bedford.

Edmund, lord Clive, of the kingdom of Ireland, to be baron Clive, of Walcot, co. Salop.

Henry



Henry lord Mulgrave, of the kingdom of Ireland, to be baron Mulgrave, of Mulgrave, co. York.

William Henry Lyttelton, lord Westcote, of the kingdom of Ireland, to be lord Lyttelton, baron of Frankley, co. Worcester.

Right hon. Welbore Ellis to be baron Mendip, of Mendip, co. Somerset; with remainders severally and successively to Henry Welbore Agar, viscount Clifden, of the kingdom of Ireland, hon. and rev. John Ellis Agar, second son, and hon. Charles Bagnal Agar, third son, of James late viscount Clifden, deceased; Welbore Ellis Agar, esq. one of the commissioners of his majesty's customs; and Dr. Charles Agar, archbishop of Cashel, and their respective heirs male.

Sir Henry Bridgeman, bart. to be baron Bradford, of Bradford, co. Salop.

Sir James Peachey, bart. to be baron Selfey, of Selfey, co. Suffex.

Sir Thomas Dundas, bart. to be baron Dundas, of Aike, co. York.

Asheton Curzon, esq. of Pennhouse, co. Buckingham, to be baron Curzon, of Penn, in the said county.

Charles Anderson Pelham, esq. of Brocklesby, co. Lincoln, to be baron Yarborough, of Yarborough, in the said county.

Major-general Charles Leigh to be captain-general and governor in chief over the islands of Nevis, St. Christopher, Montserrat, Antigua, Barbuda, and Anquilla.

James Cranfield, esq. to be governor and commander in chief over the Bermudas or Summer Islands.

16. Vice-admirals George Bowyer, vice-admiral Alan Gardner, rear-admiral Thomas Pasley, and rear-admiral sir Roger Curtis, knt. to be baronets.

Sept. 8. Earl of Chesterfield, and earl of Leicester, to be postmasters-general.

Major-general Lake, to be governor of Limerick.

26. William Lindsay, esq. to be governor of Jamaica.

Oct. 4. Colonels Edmund Fanning; Francis R. Humphreys, of the late 79th foot; John Hughes, Horatio Spry, William Souter, and Harry Innes, of the marines; William Fawcett, inspector-general of recruits in Ireland; Robert Donkin, of the late garrison battalion; James Balfour, of the 77th foot; James Francis Perkins, of the marines; Norman Macleod, of the 73d foot; Alexander Campbell, of the late 95th foot; Francis D'Oylv, of the 1st foot-guards; William Crosbie, of the 89th foot; sir James Duff, knt. of the 1st foot-guards; Henry lord Mulgrave, of the 31st foot; Grace Blackeney, of the 14th dragoons; Paulus Æ. Irving, of the 47th foot; John Small, lieutenant-governor of Guernsey; George Harris, of the 76th foot; Richard Vyse, of the 1st dragoon guards; William lord Cathcart, of the 29th foot; Maurice Wemyss, of the marines; Robert Mañon Lewis, captain of Carisbrooke-castle; Banastre Tarleton, of the late American dragoons; sir Hew Dalrymple, knt. of the 1st foot-guards; Gordon Forbes, of the 105th foot; Andrew Gordon, of the 26th foot; John Floyd, of the 19th dragoons; Oliver de Lancey, barrack master-general; John Graves Simcoe, of the queen's rangers; Robert Johnstone, of the 3d foot-guards; and James Henry Craig, of the 16th foot, to be major-generals.

23. Captains Charles Holmes, Everitt Calmady, John Bourmafter, sir

for George Young, knt. John Henry, and Richard Rodney Bligh, to be rear-admirals of the blue.

24. Major-general Adam Williamson, to be a knight of the bath.

Earl of Balcarras, to be lieutenant-governor of Jamaica.

Nov. 12. Sir Morton Eden, K. B. to be a privy counsellor.

14. Admiral Thomas Graves, to be lord Graves, of Ireland.

Admiral for Alexander Hood, K. B. to be lord Bridport, of Ireland.

18. Major-general Adam Williamson to be governor of that part of St. Domingo which belongs to his majesty.

25. Sir Morton Eden, K. B. to be envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to the court of Vienna.

28. Sir James Sanderfon, knt. of London; Charles Willoughby, esq. of Baldon House, Oxfordshire; and George William Prescott, esq. of Theobald's Park, Herts, to be baronets.

Dec. 10. William, earl Fitzwilliam to be lord lieutenant of Ireland.

Major-general Charles Leigh to be governor of the Leeward Caribbee Islands.

17. David, earl of Mansfield to be lord president of the council.

John, earl of Chatham to be lord privy seal.

George, viscount Milton to be a privy counsellor.

20. George John, earl Spencer, Samuel lord Hood, sir Alan Gardner, knt. Charles Small Pybus, esq. vice-admiral Philip Affleck, and vice-admiral sir Charles Middleton, bart. to be lords of the admiralty.

DEATHS, 1794.

Jan. 1. At Edinburgh, Mr. Robert Alves, author of several ingenious poems, &c.

Dr. Russell, author of the history of Modern and Ancient Europe.

10. Sir Clifton Wintringham, bart. M. D. F. R. S. at the advanced age of 90 years.

The right hon. Hugh Hume Campbell, earl of Marchmont, in his 87th year.

Caroline, baroness of Greenwich, daughter of the duke of Argyle, widow of Charles Townsend, chancellor of the exchequer, who died in 1767, and of the earl of Dalkeith.

25. Sir Charles Hotham, bart. a general of his majesty's forces, and knight of the bath.

Sir Edward Boughton, bart. of Torton-court, Herefordshire.

26. Of a complaint in her stomach, at Rycote, in Oxfordshire, Charlotte, countess of Abingdon, daughter of the late admiral sir Peter Warren. She was married 7th July, 1768, and has left several children.

Lady Elizabeth King, eldest daughter of the earl of Erne.

27. The right hon. Henry Herbert, earl of Pembroke, lord lieutenant of the county of Wilts, governor of Portsmouth, high-steward of Salisbury, a general in the army, and colonel of the first regiment of dragoons. He married 13th March, 1756, lady Elizabeth Spencer, daughter of the late duke of Marlborough.

Benjamin Bond Hopkins, esq. of Painthill, in Surrey, member of parliament for Maidbury.

At Lambeth palace, lady Eden, relict of Sir John Eden, and mother to lord Auckland, Sir John Eden, and Mrs. Moore.

51. Marriott,

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31. Marriott Arbuthnot, esq. admiral of the blue, in his 83d year.

Feb. 5. Hon. captain Seymour Finch.

3. Francis Burdett, esq. only son of Robert Burdett, bart.

18. Sir John Fenn, knt.

22. Henry, duke of Newcastle.

Sir Francis Drake, bart.

At Woolwich, in his 96th year, Dr. Irwin, surgeon general to the ordnance.

At St. Martin's, Stamford Baron, aged 84, the rev. Michael Tyson, dean of Stamford, archdeacon of Huntingdon, rector of Gretford in Lincolnshire, and of Wittering, in Northamptonshire.

Mr. Richard Bott, Lower Thames-street.

23. Sir John Sebright, of Beachwood Heris, a general in the army, and colonel of the 18th regiment of foot.

Charles Ambler, esq. attorney general to the queen. He published a volume of reports.

26. The right hon. countess of Digby.

March 1. At Eardley-house, the right hon. Maria, wife of lord Eardley.

Mr. Rowland Lickbarrow, of the Inner Temple, attorney at law:

5. Sir Henry Gould, knt. aged 84, one of his majesty's justices of the court of Common Pleas.

Lady Jane Buller, in her 75th year, daughter of the late earl Bathurst, and mother of judge Buller.

12. At Bath, lady Charlotte Madan, wife of the bishop of Peterborough, and sister of the marquis Cornwallis.

19. At Lisbon, the hon. Henry Fitzroy.

Sir William Johnston, bart. of Caskieb.

G. A. Sinclair, M. D. at the Medical Grammar, Blinsoffer, &c. He died suddenly at a bookseller's shop at Birmin-

Sir James Nugent, bart.

more, Westmeath, in Ireland.

21. At Durham, general

ton.

25. The right hon. H. Langford Rowley, knight shire for the county of Ireland.

April. The dowager lady non.

At Aston Hall, near Birmin lady Holt, relict of sir Holt.

12. At Camberwell, the Mr. Flockton, possessed of He had been an attendant: tholomew and other fairs near century.

At Sydenham, Devonshire 94th year, Arthur Tremain He served the office of shir 1739.

13. Lady Grose, wife of justice Grose.

14. At Little Chelsea, 100th year of his age, Mr. dalloe, a native of North Wa-

17. John Stephenson, esq. ber of parliament for Tregony

18. Charles Pratt, earl of president of the council.

In the Mediterranean, sir Collins, knt. captain of his ship the Berwick.

19. Mr. James Nelson, a carv, in Red Lion-street, He author of "An Essay on the vernment of Children, under general Heads, viz. health, ners, and education," 8vo. and "The Affectionate Father sentimental comedy; together Essays on various subjects, 1788. He was 84 years old three days.

At Bath, aged 34, Marie Josephine Charlotte de Morand, countess of Gonidee, in Brittany.

23. The right hon. countess of Guildford.

Lately, at the castle of Tralee, in Ireland, Sir Barry Denny, bart. knight of the shire for the county of Kerry, and major of the Kerry militia.

30. At Great Yarmouth, lady Caroline Home, sister of the present earl of Home.

At York House in the Strand, Pierce Sinnott, esq. formerly lieutenant governor of Niagara, in North America.

Sir Thomas Hay, bart. of Park, in Scotland.

May 2. At Haveningham in Suffolk, sir Thomas Allin, bart. of Somerley-Hall.

3. In his road to London, lord George Cavendish, uncle to the duke of Devonshire, and member for Derbyshire.

Sir John Guise, bart. at Highham, in Gloucestershire.

6. Nathaniel Smith, esq. one of the directors of the East-India company, and member for Rochester. He was author of several valuable tracts on East-India affairs, particularly the following: 1. "Observations on the present State of the East-India company, and on the Measures to be pursued for the insuring the Permanency and augmenting its Commerce." 8vo. 1771. 2. "The Measures to be pursued in India for insuring the Permanency and augmentation of the Commerce of the Company farther considered; with the Heads for carrying those Measures into Execution." 8vo. 1772. 3. "General Remarks on the System of Government in India;

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with farther Considerations on the present State of the Company at Home and Abroad." 8vo. 1773.

Lady Crawford, in Clarges-street.

7. At lord Rodney's, Hanover-square, David Murray, esq. brother to lord Elibank, and member of parliament for New Radnor.

28. John Martin, esq. of Hamcourt, in Overbury, Worcestershire, many years M. P. for Tewkesbury.

At Gibraltar, sir Robert Boyd, K. B. governor-general of that fortress, and colonel of the 39th regiment of foot. It is reported, much to his honour, that this brave soldier, by merit only, raised himself from a private in the ranks.

At his house, in Duke-street, Dublin, sir William Mayne, lord Newhaven, a younger son of William Mayne, esq. of Powis Lodge, Clackmananshire, descended of the ancient house of Mayne, of Lockwood, in Clydesdale. He was early bred a merchant in the family-house of business at Lisbon, where it has subsisted above one hundred years. He retired from Portugal, 1757, and, 1758, married Frances Allen, fifth daughter and co-heiress of Joshua, viscount Allen, of the kingdom of Ireland, by whom he had one son, who died soon after his birth, and in right of her he enjoyed considerable possessions in that kingdom. In April, 1763, he was advanced to the dignity of a baronet of Great Britain; in March, 1766, created a privy-counsellor of Ireland. In the first centennial parliament there, as before, at the accession of his present majesty, he represented the borough of Carysfort. In 1764, he was returned representative for Canterbury, and afterwards in 1774, for Gatton, where his estate, with the bo-

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rough,

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rough, was sold to Mr. Ladbrooke, in 1789, for 80,000*l.* as was his seat at Arno's Vale, Southgate, to Isaac Walker, esq. some years before. He was created baron Newhaven of Carrickmayne, July 18, 1776.

At Monastereven, near Edenderry, in his 118th year, a man of the name of Connolly, who perfectly remembered the landing of king James and the prince of Orange, the sieges of Derry and Limerick, the battles of the Boyne and Aughrim, and every other memorable occurrence of those times.

At Knightsbridge, lady Browne, relict of the late sir James Browne. Her son, sir William, in the guards, and nephew of general Browne, having long been insane, and living in the house with her, in the absence of his keeper took up a coal-scuttle and dashed his mother's brains out.

At her house, in Dover-street, Piccadilly, Alicia Maria, countess-dowager Egremont, only daughter of George, lord Carpenter, and sister to George, earl of Tyrconnel. She was born in 1729; married, March 12, 1750-1, to Charles, late earl of Egremont, who died in 1763, by whom she had four sons and three daughters. She was, at the establishment of the present queen's household, 1761, appointed one of the ladies of the bed-chamber; and re-married, 1767, to count Bruhl, a Saxon nobleman, envoy-extraordinary from the court of Saxony.

June 2d. Aged 56, Adolphus Frederic IV. duke of Mecklenburgh-Strelitz; born May 5, 1738; brother to the queen. He is succeeded in his ducal sovereignty by his next brother, Charles Lewis Frederic, born October 10th, 1740, who has several children.

Mr. Alfop, wholesale haberdasher, of Newgate-street.

3d. Of a mortification in her bowels, occasioned by cold caught in coming out of the Opera-house, a few days before, in her 44th year, Dorothy, duchess of Portland. She was daughter of William, late duke, and sister to the present duke, of Devonshire; was born August 27th, 1750; married November 8th, 1766, and had four sons and two daughters.

12th. At her house in St. James's Square, the right honourable Anne, lady Ravensworth, in the 82d year of her age. She was only daughter of sir Peter Delmé, knight, alderman, and some time lord-mayor of London; married, 1735, to sir Henry Liddel, bart. who, in 1747, was created lord Ravensworth (from his attachment to the royal cause in the preceding troubles, and by pointing out disaffected persons near him), by whom she had one daughter, married, 1756, to the present duke of Grafton, from whom she was divorced, 1769, and married to John, earl of Upper Ossory. She has survived her lord more than ten years; he died in 1784.

At Peterburg, count Anhalt, adjutant-general of the empress, lieutenant-general of the army, and chief of the corps of cadets.

Of a mortification, in consequence of a slight hurt he received in riding, aged 75, the most noble Francis Seymour Conway, marquis of Hertford, earl of Yarmouth, viscount Beauchamp, lord Conway, baron of Ragley, also baron Conway of Kiltullagh in Ireland, knight of the most noble order of the garter, lord-lieutenant and custos rotulorum of the county of Warwick and of the city

city of Coventry, recorder of Coventry and Thetford, president of the Magdalen hospital, and a vice-president of St. George's hospital. He succeeded his father as earl of Hertford in 1736; was created earl of Hertford and viscount Beauchamp, 1750; was appointed a lord of the bed-chamber, 1751; lieutenant and custos rotolorum of the county of Warwick, and installed knight of the garter, 1757: continued in all his offices on the accession of his present majesty, of whose privy-council he was sworn 1763, and soon after went ambassador-extraordinary to France, when he resigned the place of lord of the bed-chamber. He was appointed lord-lieutenant of Ireland, 1765; master of the horse to the king, 1766, and lord-chamberlain of the household, which last office he resigned, 1766. He was created earl of Yarmouth, 1794. He married, 1741, Isabella, youngest daughter of Charles, second duke of Grafton, by whom he had seven sons and six daughters. His lordship is succeeded in his titles and estates by his eldest son, Francis, earl of Yarmouth, who is serving in the capacity of envoy from this court to the king of Prussia.

22. At his house, in Mortimer-street, Cavendish-square, aged 68, sir Archibald Murray, bart. His title devolves to his son, John Murray, of the 46th regiment, at Cork, in Ireland.

At her lodgings in Poland-street, the marchioness de Marnesia, an emigrant, who enjoyed a distinguished rank and affluence in France before the late revolution. This lady possessed very great talents in painting, and has left some beautiful specimens of her skill. She painted a

fine likeness of the queen of France, shortly before her execution, which was engraved for Mrs. Robinson's monody to the memory of that unfortunate princess. The marchioness was one of those elegant females who perished in oblivion rather than court the eye of vulgar commiseration. The delicacy of her frame, agitated by the sad change in the state of her country, was too much for her feelings, which, after a lingering struggle, overcame her.

July 1st. In her 76th year, Gertrude, duchess-dowager of Bedford, eldest daughter of John, earl Gower, by his first wife, daughter of Evelyn, duke of Kingston. She was second wife of John, fourth duke of Bedford, to whom she was married in 1737, and by whom she had issue Francis, marquis of Tavistock, died 1767; John, died an infant; and Caroline, married to George, duke of Marlborough. She was left a widow in 1771, and has been ever since distinguished by a remarkable goodness of heart, attended by a cheerfulness not very common at so advanced a period of life.

10th. At Pinkie-house, in Scotland, sir Archibald Hope, bart. of Craig-hall. He was secretary to the Board of Police, in Scotland, for life, and received a compensation on the abolition of that board. His ancestor, sir Thomas Hope, of Craig-hall, was king's advocate in the reign of Charles I. who had the privilege of pleading before the court of Session with his hat on; which privilege his successors have enjoyed ever since. Sir Thomas left four sons (three of whom were lords of session at one time), who all married, and had issue, viz. sir John Hope, of Craig-hall; sir Thomas Hope, of

Kerle; sir Alexander Hope, of Crantoun; and sir James Hope, of Hope-toun.

August 6th. Henry, earl Bathurst.

At the palace of Tuam, in Ireland, the right honourable and right reverend Dr. Joseph Dean Bourke, archbishop of Tuam, primate of Connaught, bishop of Ardagh, and earl of Mayo. He was the second son of John Bourke, created lord Naas, of Naas in the county of Kildare, August 1, 1776; advanced to the dignity of a viscount on the 13th of January, 1781, by the title of viscount Mayo, of Monycrower, in that county, and earl of the county of Mayo, 24th June, 1785. Embracing the clerical function, he was dean of the diocese of Dro-more, whence he was translated, 1772, to the see of Leighlin and Ferns, and to the archbishopric of Tuam, with the united bishoprics of Enachdoen and Ardagh, in 1782. His grace succeeded his brother as earl of Mayo, and took his seat as such, January 20th, 1791; and was married to Elizabeth, sister of earl Clanwilliam, in October, 1772. The archiepiscopal see is now vacant; but he is succeeded as earl of Mayo by his son John, viscount Naas, M. P. for the borough of Naas.

At Rome, aged 80, cardinal de Bernis, formerly ambassador from the king of France to that city. He was not less celebrated for his diplomatic talents than for his taste for the *belles lettres*. Three cardinals' hats are now vacant.

In the Middlesex-hospital, Mr. Courtenay, the celebrated performer on the bagpipes. He died of a dropsy, which he is supposed to

have contracted by harding.

September. Princess Christ Mecklenburgh Strelitz, sister most gracious queen.

5th. Right honourable John Hutchinson; being at one same time a privy-counsellor, honorary secretary of state, and the 4th regiment of horse, prebendary of Trinity-college, Dublin, and surveyor, packer, and gauger of tallow of Strangford. The late earl of Strangford made the following remark: "If England and Ireland were given to this man, he would govern the isle of Man for a potato den."

At Padua, the countess E. Durazzo, daughter to the count of Weissenwolf, by the countess Marianna de Palfy. This lady possessed, in an eminent degree, every accomplishment, external and internal, and was, at the age of 15, appointed maid of honour and chamberlain to her majesty, Maria Theresa, who rewarded her with the order of the cross, in consequence of her merit, and in testimony of her esteem. In the year 1752, she married to his excellency James Durazzo, a noble Count, at that time envoy-extraordinary from the S. R. of Genoa to the imperial court of Vienna, and was afterwards appointed ambassador from the latter court to that of Venice, in which capacity he resided upwards of twenty years.

At Frankfort, in his 26th year, universally regretted, for his endowments and military countenance, Count Furstenberg. He was there on the 26th, with all the tatar honours. He began his

as a soldier in the French service, and served afterwards in Russia, where, by his bravery, he obtained the order of St. George. He made all the recent campaigns in the Prussian service, and, owing to his gallant conduct in the action of Hockheim, obtained the order *pour le merite*. He was wounded, September 20, at the capture of Kaiserlautern, and died, on the 24th, the death of a hero, and a victim to his humanity, in consequence of four wounds. He gave quarter to a Frenchman, but, on turning round, the Frenchman took up his musquet and killed the count in a dastardly and cowardly manner. General Blucher shewed himself equally humane, but had the good fortune to be misled by the man to whom he had just given quarter.

At Clifton, near Bristol, in his 83th year, the most reverend Richard Robinson, D. D. lord bishop of Armagh, primate of all Ireland, and baron Rokeby. He was admitted a king's scholar at Westminster in 1772; elected to Christ Church, Oxford, 1726; obtained a prebend at York, 17...; and, in 1751, attended the duke of Dorset, lord-lieutenant of Ireland, as his first chaplain, and was the same year promoted to the bishoprick of Killala. When the duke of Bedford was lord-lieutenant of Ireland, he was translated (in 1759) to the united sees of Leighlin and Ferns, and (in 1761) to Kildare. In 1765, when the duke of Northumberland was lord-lieutenant, he was advanced to the primacy of Ireland, and constituted lord-almoner; and, by the duke of Cumberland (then chancellor of the university of Dublin), was appointed vice-chancellor, in which office he was continued by the dukes of Bed-

ford and Gloucester, successive chancellors of that university. In 1777, when earl Harcourt was lord-lieutenant of Ireland, the king was pleased, February 26, to create him baron Rokeby of Arniagh in the kingdom of Ireland, with remainder to Matthew Robinson, of West Layton, Yorkshire, esq.; and, in 1783, he was appointed prelate of the most illustrious order of St. Patrick. In 1787, he was appointed one of the lords-justices of Ireland, with the lord-chancellor and the speaker of the house of commons. He succeeded to the title of baronet, on the death of his brother, sir William, in 1785. He was the last survivor, in the male line, of the ancient family of Robinson of Rokeby, where the family had resided before the conquest. His grace's real estates, and the title of baron Rokeby, descend to Matthew Montague, esq. M. P. To each of the Mellis Robinsons, his nephews, his grace has left 10,000l. He has willed his seat at Rokeby-Lodge, in the county of Louth, and whatever landed property he possessed in that county, to his nephew, the reverend archdeacon Robinson (whom he has appointed one of his executors), on condition that he resides in that kingdom.

October 17th. At her house, in Portman-street, Portman-square, lady Helen Douglas, relict of admiral sir James Douglas, bart. and aunt to the earl of Glasgow.

18th. At Southampton, lady King, wife of vice-admiral sir Rich. King, bart.

21st. At his lordship's house, in the Grove, Bath, the countess of Howth, wife of the earl of Howth, of the kingdom of Ireland.

24th. Honourable Miss Cathcart, E 3  
sister



sister to lord Cathcart and to the countess of Mansfield, and one of her majesty's maids of honour.

At Axwell, near Newcastle, fir Thomas Clavering, bart. LL. D. formerly many years M. P. for the county of Durham. He succeeded his father, fir James, 1748. His lady died August 16, 1792.

At Vienna, field-marshal Browne, who lately commanded the Austrian army on the Rhine.

At Caxton, Cambridgeshire, the reverend Thomas Barnard, vicar of that place.

At her seat, at Bourton-on-the-Water, Gloucestershire, dame Elizabeth Harrington, relict of fir James Harrington, bart. grandfather of the present fir John. She was daughter of Henry Wight, esq. of Blackfly-hall, Northamptonshire.

At Vienna, of a dropsy in the lungs, the princess de Colloredo, consort to the vice-chancellor of the empire.

At the parsonage-house, at Eltham, Kent, Martha, lady-dowager Shaw, second wife, and widow, of fir John Shaw, bart. who died 1779, and mother of the present fir John Shaw, bart.

Lately, on his way to the island of Madeira, for the recovery of his health, in the 29th year of his age, Basil William, lord Daer, eldest son of the earl of Selkirk, and late a member of the Edinburgh convention.

November 6th. At her house, at Illeworth, in her 77th year, Mary Wortley Montague Stewart, countess of Bute, and, in her own right, baroness Mountstewart, only daughter of the late Edward Wortley Montague, esq. and sister of the late traveller, Edward Wortley Montague, esq. She survived her lord (by whom

she had five sons and not three years, and not ten months; and the honourable James tague obtains possession of father's fortune, 20,000

20th. At his house, Street, Mr. Baddely, Drury-lane theatre.

In Stratford-place, ana, duchess-dowager wife of Peregrine Hy of Leeds) who succeeded in 1729, and died in 1792. His grace was daughter of Roger Hele, esq. Devonshire, and married Charles, earl of Port 1785, by whom she had a daughter, Caroline, married, 1750, the present duke; another daughter 1785, married to H. esq. of Standlynch, another son, Charles, died, 1770, to Miss succeeded his father.

At Olivit, near C 72d year, the famous ciar, Petit. His merits are known to the of Europe.

At his seat, at Dray Chippenham, Wilts. year, fir James Tyne representative in parliament for county of Wilts, and warden of the forest of the county of Essex. In 1775, the hon. Bouverie, fourth daughter of the late viscount Falkland, a late earl of Radnor, had no children; the right honourable Windsor, eldest daughter

earl of Plymouth, by whom he had three daughters, and one son, an infant of three months old.

John, second lord Coleraine, of the kingdom of Ireland, eldest son of Gabriel Hanger, esq. who was so created by privy seal, at St. James's, in 1761, and by patent, at Dublin, in 1762, and was grandson of Geo. Hanger, esq. of Duffield, Gloucestershire, whose eldest daughter married Henry Hare, lord Coleraine, which title became extinct. The deceased lord succeeded his father in 1773, and is himself succeeded by his brother William.

At his seat at Hackwood, Hants, in his 75th year, the most noble Harry, sixth duke of Bolton, seventh marquis of Winchester, and premier marquis of England, vice-admiral of Hampshire and Dorsetshire, and vice-admiral of the white, 1760; M. P. for Lymington, 1754, and, in the succeeding parliament, for Winchester. He married, first, 1752, Henrietta, daughter of — Nunn, of Eltham, Kent, esq.; and by this lady, who died 1764, and is buried at Eltham, had a daughter, Mary, born 1753, and married, 1772, to the present earl of Sandwich. His grace succeeded to the title and estates on the 5th of July, 1765; and, in April, the same year, intermarried with Catharine Lowther, sister to the earl of Londale, the present duchess, by whom he had only two daughters, Catharine, now countess of Darlington, and lady Amelia Powlet. His grace having died without male issue, the title of duke of Bolton is extinct; that of marquis of Winchester devolves on George Powlet, esq.—By his death, a pension, on the Irish establishment, of 1700l. a year, to the right hon. Thomas Orde, ceases, it having been granted only during

the life of the duke. Mrs. Orde, however, who was related to the duke's family, from the same circumstance, comes into the instant possession of 17,000l. per annum. These estates were left by the duke immediately preceding the last to his lately deceased grace and his male issue; but, in default of such issue, to his daughter, since married to the right hon. Thomas Orde, who has since taken the name of Powlet.—Sir William Powlet, ancestor of the duke of Bolton, which title is now extinct, was thirty years lord-high-treasurer of England, during three successive reigns. He was created lord St. John by Henry VIII. and earl of Wiltshire and marquis of Winchester by Edward VI. and died at the advanced age of 97. The family being instrumental in forwarding the revolution, the then marquis was created duke of Bolton by William III. The barony of St. John is in abeyance between his grace's daughters; the marquitate goes to another branch of the family.

At his house, in St. Andrew's Square, Edinburgh, in his 85th year, Geo. Gordon, 4th earl of Aboyne. His lordship succeeded to the title and family estate in 1732.

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*SHERIFFS appointed by his majesty in council, for the year 1794.*

*Berkshire.* Edward Stephenson, of Farley Hill, esq.

*Bedfordshire.* Edward Nicholl, of Studham, esq.

*Bucks.* Charles Clowes, of Iver, esq.

*Cumberland.* William Henry Milbourne, of Armathwaite-Castle, esq.

*Cheshire.* Dumville Poole, of Lymm, esq.

E 4

*Cambridgeshire*

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*Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire.*

John Richards, of Brampton, esq.

*Devonshire.* John Spurrell Pode, of Stoke Damerell, esq.

*Dorsetshire.* Edward Buckley Batson, of Sixpenny-Handley, esq.

*Derbyshire.* Sir Henry Harpur, of Caulk, bart.

*Essex.* James Hatch, of Claybury, esq.

*Gloucestershire.* Isaac Elton, of Stapleton, esq.

*Hertfordshire.* Samuel Leighton-house, of Orford House, esq.

*Herefordshire.* John Miles, of Ledbury, esq.

*Kent.* Richard Carew, of Orpington, esq.

*Leicestershire.* George Moore, of Appleby, esq.

*Lincolnshire.* Sir Joseph Banks, bart.

*Monmouthshire.* John Rose, of Duffraîn, esq.

*Northumberland.* Charles John Clavering, of Bitchfield, esq.

*Northamptonshire.* Richard Booth, of Glendon, esq.

*Norfolk.* John Richard Dashwood, of Cockley Clay, esq.

*Nottinghamshire.* John Simpson, of Babworth, esq.

*Oxfordshire.* Samuel Gardner, of Hardwick, esq.

*Rutlandshire.* Thomas Forsyth, of Empingham, esq.

*Shropshire.* William Yelverton Davenport, of Davenport House, esq.

*Somersetshire.* Charles Knatchbull, of Babington, esq.

*Staffordshire.* Matthew Boulton, of Solò, esq.

*Suffolk.* Charles Purvis, of Darsham, esq.

*Southampton.* Henry Bonham, of Petersfield, esq.

*Surrey.* Charles Bowles, of East Sheen, esq.

*Suffex.* Samuel Twyford, of Trotton, esq.

*Warwickshire.* Richard Hill, of Kineton, esq.

*Worcestershire.* Thomas Farley, of Halton, esq.

*Wiltshire.* Richard Long, of West Ashton, esq.

*Yorkshire.* Thomas Lister, of Guisebourn Park, esq.

## SOUTH WALES.

*Carmarthen.* William Clayton, of Alltycadno, esq.

*Pembroke.* John Phelps, of With Bush House, esq.

*Cardigan.* William Owen Briggstock, of Blaenypant, esq.

*Glamorgan.* Henry Knight, of Tregeststone, esq.

*Brecon.* Richard Wellington, of Hay Castle, esq.

*Radnor.* Richard Price, of Knighton, esq.

## NORTH WALES.

*Anglesea.* Hugh Jones, of Carrog, esq.

*Carnarvon.* Richard Lloyd, of Trebedlig, esq.

*Merioneth.* Owen Ormsby, of Glyn, esq.

*Montgomery.* John James, of Castell Caerinion, esq.

*Denbighshire.* Bryan Cooke, of Havodwern, esq.

*Flint.* Daniel Leo, of Gwafaney, esq.

**SHERIFF appointed by his royal highness the prince of Wales in council, for the year 1794.**

*County of Cornwall.* Edward Archer, of Trelask, esq.

## APPENDIX to the CHRONICLE.

LONDON GAZETTE EXTRAORDINARY, FRIDAY, JAN. 17, 1794.

*Whitehall, Jan. 15.*

**C**APTAIN HILL, aid-de-camp to major-general Dundas, arrived, on the 13th instant, at the office of the right hon. Henry Dundas, his majesty's principal secretary of state for the home department, with dispatches from vice-admiral lord Hood and the major-general, of which the following are copies and extracts.

*Victory, Toulon-Road, Dec. 13, 1793.*

SIR,

Nothing very material has happened here since the 30th of last month, when I had the honour of writing to you, except that the enemy has made approaches nearer to us by some new-erected batteries; one against the Malbousquet, another against Le Brun, and a third against the Hauteur de Grassé. The shells from two of them did us some mischief on the 9th and 10th, since which they have been perfectly silent.

The enemy is reported to be 50,000, but I cannot credit their being much beyond half that number. By various deserters that have come in, which in this respect perfectly agree, we are soon to be attacked on all sides at once. From the numerous

and important posts we have to occupy, the troops are at very hard duty, and without relief some way or other, we shall soon have more men in the hospital than are fit for service.

I have the honour to be, &c.

HOOD.

*Right hon. Henry Dundas,*

*&c. &c. &c.*

SIR, *Toulon, Dec. 12, 1793.*

Since the affair of the 30th ult. no considerable event has taken place. By the repeated accounts of deserters, the enemy are very much increased in numbers: none state them lower than 30 or 40,000 men.

They have fired of late little from the battery we were in possession of. Four of its guns were certainly disabled. They have increased the number of their mortars, which have much annoyed our two posts of Cape Brun and Fort Mulgrave, on the heights of Balaguier. We have lost some men at each, from the effect of shells, which, in such temporary exposed situations, cannot be sufficiently guarded from.—Against each of these posts they have opened a new battery of cannon and mortars, but at the other points they have worked little. We continue strengthening our position, though we cannot expect to give it any much more substantial form.

W<sup>o</sup>

We have in all 11,000 men bearing muskets, and 4000 sick. Deserters all report the intention of a speedy general attack.

This will be delivered by captain Hill, a very deserving young man, who has been aid-de-camp to lord Mulgrave, lieutenant-general O'Hara, and myself. The opportunity of his departure is sudden, and therefore I am to beg you will excuse the shortness of this letter. I am, &c.

DAVID DUNDAS.

*Right hon. Henry Dundas,  
&c. &c. &c.*

*Whitehall, January 15, 1794.*

This morning sir Sidney Smith and major Moncrief arrived at the office of the right hon. Henry Dundas, his majesty's principal secretary of state for the home department, with dispatches from vice-admiral lord Hood and major-general David Dundas, of which the following are copies and extracts.

*Victory, Hieres Bay, Dec. 20, 1793.*  
SIR,

It is my duty to acquaint you, that I have been obliged to evacuate Toulon, and to retire from the harbour to this anchorage.

It became unavoidably necessary that the retreat should not be deferred beyond that night, as the enemy commanded the town and ships by their shot and shells; I therefore, agreeable to the governor's plan, directed the boats of the fleet to assemble by eleven o'clock, near fort la Malgue, and am happy to say the whole of the troops were brought off, to the number of near 8,000, without the loss of a man; and, in the execution of this service, I have infinite pleasure in acknowledging my very great obligations to captain

Elphinstone, for his unremitting zeal and exertion, who saw many men off; and it is a very considerable satisfaction to me, that thousands of the meritorious inhabitants of Toulon were saved by his majesty's ships.

I propose sending the vicars Hotham and Cosby, with other ships, to Leghorn and Ferrara, to complete their provisions, which run very low, having many mouths to feed remain with the rest to be sent to the ports of Toulon and Marseilles. Circumstances which had place made the retreat almost necessary to be effected as soon as possible, and prevented the execution of a settled arrangement of destroying the French ships in the arsenal. I ordered the *Vulcan* ship to be primed, and sir Sidney Smith, who joined me from about a fortnight ago, having put his service to burn the town, put captain Hare under his command with the lieutenants Tupling, Gore of the *Victory*, lieutenant Pater of the *Britannia*, and lieutenant R. W. Miller of the *Castile*. Ten of the enemy's ships of the line in the arsenal, with the mast-house, great store-house, powder-house, and other building totally destroyed, and besides lighted all his majesty's ships those of Spain and the Two were out of the reach of our my's shot and shells, except the *bust*, which was to receive Elphinstone, and she followed soon after, without a shot being fired. I have under my orders admiral Trogoff, in the *Cocarde de Marseilles*, *Puissant*, and 12 of the line, the *Pearl*, *Arethusa*, frigates, and several

corvettes, which I have manned, and employed in collecting wine and provisions from the different ports in Spain and Italy, having been constantly in want of one species or another, and am now at short allowance.

Don Langara undertook to destroy the ships in the basin, but, I am informed, found it not practicable; and as the Spanish troops had the guarding the powder vessels, which contained the powder of the ships I ordered into the basin and arsenal on my coming here, as well as that from the distant magazines, within the enemy's reach, I requested the Spanish admiral would be pleased to give orders for their being scuttled and sunk; but, instead of doing that, the officer to whom that duty was intrusted blew them up, by which two fine gun-boats, which I had ordered to attend sir Sydney Smith, were shook to pieces. The lieutenant commanding one of them was killed, and several seamen badly wounded. I am sorry to add, that lieutenant Goddard of the Victory, who commanded the seamen upon the heights of Grasse, was wounded, but I hope and trust not dangerously.

I beg to refer you for farther particulars to general Dundas respecting the evacuation of Toulon, and to sir Sydney Smith as to the burning of the enemy's ships, &c. on which service he very much distinguished himself; and he gives great praise to captain Hare, of the fireship, as well as to all the lieutenants employed under him.

It is with peculiar satisfaction I have the honour to acquaint you, that the utmost harmony, and most cordial understanding, has happily subsisted in his majesty's army and

fleet, not only between the officers of all ranks, but between the seamen and soldiers also.

I herewith transmit a copy of sir Sydney Smith's letter to me, with a list of the officers employed under him, and also a return of officers and seamen killed and wounded at fort Mulgrave on the 17th.

I have the honour, &c.

HOOD.

P. S. The list of the ships at Toulon that were burnt, and those remaining, has been received since writing my letter.

*Right hon. Henry Dundas.*

*Toulon, Dec. 18, 1793.*

MY LORD,

Agreeably to your lordship's order, I proceeded with the Swallow tender, three English and three Spanish gun-boats, to the arsenal, and immediately began making the necessary preparations for burning the French ships and stores therein. We found the dock-gates well secured by the judicious arrangements of the governor, although the dock-yard people had already substituted the three-coloured cockade for the white one. I did not think it safe to attempt the securing any of them, considering the small force I had with me, and considering that contest of any kind would occupy our whole attention, and prevent us from accomplishing our purpose.

The galley-slaves, to the number of at least 600, shewed themselves jealous spectators of our operations: their disposition to oppose us was evident; and being unchained, which was unusual, rendered it necessary to keep a watchful eye on them on board the galleys, by pointing the guns of the Swallow tender and one of the gun-boats on them, in such a manner

a manner as to enfilade the quay on which they must have landed to come to us, and assuring them, at the same time, that no harm should happen to them if they remained quiet. The enemy kept up a cross fire of shot and shells on the spot, from Malbousquet and the neighbouring hills, which contributed to keep the galley-slaves in subjection, and operated in every respect favourably for us, by keeping the republican party in the town within their houses, while it occasioned little interruption to our work of preparing and placing combustible matter in the different store-houses, and on board the ships; such was the steadiness of the few brave seamen I had under my command. A great multitude of the enemy continued to draw down the hill towards the dock-yard wall; and as the night closed in, they came near enough to pour in an irregular though quick fire of musketry on us from the Boulangerie, and of cannon from the height which overlooks it. We kept them at bay by discharges of grape-shot from time to time, which prevented their coming so near as to discover the insufficiency of our force to repel a closer attack. A gun-boat was stationed to flank the wall on the outside, and two field-pieces were placed within against the wicket usually frequented by the workmen, of whom we were particularly apprehensive. About eight o'clock I had the satisfaction of seeing lieut. Gore towing in the Vulcan fireship. Captain Hare, her commander, placed her, agreeably to my directions, in a most masterly manner, across the tier of men of war, and the additional force of her guns and men diminished my apprehensions of the galley-slaves rising

on us, as their manner and occasional tumultuous debates ceased entirely on her appearance. The only noise heard among them was the hammer knocking off their fetters, which humanity forbade my opposing, as they might thereby be more at liberty to save themselves on the conflagration taking place around them. In this situation we continued to wait most anxiously for the hour concerted with the governor for the inflammation of the trains. The moment the signal was made, we had the satisfaction to see the flames rise in every quarter. Lieutenant Tupper was charged with the burning of the general magazine, the pitch, tar, tallow, and oil store-houses, and succeeded most perfectly; the hemp magazine was included in this blaze: its being nearly calm was unfortunate to the spreading of the flames, but 250 barrels of tar divided among the deals and other timber, insured the rapid ignition of that whole quarter which lieutenant Tupper had undertaken.

The mast-house was equally well set on fire by lieutenant Middleton, of the Britannia. Lieutenant Pater, of the Britannia, continued in a most daring manner to brave the flames, in order to complete the work where the fire seemed to have caught imperfectly. I was obliged to call him off, lest his retreat should become impracticable: his situation was the more perilous, as the enemy's fire redoubled as soon as the amazing blaze of light rendered us distinct objects of their aim. Lieutenant Ironmonger, of the Royals, remained with the guard at the gate till the last, long after the Spanish guard was withdrawn, and was brought safely off by captain Edge,

Edge, of the Alert, to whom I had confided the important service of closing our retreat, and bringing off our detached parties, which were saved to a man. I was sorry to find myself deprived of the farther services of captain Hare: he had performed that of placing his fireship to admiration, but was blown into the water, and much scorched, by the explosion of her priming, when in the act of putting the match to it. Lieutenant Gore was also much burnt, and I was consequently deprived of him also, which I regretted the more, from the recollection of his bravery and activity in the warm service of fort Mulgrave. Mr. Eales, midshipman, who was also with him on this occasion, deserves my praise for his conduct throughout this service. The guns of the fireship going off on both sides as they heated, in the direction that was given them, towards those quarters from whence we were most apprehensive of the enemy forcing their way in upon us, checked their career. Their shouts and republican songs, which we could hear distinctly, continued till they, as well as ourselves, were in a manner thunderstruck by the explosion of some thousand barrels of powder on board the Iris frigate, lying in the inner road, without us, and which had been injudiciously set on fire by the Spanish boats, in going off, instead of being sunk as ordered. The concussion of air, and the shower of falling timber on fire, was such as nearly to destroy the whole of us. Lieutenant Patey, of the Terrible, with his whole boat's crew, nearly perished: the boat was blown to pieces, but the men were picked up alive. The Union gun-boat, which was nearest to the Iris, suf-

fered considerably, Mr. Young being killed, with three men, and the vessel shaken to pieces. I had given it in charge to the Spanish officers to fire the ships in the basin before the town, but they returned, and reported that various obstacles had prevented their entering it. We attempted it together as soon as we had completed the business in the arsenal, but were repulsed in our attempt to cut the boom, by repeated volleys of musquetry from the flag ship and the wall of the battery Royale. The cannon of this battery had been spiked by the judicious precaution taken by the governor previously to the evacuation of the town.

The failure of our attempt on the ships in the basin before the town, owing to the insufficiency of our force, made me regret that the Spanish gun-boats had been withdrawn from me to perform other service. The adjutant don Pedro Cotiella, don Francisco Riguielme, and don Francisco Truxillo, remained with me to the last; and I feel bound to bear testimony of the zeal and activity with which they performed the most essential services during the whole of this business, as far as the insufficiency of their force allowed it, being reduced, by the retreat of the gun-boats, to a single felucca, and a mortar-boat which had expended its ammunition, but contained 30 men with cutlasses.

We now proceed to burn the Hero and Themistocles, two 74 gun ships, lying in the inner road. Our approach to them had hitherto been impracticable in boats, as the French prisoners, who had been left in the latter ship, were still in possession of her, and had shown a determination to



to resist our attempt to come on board. The scene of conflagration around them, heightened by the late tremendous explosion, had, however, awakened their fears for their lives. Thinking this to be the case, I addressed them, expressing my readiness to land them in a place of safety, if they would submit; and they thankfully accepted the offer, shewing themselves to be completely intimidated, and very grateful for our humane intentions towards them, in not attempting to burn them with the ship. It was necessary to proceed with precaution, as they were more numerous than ourselves. We at length completed their disembarkation, and then set her on fire. On this occasion, I had nearly lost my valuable friend and assistant, lieutenant Miller, of the Windsor-Castle, who had staid so long on board to insure the fire taking, that it gained on him suddenly, and it was not without being very much scorched, and the risk of being suffocated, that we could approach the ship to take him in. The loss to the service would have been very great, had we not succeeded in our endeavours to save him. Mr. Knight, midshipman, of the Windsor-Castle, who was in the boat with me, shewed much activity and address on the occasion, as well as firmness, throughout the day.

The explosion of a second powder-vessel, equally unexpected, and with a shock even greater than the first, again put us in the most imminent danger of perishing; and, when it is considered that we were within the sphere of the falling timber, it is next to miraculous that no one piece, of the many which made the water foam around us, happened to touch either the Swallow or the three boats with me.

Having now set fire to every thing within our reach, exhausted our combustible preparations and our strength to such a degree that the men absolutely dropped on the oars, we directed our course to join the fleet, running the gauntlet under a few ill-directed shot from the forts of Balaguier and Aiguillette, now occupied by the enemy; but, fortunately, without loss of any kind, we proceeded to the place appointed for the embarkation of the troops, and took off as many as we could carry. It would be injustice to those officers whom I have omitted to name, for their not having been so immediately under my eye, if I did not acknowledge myself indebted to them all for their extraordinary exertions in the execution of this great national object. The quickness with which the inflammation took effect on my signal, its extent and duration, are the best evidences that every officer and man was ready at his post, and firm under most perilous circumstances.

We can ascertain that the fire extended to at least ten sail of the line; how much farther we cannot say. The loss of the general magazine, and of the quantity of pitch, tar, rosin, hemp, timber, cordage, and gunpowder, must considerably impede the equipment of the few ships that remain. I am sorry to have been obliged to leave any, but I hope your lordship will be satisfied that we did as much as our circumstances enabled us to do in limited time, pressed as we were by a force so much superior to us.

I have the honour to be, &c.

W. SYDNEY SMITH.

*Right hon. lord Hood,*

*&c. &c. &c.*

[Here

[Here follows a list of the officers employed, and of the killed and wounded.]

*List of ships of the line, frigates and sloops of the department of Toulon.*

*In the road where the English fleet entered Toulon:*

### SHIPS of the LINE.

*Now with the English fleet.*

	guns.
Le Commerce de Marseilles	120
Le Pompée —	74

*Burnt at Toulon.*

Le Tonnant —	80
L'Heureux —	74
Le Centaur —	74
Le Commerce de Bourdeaux	74
Le Destin —	74
Le Lys —	74
Le Heros —	74
Le Thémistocle —	74
Le Dugay Trouin —	74

*Sent into the French ports on the Atlantic, with French seamen, &c.*

Le Patriote —	74
L'Apollon —	74
L'Orion —	74
L'Entreprenant —	74

*Burnt at Leghorn.*

Le Scipion —	74
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*Remaining at Toulon.*

Le Genereux —	74
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### FRIGATES

*Now with the English fleet.*

Le Perle —	40
L'Arethuse —	40

*Fitted out by the English.*

L'Aurora —	32
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*Put into commission by order of lord Hood.*

La Topaze —	32
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*Remaining in the power of the Sardinians.*

L'Alceste —	32
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### SLOOPs

*Now with the English fleet.*

La Poulette —	26
Le Tarleton —	14

*Burnt at Toulon.*

La Caroline —	20
L'Auguste —	20

*Fitted out by the English.*

La Bellette —	26
La Profelitte —	24
La Sincere —	20
Le Mulet —	20
La Mozelle —	20

*Fitted out by the Neapolitans.*

L'Emproye —	20
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*Fitted out by the Spaniards.*

La Petite Aurore —	18
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*Sent to Bourdeaux.*

Le Pluvier —	20
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*Fitting out when the English fleet entered Toulon:*

### SHIPS of the LINE

*Burnt at Toulon.*

Le Triomphant —	80
Le Suffisant —	74

*Now with the English fleet.*

Le Puissant —	74
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*Remaining at Toulon.*

Le Dauphin Royal —	120
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### FRIGATE

*Burnt at Toulon.*

La Serieuse —	32
---------------	----

*In the harbour, in want of repair:*

### SHIPS

*Burnt at Toulon.*

Le Mercure —	74
La Couronne —	80
Le Conquerant —	74
Le Dictateur —	74

*Remaining at Toulon.*

Le Languedoc —	80
Le Cenleur —	74
Le Guerrier —	74
Le Souverain —	74

*Unfit for service.*

L'Alcide —	74
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### FRIGATES

*Burnt at Toulon.*

Le Courageux —	32
L'Iphegenie —	32
L'Alerte —	16

*Having*

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*Having on board the powder magazines, burnt at Toulon.*

L'Iris	—	guns. 32
Le Montreal	—	32
<i>Fitted out by the English as a bomb-ketch.</i>		
La Lutine	—	32
<i>Remaining at Toulon.</i>		
La Bretonne	—	18
<i>In commission before the English fleet entered Toulon :</i>		

## SHIP

*In the Levant.*

La Duquesne	—	74
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## FRIGATES and SLOOPS

*In the Levant.*

La Sibile	—	40
La Sensible	—	32
La Melpomene	—	40
La Minerve	—	40
La Fortunée	—	32
La Flèche	—	24
La Fauvette	—	24

*Taken by the English.*

L'Imperieuse	—	40
La Modeste	—	32
L'Eclair	—	20

*At Ville Franche.*

La Vestale	—	36
La Badine	—	24
— Le Hazard	—	30

*At Corsica.*

La Mignon	—	32
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*At Cette.*

La Brune	—	24
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*In ordinary at Toulon.*

La Junon	—	40
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*Building.*

One ship of	—	74
Two frigates	—	40

*On board the Victory, Hieres Bay, Dec. 21, 1793.*

SIR,

In my letter of the 12th instant I had the honour to acquaint you, that from the 30th of November to

that time no particular event had taken place, and that the fire of the enemy was less frequent. During this period they were daily receiving reinforcements from every quarter, and both sides were busily employed, we in strengthening our posts, and the enemy in establishing new batteries against Cape Brun and Malbousquet, but principally against Fort Mulgrave, on the Heights of Balaguier.

From all concurring accounts of deserters, and others, the enemy's army was now between 30,000 and 40,000 men, and an attack upon our posts was to be daily expected. These, from their essential though detached situations, had been severally strengthened, in the proportion their circumstances required, having such central force in the town as was deemed necessary for its immediate guard, and for affording a degree of succour to any point that might be more particularly attacked.

For the complete defence of the town and its extensive harbour, we had long been obliged to occupy a circumference of at least fifteen miles, by eight principal posts, with their several intermediate dependent ones; the greatest part of these were merely of a temporary nature, such as our means allowed us to construct; and of our force, which never exceeded 12,000 men bearing firelocks, and composed of five different nations and languages, near 9000 were placed in or supporting those posts, and about 3000 remained in the town.

On the 16th, at half past two o'clock in the morning, the enemy, who had before fired from three batteries on Fort Mulgrave, now opened two new ones, and continued a very heavy cannonade and bombard-

rdment on that post till next  
ing. The works suffered much.  
umber of men killed and dis-  
was considerable. The wea-  
was rainy, and the consequent  
great.

two o'clock in the morning of  
th the enemy, who had every  
tage in assembling and sudden-  
ancing, attacked the fort in  
force. Although no part of  
emporary post was such as  
well resist determined troops,  
or a considerable time, it was  
led; but, on the enemy en-  
on the Spanish side, the Bri-  
arier, commanded by captain  
ly, of the 18th regiment, could  
e much longer maintained,  
thstanding several gallant ef-  
were made for that purpose.  
s therefore at last carried, and  
mains of the garrison of 700  
retired towards the shore of  
uier, under the protection of  
ther posts established on those  
ts, and which continued to be  
attacked by the enemy. As  
osition of Balaguier was a most  
ial one for the preservation of  
arbour, and as we had no com-  
cation with it but by water,  
men had been placed there for  
time past. On the night pre-  
g the attack, 300 more men  
een sent over, and on the morn-  
f the 17th 400 were embarked  
arher to support it.  
hen the firing at Balaguier  
d, we remained in anxious sus-  
as to the event till a little be-  
day-light, when a new scene  
ed, by an attack on all our posts  
e mountain of Pharon. The  
y were repulsed on the east  
where was our principal force  
out 700 men commanded by a  
distinguished officer, the Pied-  
et. XXXVI.

montese colonel de Jermagnan,  
whose loss we deeply lament; but  
on the back of the mountain, near  
1800 feet high, steep, rocky, deem-  
ed almost inaccessible, and which he  
had laboured much to make so, they  
found means, once more, to pene-  
trate between our posts, which oc-  
cupied an extent of above two miles,  
guarded by 450 men, and, in a very  
short space of time, we saw, that  
with great numbers of men, they  
crowded all that side of the moun-  
tain which overlooks Toulon. The  
particulars of this event I am not  
yet enabled to ascertain, but I have  
every reason to think that they did  
not enter a British post.

Our line of defence, which, as I  
have mentioned, occupied a cir-  
cumference of at least 15 miles, and  
with points of which we had only a  
water communication, being thus  
broken in upon in its two most es-  
sential posts, it became necessary to  
adopt decisive measures, arising from  
the knowledge of the whole of our  
actual situation. A council of the  
flag and general officers assembled.  
They determined on the impracti-  
cability of restoring the posts we had  
lost, and on the consequent propri-  
ety of the speedy evacuation of the  
town, evidently, and by the report  
of the engineers and artillery offi-  
cers, declared untenable. Mea-  
sures of execution were taken from  
that moment. The troops were  
withdrawn from the heights of Bala-  
guier without much interruption  
from the enemy, and in the even-  
ing such posts as necessarily depend-  
ed on the possession of Pharon were  
successively evacuated, and the  
troops drawn in towards Toulon.  
The forts D'Artigues and St. Ca-  
therine still remained, together with  
the posts of Sablettes, Cape Brun,  
and

and Malbousquet, from which last the Spaniards withdrew in the night, in consequence of the supporting post of Neapolitans at Miciffey having left the battery there established, and abandoned it without orders. Every attention was also given to ensure the tranquillity of the town. In the night the combined fleets took a new station in the outer road.

Early in the morning of the 18th the sick and wounded, and the British field artillery were sent off. In the course of the day the post of Cape Brun was withdrawn into La Malue, the post of Sablettes was also retired, and the men were put on board. Measures were arranged for the final embarkation, during the night, of the British, Piedmontese, and Spaniards, who occupied the town, and of the troops of the same nations who were now at La Malue, amounting in all to about 7000 men; for the Neapolitans had, by midnight, embarked.

Having determined with lieutenant-general Gravina, commanding the Spanish troops, that, instead of embarking at the quays and in the arsenal of the town, our whole force should assemble near Fort La Malue, and form on the peninsula which from thence extends into the harbour, every previous disposition was made, and every care taken to conceal our intention. The arsenal and dock-yard were strictly guarded. The troops were ranged accordingly on the ramparts, and the tranquillity of the town was much ensured from the time the enemy began to throw shells and shot into it; which they did from our late batteries at Miciffey and Malbousquet.

About ten o'clock at night fire was set to the ships and arsenal.

We immediately began our march, and the evacuation of the town, which it was necessary should be made with secrecy and expedition. The fort of St. Catherine having, without orders, been quitted in the course of the day, and possessed by the enemy, the consequent early knowledge of our march, had we taken the common route, through the gate of Italy, and within musquet-shot of that fort, might have produced great inconvenience; we therefore, by a Sally post, gained an advanced part of the road, and without accident were enabled to quit the town, arrive at Fort La Malue, and form on the rising ground immediately above the shore. The boats were ready, the weather and the sea in the highest degree favourable. The embarkation began about eleven o'clock, and by day-break on the 19th the whole, without interruption or the loss of a man, were on board ship.

The great fire in the arsenal, the blowing up of the powder-ships, and other similar events which took place in the night, certainly tended to keep the enemy in a state of suspense and uncertainty.

As the security of this operation depended much on the protection afforded from the happy situation of Fort La Malue, which so effectually commands the neck of the peninsula, and the judicious use that should be made of its artillery, this important service was allotted to major Kochler, with 200 men, who, after seeing the last man off the shore, and spiking all the guns, effected, from his activity and intelligence, his own retreat without loss.

Captains Elphinstone, Hallowell, and Mathews, superintended the embarkation,

barkation, and to their indefatigable attention and good dispositions we are indebted for the happy success of so important an operation. Captain Elphinstone, as governor of Fort La Malgue, has ably afforded me the most essential assistance, in his command and arrangement of the several important posts included in that district.

It is impossible for me to express but in general terms, the approbation that is due to the conduct and merits of the several commanding officers, and indeed of every officer in every rank and situation. Troops have seldom experienced for so long a time a service more harassing, distressing, and severe; and the officers and men of the regiments and marines have gone through it with that exertion, spirit, and good-will, which peculiarly distinguish the British soldier. At Fort Mulgrave, lieutenant Duncan, of the royal artillery, was so essentially useful, that to his exertions and abilities that post was much indebted for its preservation for so long a time.

The general service has been carried on with the most perfect harmony and zeal of the navy and army. From our deficiency in artillery-men, many of our batteries were worked by seamen: They, in port, guarded some of our posts, and their aid was particularly useful in duties of fatigue and labour. In all these we found the influence of the superior activity and exertions of the British sailors.

It was the constant attention of Lord Hood to relieve our wants and alleviate our difficulties.

The Sardinian troops we have always considered as a part of ourselves. We have experienced their attachment and good behaviour, and I have found much assistance from

the ability and conduct of the chevalier de Revel, and from brigadier-general Richler, who commands them.

Notwithstanding the undefined situation of command, I found every disposition and acquiescence in lieutenant-general Gravina, commanding the Spanish troops, to execute every proposed measure which the common cause required.

The loss of the British on the 17th, at Fort Mulgrave, and on the heights of Pharon, amounts to about 300 men, of which, during the last four days, no exact account could be procured: and as the troops in embarking were put on board the nearest and most convenient ships, till they are again united in corps, I cannot have the honour of transmitting particular returns, nor even knowing the detail of circumstances that attended the attack of those posts.

It is now about three weeks that, from the unfortunate accident of general O'Hara being made prisoner, the government of Toulon devolved on me; my best exertions have not been wanting in that situation, and I humbly hope that his majesty may be pleased to look upon them in a favourable light.

I beg leave to add, that the royal battalion of Louis, and two independent companies of French Chasseurs, raised at Toulon, have behaved, on every occasion, with fidelity and spirit. They embarked at La Malgue, to the number of about 100 men, and are now with us.

I have the honour to be,

With the most profound respect,

SIR,

Your most faithful and obedient humble servant,

DAVID DUNDAS, Lieut. Gen.  
*Right Hon. Hen. Dundas, Sec.*

THE LONDON GAZETTE EXTRA-ORDINARY, APRIL 22.

*Whitehall, April 21.*

**MAJOR GREY** arrived this morning at the office of the right hon. Henry Dundas, his majesty's principal secretary of state for the home department, with dispatches from sir Charles Grey, K.B. of which the following is a copy.

*Fort Royal, Martinico, March 25, 1794.*

SIR,

I have the happiness to acquaint you of the complete conquest of this very valuable island, the last and most important fortrefs of Fort Bourbon, having surrendered to his majesty's arms, at four o'clock in the afternoon of the 23d instant, at which time his royal highness prince Edward, major-general of his majesty's forces, took possession of both gates with the first and third battalions of grenadiers, and the first and third light infantry: and I have the honour to transmit to you the articles of capitulation, together with a list of the killed and wounded, and a return of the ordnance, &c. taken since my dispatch of the 16th instant, in which I communicated the transactions and progress of this army to that period.

The return of ordnance taken in Fort Royal is signed by the commanding officer of British artillery; but that of Fort Bourbon is the French account of it, as there is not time to make an exact return at present, which shall be sent by the next opportunity.

Having concerted measures with the admiral for a combined attack by the naval and land forces upon the fort and town of Fort Royal, and the batteries of my second parallel

being ready, those on Morne Tortenson and Carriere kept up an incessant fire upon Fort Royal, and all the other batteries on Fort Bourbon, during the day and night of the 19th instant, and on the morning of the 20th following, till the ships destined for this service had taken their stations.—The *Asia* of 64 guns, captain Browne, and the *Zebra* sloop of 16 guns, captain Faulkner, with captain Rogers, and a body of seamen in flat boats, the whole under commodore Thompson, composed the naval force; and the land force consisted of the first battalion of grenadiers, under lieutenant-colonel Stewart, and the third light infantry, under lieutenant-colonel Close, from prince Edward's camp at La Cotte: with the third grenadiers, under lieutenant-colonel Buckeridge, and the first light infantry, under lieutenant-colonel Coote, from lieutenant-general Prescott's camp at Soufriere.

The navy acquitted themselves with their usual gallantry, (particularly captain Faulkner, whose conduct justly gained him the admiration of the whole army) carrying the fort by Escalade about twelve o'clock of the 20th instant, under the able conduct of commodore Thompson, whose judicious disposition of the gun and flat boats, assisted by that spirited and active officer captain Rogers, contributed materially to our success; at the same time that the land forces, commanded by that excellent officer colonel Symes, critically advancing with equal ardour, forced and entered the town triumphantly, hoisting the British colours, and changing the name to Fort Edward.

Immediately after this, general Rechambeau, who commanded in Fort Bourbon, sent his aid-de-camp with

## APPENDIX to the CHRONICLE. 69

with a flag, offering to surrender on capitulation, and the terms were finally adjusted and agreed to on the 22d instant, by three commissioners on each side, the ratifications thereof being signed by the commanders in chief, on the 23d following; and the garrison, amounting to 900 men, marched out this morning prisoners of war, laying down their arms on the parade of Fort Royal, and were embarked for France immediately. His majesty's troops having marched in, struck the French and hoisted the British colours, and changed the name from Bourbon to that of Fort George.

I consider myself under great obligations to lieutenant-general Prescott for the zeal and ability with which he has assisted me throughout this arduous service, now brought to so fortunate a conclusion, and to all the general and other officers.

Colonel Durnford, with the corps of engineers, and lieutenant-colonels Paterlon and Sowerby and major Manly, with the royal artillery, have also a claim to my warmest approbation, for their exertions in placing and constructing of the batteries, and the well-directed fire of the artillery. The bravery, regularity, and good behaviour of the troops on every occasion has been most meritorious and exemplary.

Forts Bourbon and Royal have suffered greatly from our fire during the siege, and we are diligently employed to put them in a proper state of defence, effectually to secure this important acquisition of territory to the crown of Great Britain. I am restoring order as fast as possible, from the confusion naturally occasioned by a siege, and have the pleasure to observe that

every thing in the forts is as tranquil and well-regulated as could be expected in the time.

I shall not lose a moment in embarking ordnance and ordnance-stores, with troops, &c. to prosecute with vigour the execution of such other objects and services as his majesty has been pleased to intrust to me; and hope to be enabled to proceed before much time can elapse, after regulating the garrisons of these forts, and all such other matters as require immediate attention. Major Grey, deputy quartermaster-general, will have the honour to deliver this dispatch, and can communicate any other particulars or information you may wish to have.

I have the honour, &c.  
CHARLES GREY.

P. S. At the commencement of the siege, the garrison of Fort Bourbon consisted of about 1200.

I send five stand of colours, laid down by the garrison, together with the two colours of Fort Bourbon, to be presented to his majesty.

The gallant defence made by general Rochambeau and his garrison, was strongly manifested on entering Fort Bourbon, as there was scarce an inch of ground untouched by our shot and shells; and it is but justice to say that it does them the highest honour.

### *Articles of capitulation of Fort Bourbon.*

On the 21st of March, 1794, by order of their excellencies sir Charles Grey, K. B. general and commander-in-chief of his Britannic majesty's forces in the West Indies, &c. &c. &c. and vice-admiral sir John Jervis, K. B. commanding his majesty's

F 3 fleet,



fleet, &c. &c. &c. commodore C. Thompson, colonel R. S. mes, and captain J. Conyngham, met at Dillon's house, to receive proposals of capitulation for Fort Bourbon, from colonel D'Aucourt, captain Dupriret, and Gâchet Dumaine, jun. nominated commissioners for that purpose by general Rochambeau.

The following articles were proposed, discussed, and modified, at a second conference held at Fort Royal on the 22d of March, 1794.

Article I. The garrison, composed of the troops of the line, artillery, gunners of the marine, and national guard, shall march out with colours flying, 30 rounds a man, and two field pieces, with 12 rounds.

Answer. The colony of Martinique, being already reduced by the arms of his Britannic majesty, and the forts and towns of St. Pierre and Fort Royal taken with sword in hand, general Rochambeau can only capitulate for Fort Bourbon, and what it contains.

Granted. But they are to lay down their arms at a place appointed, and not to serve against his Britannic majesty or his allies during the present war.

Art. II. Three months pay to be allowed to the troops of the line.

Ans. No pay will be given. All their effects will be allowed them; and they will be provided with whatever may be necessary for their voyage to France.

Art. III. The 37th regiment, formerly marshal Turenne's, shall keep their colours and arms.

Ans. Refused, being contrary to all customs of war. The officers may keep their swords.

Art. IV. They shall be furnished with ships to carry them to France.

Ans. Granted.

Art. V. The emigrants, who have returned to Martinique, shall not be present where the garrison lay down their arms or embark.

Ans. Granted.

Art. VI. Such persons of the national guard, who can give proofs of their property, shall be permitted to remain in the island, giving that property, as security for their conduct.

Ans. Those of the national guard in Fort Bourbon who have affairs to settle, and whose sojourn may not be deemed dangerous to the colony, may remain according to the declaration of the general, dated January 1, 1794.

Such as wish to go to France shall be allowed, leaving their agents here.

Ans. Granted.

Art. VII. Persons not included in the above article, who are compelled to return to France, shall be allowed a certain time to settle their affairs.

Ans. A proper time shall be allowed, fifteen days at least.

Art. VIII. Persons belonging to the garrison of Fort Convention, possessing no landed property, but who exercised some profession or trade previous to the present capitulation, shall be allowed to continue their trade or calling; nor sent to France, provided their future conduct should not make such a measure necessary.

Ans. They are regarded in the same predicament with those in article VI.

Art. IX. The legal regulations of the constituted authorities shall be confirmed.

Ans. Refused.

Art. X. The code of civil judicature in force through the island shall

be

be continued for the space of two years.

*Ans.* Granted, till his Britannic majesty's pleasure be known.

Art. XI. The property of owners and captains of ships shall be secured to them on board and on shore.

*Ans.* Granted, as to their property in Fort Bourbon.

Art. XII. The inhabitants of St. Pierre, embarked on English ships, shall be set at liberty, and their property, under seal, secured to them.

*Ans.* This article cannot come within the present capitulation. The claimants may apply to the commanders of the fleet and army.

Art. XIII. The ordonateur and officers of administration shall have permission and time to regulate their accounts, and to take with them the papers relative to that end.

*Ans.* Granted.

Art. XIV. There shall be an entire and absolute oblivion of the past, and an end to all animosities.

*Ans.* Granted, according to the proclamations.

Art. XV. The rights of free citizens enrolled in the national guard shall be preserved.

*Ans.* Refused.

Art. XVI. The liberty of individuals composing the companies of l'Enclume, d'Octavius, de la Croire, and de Pontour, shall be confirmed.

*Ans.* Refused. The slaves must be restored to their owners.

Art. XVII. A period shall be fixed for the taking possession of the fort, and the necessary time allowed for the garrison to take out their effects.

*Ans.* The two gates of Fort Bourbon to be delivered up to the troops of his Britannic majesty immediately after the exchange of the present articles. The garrison will march

out at the great gate, and be conducted to the place appointed for each corps by the commissioners who have managed the present capitulation, and will lay down their arms at the place of their embarkation. Three days will be allowed for the evacuation of the fort, and the commissaries of artillery and stores will remain in the fort to take inventories of all the magazines.

Art. XVIII. The greatest attention shall be paid to the sick and wounded; and they shall be furnished with ships to carry them to France as they recover.

*Ans.* Granted; but at the expense of the French government, and to be attended by their own surgeons; if not sufficient for the purpose, surgeons shall be furnished.

Art. XIX. General Rochambeau, immediately upon the surrender of the fort, shall be at liberty to take his measures for his return to France. A frigate to be furnished him, his aides-de-camp, secretary, and suite.

*Ans.* A commodious vessel shall be allowed to general Rochambeau, with the necessary passports, for his safe return to France.

Art. XX. The effects, trunks, chests, private papers, and all that general Rochambeau shall declare to belong to himself and his suite, shall be put under the protection of an English guard, when the troops of that nation shall have taken possession of Fort Convention, and shall be embarked with him.

*Ans.* Granted.

Art. XXI. The civil ordonateur, or intendant of the colony, shall have liberty also, with the officers of administration, comptroller, and treasurer, with those employed in



night-guard and gun-boats for a considerable time, perceiving a favourable moment, pushed into the Carcage with the rowing-boats of the guard, boarded the *Bien Venu*, French frigate, and brought off the captain, lieutenant, and about 20 men, who were on board her, under a smart fire of grape-shot and musquetry from the ramparts and parapet of the fort. The success of this gallant action determined the general and me to attempt the fort and town of Fort-Royal by assault, and I directed forty scaling-ladders to be made of bamboo and small stretched cordage, from twenty to thirty-six feet long, and ordered the *Asia* and *Zebra* to be held in readiness to enter the Carcage, in order to batter the fort and to cover the flat-boats, barges, and pinnaces, under the command of commodore Thompson, supported by captains Nugent and Riou, while the grenadiers and light-infantry from the camp at Souperre advanced with field-pieces along the side of the hill under Fort-Bourbon, towards the bridge, over the canal, at the back of Fort-Royal. This combination succeeded in every part, except the entrance of the *Asia*, which failed from the want of precision in the ancient lieutenant of the port, monsieur de Tourelles, who had undertaken to pilot the *Asia*. Captain Faulkner observing that ship baffled in her attempts, and the *Zebra* having been under a shower of grape-shot for a great length of time (which he, his officers, and sloop's company, stood with a firmness not to be described), he determined to undertake the service alone, and he executed it with matchless intrepidity and conduct, running the *Zebra* close to the wall of the fort, and leaping overboard,

at the head of his sloop's company, assailed and took this important post before the boats could get on shore, although they rowed with all the force and animation which characterizes English seamen in the face of an enemy. No language of mine can express the merit of captain Faulkner upon this occasion; but as every officer and man in the army and squadron bears testimony to it, this incomparable action cannot fail of being recorded in the page of history. The grenadiers and light-infantry made good use of their field-pieces and muskets, and, soon after the surrender of the fort, took possession of the town, by the bridge over the canal at the back of it, while a strong detachment from the naval battalions at Point Negro, under the command of captains Rogers, Scott, and Payntun, in flat-boats, barges, and pinnaces, approached the beach in front. Monsieur Rochambeau did not lose a moment in requesting that commissioners might be appointed to consider of terms of surrender; and the general and I named commodore Thompson, colonel Symes, and captain Conyngham, to meet three persons named by him at Dillon's plantation, at nine o'clock on the 21st, and on the 22d the terms were concluded.

The rapid success of his majesty's arms has been produced by the high courage and perseverance of his officers, soldiers, and seamen, in the most difficult and toilsome labours, which nothing short of the perfect unanimity and affection between them and their chiefs could have surmounted.

Commodore Thompson conducted the enterprize on the side of la Trinite like an able and judicious officer.

cer. Captain Henry carried on the business at Anco d'Arlet with great energy, and has been indefatigable in forwarding all the operations he has had a share in. To captains Brown, Nugent, Harvey, Markham, Faulkner, Sawyer, Carpenter, and Scott, I am greatly indebted for the manner in which they conducted the attack against St. Pierre. Captains Harvey, Kelly, Rogers, Salisbury, Inledon, Riou, Lord Garies, Carpenter, Scott, and Bayntun, have gained great reputation in the army by the conduct of the naval battalions, and working parties under their command. Captain Berkeley (since the arrival of the Assurance) has furnished a powerful reinforcement of men from that ship. Captain Pierrepont has been very active in the services allotted to the Seaflower. In captain Grey I have found the experience of age joined to the vigour of youth. The captains of the forty-four gun ships armed on flute, of the store-ship, and hospital-ship, have done well.

For other particulars I beg leave to refer their lordships to captain Powlet, who carries this dispatch, and to captain Markham, of the Blonde, who conveys him. They served with commodore Thompson at La Trinité, and arrived on the south side of the island in time to have a share in most of the transactions there.

I have the honour to be, &c.

J. JERVIS.

*Fort-Royal, March 20, 1794.*

SIR,

I have the pleasure to acquaint you, that the only loss we have sustained in the capture of Fort-Royal, is the pilot of the Zebra killed and four seamen belonging to the same

ship wounded. So soon as I perceived she could fetch in, I gave orders to captains Nugent and Riou, who commanded the flat-boats, which, with the men embarked in them, were laying upon their oars, to push in and mount the walls; when every exertion was made, and the boats seemed to fly towards the fort. Captain Faulkner, in the mean time, in a most spirited and gallant manner, entered the harbour through the fire of all their batteries, and laid his sloop along side the walls, there being deep water close to; when the enemy, terrified at his audacity, the flat-boats full of seamen pulling towards them, and the appearance of the troops from all quarters, struck their colours to the Zebra. A well-directed and steady fire from the gun-boats under lieutenant Bowen, as also from our batteries, was of great service. The alacrity and steadiness of the officers and seamen in general under my command, was such, that I had next the least doubt of success against the whole force of the enemy, had they disputed our entrance.

The fort is full of ammunition and stores of all sorts, but the buildings are in a miserable condition from the effects of our bombs, the gun-boats, and batteries.

I have the honour to be, &c.

C. THOMPSON

*Vice-admiral Sir JOHN JERVIS, K.*  
commander-in-chief, &c.

LONDON GAZETTE EXTRAORDINARY, APRIL 30.

*Whitehall, April 30.*

A Letter, of which the following is a copy, dated Cateau, April 25, 1794, was last night received

the right hon. Henry Dundas, his majesty's principal secretary of state for the home department, from his royal highness the duke of York.

SIR, *Cateau, April 25, 1794.*

In consequence of a request from the prince of Cobourg, I sent, the day before yesterday, a detachment of cavalry to reconnoitre the enemy, who were reported to have assembled at the Camp de César, near Cambrai.

This patrol, with which general Otto went himself, found the enemy in great force, and so strongly posted at the village of Villers en Cauchie, that he sent back for a reinforcement, which I immediately detached: it consisted of two squadrons of Zetchwitz cuirassiers, major-general Mansell's brigade of heavy cavalry, and the eleventh regiment of light dragoons. As they could not arrive till it was dark, general Otto was obliged to delay the attack till the next morning, when it took place soon after day-break.

He then ordered two squadrons of hussars, and two squadrons of the fifteenth regiment of light dragoons, to charge the enemy, which they did with the greatest success; and finding a line of infantry in the rear of the cavalry, they continued the charge without hesitation, and broke them likewise. Had they been properly supported, the entire destruction of the enemy must have been the consequence, but, by some mistake, general Mansel's brigade did not arrive in time for that purpose. The enemy, however, were completely driven back, and obliged to retreat in great confusion into Cambrai, with the loss of twelve hundred men killed in the field, and three pieces of cannon.

The gallantry displayed by these troops, but particularly by the 15th regiment of light dragoons, does them the highest honour; and, considering the danger of their situation, when left without support, the loss they experienced is not considerable.

The only officer wounded was captain Aylett, of the 15th regiment, who had the misfortune to be severely wounded by a bayonet in the body.

Enclosed I transmit a return of the killed, wounded, and missing, upon the occasion.

The first parallel at Landrecies is in such forwardness, that it is intended to-night to convey the cannon into the batteries, which are to open to-morrow.

The enemy attempted this morning to make two forties but were driven back with considerable loss.

I am, sir, &c.

FREDERICK.

*Right hon. Henry Dundas, &c.*

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THE LONDON GAZETTE EXTRA-ORDINARY.

*(Published in the afternoon of April 30.)*

*Whitehall, April 30.*

THE letters, of which the following are copies, were this morning received from his royal highness the duke of York, by the right hon. Henry Dundas, his majesty's principal secretary of state for the home department.

*Heights above Cateau, April 26, 1794.*

SIR,

It is from the field of battle that I have the satisfaction to acquaint you, for his majesty's information, with the glorious success which the army

army under my command has had this day.

At day-break this morning the enemy attacked me on all sides. After a short, but severe, conflict we succeeded in repulsing them with considerable slaughter. The enemy's general, Chapuy, is taken prisoner, and we are masters of 35 pieces of the enemy's cannon. The behaviour of the British cavalry has been beyond all praise.

It is impossible for me as yet to give any account of the loss sustained by his majesty's troops. I have reason to believe that it is not considerable.

The only officers of whom I have any account as yet, and who, I believe, are all who have fallen upon this occasion, are major-general Mansell, captain Pigot, and captain Fellows, of the third dragoon guards.

The army under his Imperial majesty was attacked at the same time, and the only particulars with which I am acquainted at present are, that the enemy were likewise repulsed with great loss.

I shall not fail to send you a more full account by the first opportunity.

I am, &c.

FREDERICK.

P. S. This letter will be delivered to you by my aide-de-camp, captain Murray, who will be able to give you any farther information that you may wish to receive.

*Right hon. Henry Dundas, &c.*

*Cateau, April 26, 1794.*

SIR,

In addition to my letter, written immediately after the engagement, I have just learnt from his Imperial majesty, that general count Kingsby

and major-general Bellegarde, after having repulsed the enemy with great slaughter from Priches, had pursued them as far as day-light would permit, in the direction of Capelle, and have taken twenty-two pieces of cannon; so that we are already in possession of fifty-seven pieces of ordnance taken from the enemy this day.

I am, &c.

FREDERICK.

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LONDON GAZETTE EXTRAORDINARY, WEDNESDAY, MAY 21.

*Whitehall, May 21.*

A LETTER (of which the following is an extract) from sir Charles Grey, K. B. dated Basse-terre, Guadaloupe, April 22, 1794, was yesterday received by the right hon. Henry Dundas, his majesty's principal secretary of state for the home department.

SIR,

In my dispatch of the 12th instant, by the *Sea-Flower*, I had the honour to acquaint you with the capture of that part of the island of Guadaloupe denominated Grand Terre. The 43d regiment being landed to garrison Fort Prince of Wales (late Fort Fleur d'Épée) the town of Pointe à Petre, &c. and the other troops re-embarked, at twelve o'clock the 14th, the *Quebec*, with several other frigates and some transports, dropped down opposite to Petit Bourg, with grenadiers and light infantry, commanded by prince Edward, and began landing at five o'clock in the afternoon, at which time I joined them, and was received with great demonstrations of joy by the French people on the *marquis de Bouillie's*

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Bouillie's estate; and I returned on board the Boyne at ten o'clock the same evening. At day-break in the morning of the 15th I went to St. Mary's, where I found lieutenant-colonel Coote, with the first light infantry, having got there before day, from Petit Bourg; and the second battalion of grenadiers joined at ten o'clock. The troops advancing (April the 16th) reached Trou Chien, where the enemy had abandoned, although very strong; and before dark we halted on the high ground over Trois Rivières, from whence we saw the enemy's two redoubts and their strong post of Palmiste. I intended to have attacked the enemy that night, but the troops were too much fatigued, from the difficult march they had just finished. Major-general Dundas landed at Vieux Habitant at eleven o'clock in the night of the 17th, with the third battalion of grenadiers, and the second and third battalions of light infantry, with little opposition and no loss (having failed from Point à Petre the 15th preceding) taking possession of Morne Magdaline, and destroying two batteries: then detaching lieutenant-colonel Blundell, with the second battalion of light infantry, he forced several very difficult posts of the enemy during the night. I made a disposition for the attack of the enemy's redoubt d'Arbaud, at Grande Ance, and their battery d'Anet, to be executed during that night; but at eight o'clock in the evening they evacuated the former, setting fire to every thing in and about it; and I ordered the attack of the latter to proceed, which was well executed by lieutenant-colonel Coote and the first light infantry, who were in possession of it by day-break of the

18th, having killed, wounded, or taken every one of those who were defending it, without any loss. At twelve o'clock on the night of the 19th, I moved forward, with the first and second battalions of grenadiers and the first light infantry, from Trois Rivières and Grande Ance, and took their famous post of Palmiste, with all their batteries, at day-break of the 20th, commanding Fort St. Charles and Basseterre: and communicating with major-general Dundas's division on the morning of the 21st, who had made his approach by Morne Howel; after which general Collot capitulated, surrendering Guadeloupe and all its dependencies, comprehending the islands of Marie Galante, Desirade, the Saints, &c. on the same terms that were allowed to Rochambeau at Martinique, and Ricard at St. Lucia, to march out with the honours of war, and lay down their arms, to be sent to France, and not to serve against the British forces or their allies during the war. Accordingly, at eight o'clock this morning, the French garrison of Fort St. Charles marched out, consisting of 55 regulars of the regiments of Guadeloupe, and the 14th of France, and 818 national guards and others; prince Edward, with the grenadiers and light infantry, taking possession, immediately hoisting the British colours, and changing the name of it to Fort Matilda. The terms of capitulation are transmitted herewith, but the forts and batteries are so numerous, and some of them at such a distance, that a return of the ordnance, stores, &c. cannot be obtained in time for the sailing of this vessel, as I am unwilling to detain her so long as would be necessary for that purpose. From a return

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found amongst general Collot's papers, it appears that the number of men able to carry arms in Guadeloupe is 5877, and the number of fire-arms actually delivered out to them is 4044. In former dispatches I have mentioned that lieutenant-general Prescott was left to command at Martinico, and colonel sir Charles Gordon at St. Lucia; and the conquest of Guadeloupe and its dependencies being now also completely accomplished, I have placed major-general Dundas in the command of this island, with a proper garrison; and his majesty may place the firmest reliance on the ability, experience, and zeal, for the good of his service and their country, of those excellent officers. Although I have not been wanting in my several dispatches to you, sir, to bestow just praise on the forces I have the honour to command, yet I conceive it a duty, which I embrace with infinite pleasure, to repeat, that, to the unanimity and extraordinary exertions of the navy and army on this service, under fatigues and difficulties never exceeded, his majesty and their country are indebted for the rapid success which, in so short a space of time, has extended the British empire, by adding to it the valuable islands of Martinique, St. Lucia, Guadeloupe, the Saints, Marie Galante, and Desirada. Captain Thomas Grey, one of my aides-de-camp, will have the honour to deliver this dispatch, and can communicate any other particulars or information you may desire.

P. S. Since closing this letter, returns are received, and transmitted herewith, of the killed, wounded, and missing, and of the batteries and ordnance taken; but that of the stores could not be obtained.

*Articles of capitulation*

Between their excellencies sir Charles Grey, K. B. general and commander-in-chief of his Britannic majesty's troops in the West Indies, &c. &c. &c. and vice-admiral sir John Jervis, K. B. commander-in-chief of his majesty's naval forces, &c. &c. &c. and George Henry Victor Collot, major-general and governor of Guadeloupe, Marie Galante, Desirada, and dependencies, &c. &c.

The commanders-in-chief of his Britannic majesty's forces are induced to grant to the long services of major-general Collot, and to the great humanity with which he has treated the prisoners under his care, the honour of marching out of Fort St. Charles at the head of the garrison, which shall in every respect be subject to, and treated in the same manner as that of Fort Bourbon, to wit, to lay down their arms as prisoners, and not to serve against his Britannic majesty during the present war, nor against his allies,

The post of Houelmont to be immediately withdrawn, and the troops there to retire into Fort St. Charles. The said post is to be delivered up to the British troops, exactly in the state in which it is, as well as Fort St. Charles, and all other military posts in the island.

The garrison of Fort St. Charles to march out of that fortress the 22<sup>d</sup> of this month, at eight o'clock in the morning.

The British troops are to take possession of the gates of Fort St. Charles to-night.

Marie Galante, Desirada, and all the dependencies of this government

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ment, are to be included in the present capitulation.

Given at Guadaloupe, April 20, 1794.

Par leurs excellences,

CHARLES GREY.

G. FISHER,

GEO. PURVIS,

V. COLLOT,

J. JERVIS.

*Admiralty-Office, May 21.*

Captain Nugent arrived yesterday with a letter from vice-admiral sir John Jarvis, K. B. commander-in-chief of his majesty's ships and vessels at Barbadoes and the Leeward Islands, dated Boyne, Basseterre, Guadaloupe, April 23, 1794. addressed to Mr. Stephens, of which the following is an extract.

"On the 14th instant, the Quebec, Winchelsea, Blanche, Experiment, Woolwich, and three gun-boats, with two divisions of the army under the command of prince Edward and colonel Symes, in transports, were ordered to anchor under Isles haut de Fregatte, and the troops were landed that night and the following morning at Petit Bourg. On the same day, the Irresistible, Veteran, Assurance, Santa Margarita, and two gun-boats, were detached with a corps under the command of major-general Dundas, and an army hospital-ship and victuallers, to the road of Bailiff, near the town of Basseterre; and the day afterwards I followed in the Boyne, accompanied by the Inspector and Bull-dog sloops, some army victuallers, and two hospital-ships, and was joined by the Terpsichore and Zebra sloop, and two gun-boats, off les Isles des Saints, in the afternoon; when perceiving that the troops had not reached Trois Rivières, I stood off

and on between that anchorage and the Saints during the night; and on the morning of the 17th, being joined by the Winchelsea and an ordnance store-ship, I ordered captain lord Garlies to take under his command the abovementioned sloops of war, gun-boats, the victuallers, hospital-ships, and ordnance store-ships, and to anchor at Trois Rivières, which he performed with his usual promptitude; and I then proceeded in the Boyne to the road of Bailiff, where I anchored before sun-set, and received a very satisfactory report from captain Henry of the debarkation and progress of major-general Dundas's corps. Perceiving, as I passed Basseterre, some movements amongst the shipping that indicated a design to escape in the night, and a few people busy in the batteries between that town and the road of Bailiff, I sent captain Grey, with a detachment of marines, to disable the guns in the batteries, and the boats of the other ships to intercept any thing attempting to go out. Soon after sun-set, some incendiaries, who had plundered the town, set it on fire, and got off in an armed schooner. Most of the other vessels were brought into the road of Bailiff by the boats; amongst them, the Guadaloupe republican sloop of war.

I have now the greatest satisfaction in informing you of the entire reduction of the French islands in these seas; the post of the Palmiste was carried by the divisions of prince Edward and colonel Symes, under the command of general sir Charles Grey; and that of Morne Howel, by the corps of major-general Dundas, and was carried before day-break on the 20th, when general Collot immediately surrendered

dered fort Charles upon terms of honour to himself and garrison. Lord Garlies, in the *Winchelsea*, with three flank companies of the 39th regiment, will proceed this evening to Marie Galante, to receive the submission of that island, as commanded by general Collot; from thence he will go with a small detachment to Desirada, for the like purpose.

The unabated exertions of the officers and seamen under my command will never be surpassed; they kept constant pace with the efforts of the troops, and, thus united, no difficulty or danger arrested their career of glory for an instant. From the general and other officers of the army, with whom I had frequent occasions to transact business, I never experienced an unpleasant item; and I found in colonel Symes, the quarter-master-general, resources, zeal, and ability, superior to every obstacle which presented.

Captain Nugent, who carries this dispatch, will recite many parts of the detail, which, in the various operations I had to concert, have escaped my memory. He served with the naval battalions at Martinique, St. Lucia, and in this island, and was present at many of the most important strokes."

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THE LONDON GAZETTE, JUNE 10, 1794.

*W. Fitchell, June 10.*

THE dispatch, of which the following is a copy, was received on Sunday last from admiral lord Hood, by the right hon. Henry Dundas, one of his majesty's principal secretaries of state.

*Victory, off Bastia, May 24, 1794.*  
SIR,

"I have the honour to acquaint you, that the town and citadel of Bastia, with the several posts upon the heights, surrendered to the arms of his majesty on the 22d. On the 19th I received a message, that the garrison was desirous of capitulating upon honourable terms; in consequence of which I sent the enclosed note on shore. This brought on board the *Victory* three officers, who informed me that Gentili, the commandant, would assemble the officers of the several corps, and of the municipality, if a truce took place, which I agreed to, a little before sun-set. The next day I received a note from Gentili, which I also enclose, and sent captain Young on shore, on the morning of the 21st, who soon returned to the *Victory*, with two officers and two of the administrative bodies, who, with vice-admiral Goodall, captain Young, captain Inglefield, and my secretary, Mr. M<sup>r</sup> Arthur, settled the articles of capitulation, which were signed the following morning, when his majesty's troops took possession of all the posts above the town, the troops in each retiring to the citadel, from whence they marched to the Mole-head, where they grounded their arms, and were embarked. You will receive herewith the articles of capitulation, which I hope his majesty will approve.

I am unable to give due praise to the unrelenting zeal, exertion, and judicious conduct of lieutenant-colonel Vilette, who had the honour of commanding his majesty's troops; never was either more conspicuous. Major Brereton, and every officer and soldier under the lieutenant-colonel's orders, are justly entitled

to my warmest acknowledgments ; their persevering ardour and desire to distinguish themselves, cannot be too highly spoken of, and which it will be my pride to remember to the latest period of my life.

Captain Nelson, of his majesty's ship *Agamemnon*, who had the command and direction of the seamen, in landing the guns, mortars, and stores ; and captain Hunt, who commanded at the batteries, very ably assisted by captain Buller and captain Serocold, and the lieutenants Gore, Hotham, Stiles, Andrews, and Brisbane, have an equal claim to my gratitude, as the seamen under their management worked the guns with great judgement and alacrity. Never was a higher spirit or greater perseverance exhibited ; and I am happy to say, that no other contention was at any time known, than who should be most forward and indefatigable for promoting his majesty's service ; for, although the difficulties they had to struggle with were many and various, the perfect harmony and good humour that universally prevailed throughout the siege overcame them all.

I cannot but express, in the strongest terms, the meritorious conduct of captain Duncan and lieutenant Alexander Duncan, of the royal artillery, and lieutenant De Butts, of the royal engineers : but my obligation is particularly great to captain Duncan, as more zeal, ability, and judgement was never shewn by any officer than were displayed by him ; and I take the liberty of mentioning him as an officer highly entitled to his majesty's notice.

I feel myself very much indebted for the vigilance and attention of captain Wolsely, of the *Imperieuse*, and of captain Hallowell, who be-

came a volunteer wherever he could be useful, after being superseded in the command of the *Courageux* by captain Waldegrave. The former kept a diligent watch upon the island of Caprain, where the enemy have magazines of provisions and stores : and the latter did the same, by guarding the harbour's mouth of Bassia with gun-boats and launches well armed, the whole of every night, whilst the smaller boats were very judiciously placed in the intervals between, and rather without the ships (which were moored in a crescent just out of reach of the enemy's guns) by captain Young, of the *Fortitude*, the centre ship, on board of which every boat assembled at sun-set for orders ; and the cheerfulness with which the officers and men performed this nightly duty is very much to be admired, and afforded me the most heartfelt satisfaction and pleasure.

The very great and effectual assistance I received from vice-admiral Goodall, captain Inglefield, and captain Knight, as well as from every captain and officer of his majesty's ships under my command, have a just claim to my most particular thanks, not only in carrying into execution my orders afloat, but in attending to and supplying the wants of the little army on shore : it is to the very cordial and decided support alone I had the honour to receive from the whole, that the innumerable difficulties we had to contend with were so happily surmounted.

Major Smith and ensign Vigoreux of the 20th regiment, and captain Radfdale and lieutenant St. George of the 11th, not embarking with their respective regiments, having civil employments on shore ; it is to

their honour I mention, that they relinquished those employments, and joined their corps soon after the troops were landed.

It is very much my duty to inform you, that I am extremely obliged to general Petrecono, Mr. Frediani, and all the officers of the Corsicans, serving with the army, for their zeal, ardour, and attention, in forwarding the reduction of Bastia by every means in their power, who were of infinite service by preserving good order in the troops.

I transmit an account of the loss on the part of his majesty in killed and wounded, which I am happy to say is inconsiderable; but the enemy suffered much, their hospitals being full.

At the commencement of the siege, the number of the enemy bearing arms was 3,000.

By the first ship that sails for England, I shall have the honour of sending, to be laid at his majesty's feet, the several stands of colours taken at Bastia.

Captain Hunt, who was on shore in the command of the batteries from the hour the troops landed to the surrender of the town, will be the bearer of this dispatch, and can give any farther information you may wish to know respecting the siege.

I have the honour, &c.

HOOD.

*Right hon. Henry Dundas, &c.*

*His Britannic Majesty's ship Victory, off Bastia, May 19, 1794.*

In consideration of the very gallant defence the garrison of Bastia has made, and from the principles of humanity which ever govern British officers, I am disposed to give

you terms; and if you will send on board two or three officers, properly authorized to treat, I trust a capitulation will be soon settled, as honourable to the inhabitants as can in any reason be expected.

(Signed) HOOD.

*To the commandant of the garrison and mayor of the town of Bastia.*

#### TRANSLATION.

*Bastia, the 2d Prereal, 2d year of the French republic, one and indivisible.* The general of division, commander-in-chief of the army of the French republic in Corsica, to admiral Hood, commander-in-chief of the squadron of the king of Great Britain before Bastia.

MY LORD,

In consequence of the proposal which you did me the honour of making in your dispatch of May the 18th (old style), I have the honour of sending to you two adjutant-generals of the army, and two members of the administrative corps of this town, who are commissioned to present to you the plan of a capitulation between the garrison and inhabitants of Bastia and you, my lord, in the name of the king of Great Britain.

These four commissioners, who equally possess my confidence and that of the garrison and of the citizens, have instructions to arrange with you, the settlement of all matters relative to this capitulation. I hope that you will be satisfied, and that they will enable you to fulfil the views you have signified to me, of putting an end to the unavoidable consequences of the calamities of war. Captain Young has had a long conference with me: I was of opinion that a reciprocal understanding might co-operate in the success of

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of the negotiation which occupied our attention, and I have requested him to acquaint you with my ingenious and sincere intentions.

Greeting and health.

(Signed) GENTILI,  
Commander-in-chief.

### *Articles of capitulation of the garrison and town of Bastia, in Corsica.*

On the 21st day of May, 1794, by order of the right hon. lord Hood, admiral of the blue, and commander-in-chief of his majesty's ships and vessels employed in the Mediterranean; vice-admiral Goodall; captain Young, of the *Fortitude*; captain J. N. Inglefield, adjutant-general to the fleet; and John McArthur, secretary to his excellency the commander-in-chief; met on board the *Victory* to receive proposals of capitulation for Bastia from Messrs. Etienne Monty, president of the department of Corsica; John Baptiste Galeazzini, mayor of Bastia; Charles Francis Emanuel Couthaud, and John Baptiste Francheschi, adjutant-generals of the French army.

The following articles were proposed, discussed, and modified, as follows, viz.

Article I. The garrison shall march out with all the honours of war, together with all those attached to the army.

Answer. Granted.

Art. II. The garrison shall embark as soon as possible after signing these articles at the great mole of the port, preceded by the field artillery, with arms, baggage, drums beating, matches lighted at both ends, colours flying. To be transported immediately to the port of the Mountain (Toulon), and no where else.

Anf. In consideration of the gallant defence made, the garrison shall march to the Mole-head, preceded by two field-pieces, with their arms, baggage, &c. and shall lay down their arms at the place appointed for their embarkation; they shall, as soon as possible, be transported to the port of the Mountain (Toulon).

Art. III. All ammunition, artillery, military stores, and every thing which composes and makes a part of the army, both by sea and land, shall also be transported to the port of the Mountain.

Anf. Refused.

Art. IV. The corvette *la Flèche* shall be fitted out as a transport to carry the garrison and citizens who wish to follow it, together with the pink *la Marie Victoire*; and that, loaded with ship-timber, which are now at the disposal of the administrator of the marine, shall be employed for this transport; but this not being sufficient, the necessary number shall be furnished by the admiral, four of which shall not be visited. The above-mentioned corvette and pink, loaded with timber, shall be kept by the republic.

Anf. The troops of the garrison and citizens who wish to depart shall be conveyed to Toulon, the port of the Mountain, by vessels appointed by his excellency the commander-in-chief.

The French corvette *la Flèche*, and all vessels in the harbour, must be delivered up to his Britannic majesty's officers. Such fishing-boats as are necessary to the subsistence of the inhabitants, proving their property, shall remain in their possession.

The rest of this article is inadmissible.

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Art. V.

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Art. V. The sick, who are not able to bear the voyage, shall remain in the hospitals which they occupy at present, at the expence of the republic, by officers of health, who shall be appointed under the superintendence of a commissary of war; and, when they are able to support the voyage, vessels shall be furnished to transport them by the English commander.

Ans. Granted.

Art. VI. The members of the constituent bodies, and all persons attached to the service of the republic, of any denomination whatever, or pensioners, shall participate in this capitulation with the military, and shall enjoy the same conditions.

Ans. Granted.

Art. VII. All papers concerning public accounts, those of the artillery, engineers, marine, military tribunal, military chest, both of this place and of all others, shall be transported to France, the same shall be done with all papers and plans of the country, as well of the old as new administration, as the civil and military, and those belonging to the communities.

Ans. Granted, except such as are necessary for the security of property; the archives, and other public papers and plans of the island, shall remain, but copies of them shall be allowed to be taken.

Art. VIII. The inhabitants of both sexes who are now in the town, or that have taken refuge there, shall have their lives, their honour, and their property saved and guaranteed, with liberty to retire when and whither they please with their families and servants, furniture, effects, and merchandize; and the power of disposing of whatever effects they may chuse to leave behind, or to receive their rents by agents.

Ans. Granted.

Art. IX. No troops nor armed men, except those of the British government, shall on any account be brought into the town.

Ans. The British government will take care that no armed men shall be brought into the town, in any manner that may give the inhabitants any cause of uneasiness or apprehension.

Art. X. The community in general, nor any individual in particular, shall be subjected to any tax or contribution whatever, on account of the events which have preceded or accompanied the siege.

Ans. Granted.

Art. XI. No person shall be troubled on account of his religious or political opinions, nor for any thing he may have said before or during the siege.

Ans. Granted.

Art. XII. The inhabitants shall not be subject to have soldiers billeted in their houses; they shall not be forced to any military service or work.

Ans. Soldiers shall never be billeted on the inhabitants, except in cases of absolute necessity.

Art. XIII. The present money of the republic, particularly assignats, shall continue to pass current.

Ans. The French money and assignats shall be allowed to pass; but no person shall be compelled to take them.

Art. XIV. The national domains, sold agreeable to the existing laws, shall be kept by the purchasers; the leases of national property not sold, which have been granted till this time, shall remain in force.

Ans. We do not feel ourselves authorized to decide on this article; it must be left to the decision of his Britannic

Britannic majesty, the purchasers enjoying the possession of the national domains till his majesty's pleasure shall be known: and all leases granted before the arrival of the British fleet at St. Fiorenzo shall remain in force.

Art. XV. The community shall be maintained in the possession of the moveables and immoveables belonging to it; the same shall be done with the town-hospital.

Ans. Granted.

Art. XVI. The deserters shall not be demanded on one side or the other.

Ans. Granted.

XVII. The prisoners that have been taken during the siege shall be set at liberty, and shall be allowed to retire to Bastia, or to France; those which have been taken since the beginning of the war, and have been given up to the Corsicans, shall be joined to those who were taken at Fornelli, to be exchanged when an opportunity offers.

Ans. Granted.

Art. XVIII. Necessary passports shall be furnished to two illeccas, to go, immediately after signing this capitulation, one to Calvi, and the other to the port of the Mountain, to carry the dispatches of the general of division, Gentili.

Ans. Granted, with regard to Toulon (port of the Mountain). Refused, with regard to Calvi.

Art. XIX. If any difficulty should arise respecting the terms or conditions of the capitulation, they shall be in all cases interpreted in favour of the garrison, the inhabitants of Bastia, and the refugees.

Ans. If any difficulty shall at any time arise in the interpretation of the capitulation, it shall be decided with the strictest justice to both parties.

Art. XX. The British government shall be the only guarantee of the present capitulation.

Ans. Granted.

*Additional articles.*

Art. I. All the out-posts and forts, and the gate of the citadel, shall be put in possession of his Britannic majesty's troops at twelve o'clock to-morrow: the troops in the forts and out-posts are to retire to the citadel, from whence they are to march, at ten o'clock the next morning, to the place appointed for each corps by the commissioners who have managed the present capitulation: and they are to lay down their arms at the place of their embarkation. Commissaries of artillery and stores will remain in the citadel, to take inventories of all the artillery, ammunition, and stores; and proper officers are to be appointed to shew the mines, magazines, and stores of every description.

Art. II. The town of Bastia, the citadel, and all the forts, out-works, and posts, and every thing contained in them that is not the private property of the garrison or inhabitants, together with the ships of war and all vessels lying in the port, shall be delivered up to his Britannic majesty in their present state, without any deterioration of the batteries, artillery, mines, magazines of ammunition, provisions, or any sort of stores.

(Signed)

ETIENNE MONTY, *pref. du depart.*

J. B. FRANCISCHI, *adj. gen.*

C. F. E. COUTHARD, *adj. gen.*

GALLAZZINI, *mayor of Bastia.*

*Approuvé par moi, GENTILI.*

S. GOODALL.

W. YOUNG.

J. N. INGLEFIELD.

J. McARTHUR.

*Approved by me, HEAD.*

G 3

LONDON



LONDON GAZETTE EXTRAORDINARY, WEDNESDAY, JUNE 11.

*Admiralty-Office, June 10.*

**S**IR Roger Curtis, first captain to the admiral earl Howe, arrived this evening with a dispatch from his lordship to Mr. Stephens, of which the following is a copy :

*Queen Charlotte at sea, June 2, 1794,  
Ufhant, E. half N. 140 leagues.*

SIR,

Thinking it may not be necessary to make a more particular report of my proceedings with the fleet, for the present information of the lords commissioners of the admiralty, I confine my communications chiefly, in this dispatch, to the occurrences when in presence of the enemy yesterday

Finding, on my return off Brest on the 19th past, that the French fleet had, a few days before, put to sea ; and receiving, on the same evening, advices from rear-admiral Montague, I deemed it requisite to endeavour to form a junction with the rear-admiral as soon as possible, and proceeded immediately for the station on which he meant to wait for the return of the *Venus*.

But, having gained very credible intelligence, on the 21st of the same month, whereby I had reason to suppose the French fleet was then but a few leagues farther to the westward, the course before steered was altered accordingly.

On the morning of the 28th the enemy were discovered far to windward, and partial actions were engaged with them that evening and the next day.

The weather-gage having been obtained, in the progress of the last-mentioned day, and the fleet being

in a situation for bringing the enemy to close action the 1st instant, the ships bore up together for that purpose, between seven and eight o'clock in the morning.

The French, their force consisting of twenty-six ships of the line, opposed to his majesty's fleet of twenty-five (the *Audacious* having parted company with the sternmost ship of the enemy's line, captured in the night of the 28th) waited for the action, and sustained the attack with their customary resolution.

In less than an hour after the close action commenced in the centre, the French admiral, engaged by the *Queen Charlotte*, crowded off; and was followed by most of the ships of his van in condition to carry sail after him, leaving with us about ten or twelve of his crippled or totally dismantled ships, exclusive of one sunk in the engagement. The *Queen Charlotte* had then lost her fore-topmast, and the main-topmast fell over the side very soon after.

The greater number of the other ships of the British fleet were, at this time, so much disabled or widely separated, and under such circumstances with respect to those ships of the enemy in a state for action, and with which the firing was still continued, that two or three, even of their dismantled ships, attempting to get away under a sprit-lail singly, or smaller sail raised on the stump of the foremast, could not be detained.

Seven remained in our possession, one of which, however, sunk before the adequate assistance could be given to her crew ; but many were saved.

The *Brunswick*, having lost her mizen-mast in the action, and drifted to leeward of the French retreating ships, was obliged to put away large

large to the northward from them. Not seeing her chased by the enemy, in that predicament, I flatter myself she may arrive in safety at Plymouth. All the other twenty-four ships of his majesty's fleet re-assembled later in the day; and I am preparing to return with them, as soon as the captured ships of the enemy are secured, for Spithead.

The material injury to his majesty's ships, I understand, is confined principally to their masts and yards, which I conclude will be speedily replaced.

I have not been yet able to collect regular accounts of the killed and wounded in the different ships. Captain Montague is the only officer of his rank who fell in the action. The numbers of both descriptions I hope will prove small, the nature of the service considered; but I have the concern of being to add, on the same subject, that admiral Graves has received a wound in the arm, and that rear-admirals Bowyer and Pasley, and captain Hutt, of the Queen, have each had a leg taken off; they are, however, (I have the satisfaction to hear) in a favourable state under those misfortunes. In the captured ships the numbers of killed and wounded appear to be very considerable.

Though I shall have, on the subject of these different actions with the enemy, distinguished examples hereafter to report, I presume the determined bravery of the several ranks of officers and the ships companies employed under my authority, will have been already sufficiently denoted by the effect of their spirited exertions; and, I trust, I shall be excused for postponing the more detailed narrative of the other transactions of the fleet thereon, for

being communicated at a future opportunity; more especially as my first captain sir Roger Curtis, who is charged with this dispatch, will be able to give the farther information the lords commissioners of the admiralty may at this time require. It is incumbent on me, nevertheless, now to add, that I am greatly indebted to him for his councils as well as conduct in every branch of my official duties: and I have similar assistance, in the late occurrences, to acknowledge of my second captain, sir Andrew Douglas.

I am, with great consideration,

SIR,

Your most obedient servant,  
HOWE.

P. S. The names and force of the captured French ships with the fleet is transmittted herewith.

*List of French ships captured on the 1st day of June, 1794.*

La Juste	—	80 guns.
Sans Pareille	—	80
L'Amerique	—	74
L'Achille	—	74
Northumberland	—	74
L'Impeteux	—	74
Vengeur	—	74 sunk

almost immediately upon being taken possession of.

N. B. The ship stated to have been captured on the evening of the 28th of last month, is said by the prisoners to be the Revolutionaire, of 120 guns.

SUPPLEMENT TO THE LONDON GAZETTE EXTRAORDINARY OF WEDNESDAY, JUNE 11.

*Admiralty-Office, June 14.*

A letter was received yesterday evening from admiral earl Howe to  
G 4 Mr.

# 88 ANNUAL REGISTER, 1794.

Mr. Stephens, dated that day, off Dunnose, in the Isle of Wight, giving an account of his safe arrival with the six captured French ships of the line mentioned in his former letter of the 2d instant, and with a great part of his majesty's fleet under his command, having sent the remainder into Plymouth-Sound. The

following are the returns of the killed and wounded on board his majesty's ships, in the actions with the French fleet on the 28th and 29th of May, and the 1st instant; and also of the numbers killed and wounded on board the French ships, captured and sunk on the last-mentioned day.

## *A return of the killed and wounded on board his majesty's ships.*

SHIPS NAMES.	KILLED.		WOUNDED.		Total.
	Seamen, &c.	Marines or Soldiers.	Seamen, &c.	Marines or Soldiers.	
Cæsar,	18	—	37	—	55
Bellerophon,	3	1	26	1	31
Leviathan,	10	—	32	1	43
Sovereign,	11	3	39	5	58
Marlborough,	24	5	76	14	119
Defence,	14	4	29	10	57
Impregnable,	7	—	24	—	31
Tremendous,	2	1	6	2	11
Barfleur,	8	1	22	3	34
Culloden,	—	—	—	—	—
Invincible,	9	5	21	10	45
Gibraltar,	1	1	12	—	14
The Charlotte,	13	1	24	5	43
Brunswick, parted company on the 1st of June.					
Valiant,	1	1	5	4	11
Queen,	30	6	57	10	103
Orion,	5	—	20	4	29
Ramillics,	2	—	7	—	9
Alfred,	—	—	6	2	8
Ruffel,	7	1	24	2	34
Royal George,	18	2	63	9	92
Montagu,	4	—	13	—	17
Majestic,	3	—	4	1	8
Glory,	13	—	31	8	52
Thunderer, none killed or wounded.					
Audacious, parted company on the night of the 28th of May,					
Grand total	203	32	578	91	904

*Name*

## *Names of the officers killed and wounded.*

### KILLED.

<i>Ships names.</i>	<i>Officers names.</i>	<i>Qualities.</i>
Royal Sovereign,	Mr William Ivey,	midshipman
Marlborough,	Mr Abraham Nelham,	ditto
Defence,	Mr William Webster,	master
	Mr Jo. Fitzpatrick,	boatswain
Impregnable,	Mr David Caird,	master
Tremendous,	Mr Francis Ross,	1st lieutenant
The Charlotte,	Mr R. Rawlence,	7th ditto
	Mr John Neville,	lieut. queen's regiment
Queen,	Mr William Mitchell,	master
Royal George,	Mr George Heigham,	8th lieutenant
	Mr John Hughes,	midshipman
Montagu,	James Morgan, esq.	captain
Glory,	Mr George Metcalf,	master
	Mr David Greigg,	midshipman.

### WOUNDED, AND UNABLE TO COME TO QUARTERS.

Bellerophon,	Thomas Pasley, esq.	rear-admiral of the white
	Mr Smith,	captain of marines
	Mr Chapman,	boatswain
Leviathan,	Mr Glen,	midshipman
Royal Sovereign,	Thomas Graves, esq.	admiral of the blue
	Mr C. Money,	captain of marines
	Mr S. Mitchell,	lieutenant of ditto
Marlborough,	Hon. G. Berkley,	captain
	Mr A. Ruddack,	2d lieutenant
	Mr M. Seymour,	5th ditto
	Mr Fitzgerald,	midshipman
	Mr Shorland,	ditto
	Mr Linthorne,	ditto
	Mr Clarges,	ditto
	Mr M. Pardoo,	master's mate
Defence,	Mr J. Elliot,	ditto
	Mr Boycott,	ensign, queen's regiment
Impregnable,	Mr W. Buller,	lieutenant
	Mr Patterlo,	boatswain
Burfew,	George Bowyer, esq.	rear-admiral of the white
	Mr W. Prowse,	6th lieutenant
	Mr Fogo,	midshipman
	Mr Clemons,	ditto
Queen Charlotte,	Mr J. Holland,	ditto

Queen,

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<i>Ships names.</i>	<i>Officers names.</i>	<i>Qualities.</i>
Queen,	John Hutt, esq.	captain
	Mr Dawes,	2d lieutenant, since dead.
	Mr Lawrie,	6th ditto
	Mr G. Crimes,	acting ditto
	Mr Kinnier,	midshipman
Russell,	Mr Stewart,	ditto
	Mr Kelly,	ditto
	Mr Douglas,	boatfwain
Royal George,	Mr J. Ireland,	2d lieutenant
	Mr J. Balmbrough,	master
	Mr Boys,	midshipman
	Mr Pearce,	ditto
Montagu,	Hon. Mr Bennett,	ditto
	Mr T. Moore,	ditto.

The 2d captain, fir Andrew Douglas, of the Queen Charlotte, was wounded, but resumed his station on deck during the farther continuance of the action on the 1st instant.

HOWE.

*An account of the numbers killed and wounded on board the French ships captured and sunk on the 1st of June.*

La Juste	—	100 killed.	145 wounded.
Sans Pareil	—	260	120
L'Amerique	—	134	110
L'Achille	—	36	30
Northumberland	—	60	100
L'Impeteux	—	100	75
		690	580

Le Vengeur, 320 sunk

Le Jacobin, sunk in action, not a man saved.

LONDON GAZETTE EXTRAORDINARY, SATURDAY, JUNE 21.

*Admiralty-Office, June 21.*

A LETTER, of which the following is a copy,\* from the admiral earl Howe, to Mr. Stephens, supplementary to his lordship's letter of the 2d instant, published in the London Gazette Extraordinary of the 11th, was received late last night.

"In the extract of the journal herewith inclosed, the proceedings of the fleet are stated from the time of leaving St. Helen's on the 2d of last month to that of the first discovery of the French fleet on the 28th of the same. For the farther information of the lords commissioners of the admiralty, I have now therefore to relate the subsequent transactions not already communicated in my dispatch

dispatch of the 2d instant, to be delivered by my first captain, sir Roger Curtis.

Early in the morning of the 28th, the enemy were discovered by the advanced frigates, far distant on the weather bow. The wind then fresh from the S. by W. with a very rough sea.

They came down, for some time, in a loose order, seemingly unapprized that they had the British fleet in view. After hauling to the wind when they came nearer, they were some hours before they could completely form in regular order of battle upon the starboard tack; the British fleet continuing as before in the order of sailing.

The time required for the enemy to perfect their disposition, had facilitated the nearer approach of his majesty's fleet to them, and for the separately appointed and detached part of it, commanded by rear-admiral Pasley, to be placed more advantageously for making an impression on their rear.

The signals denoting that intention being made, the rear-admiral, near upon the close of the day, led his division on with peculiar firmness, and attacked a three-decked ship (the *Revolutionaire*) the sternmost in the enemy's line.

Making known soon after that he had a top-mast disabled, assistance was directed to be given to him in that situation. The quick approach of night only allowed me to observe, that lord Hugh Seymour (*Conway*) in the *Leviathan*, with equal good judgement and determined courage, pushed up along side of the three-decked French ship, and was supported, as it appeared, by captain Parker, of the *Audacious*, in the most spirited manner.

The darkness which now prevailed did not admit of my making any more accurate observations on the conduct of those ships and others concerned in the same service; but I have since learnt that the *Leviathan* stretched out further a-head, for bringing the second ship from the enemy's rear to action, as soon as her former station could be occupied by a succeeding British ship; also, that the three-decked ship in the enemy's rear as aforesaid, being unsustained by their other ships, struck to the *Audacious*, and that they parted company together soon after.

The two opponent fleets continued on the starboard tack, in a parallel direction, the enemy still to windward the remainder of the night. The British fleet appearing in the morning of the 29th, when in order of battle, to be far enough advanced for the ships in the van to make some farther impression on the enemy's rear, was tacked in succession with that intent.

The enemy were hereupon from van to rear, and continued edging down in line a-head to engage the van of the British fleet; when arrived at such a distance as to be just able to reach our most advanced ships, their headmost ships, as they came successively into the wake of their respective seconds a-head, opened with that distant fire upon the headmost ships of the British van. The signal for passing through their line, made when the fleet tacked before, was then renewed.

It could not be for some time seen, through the fire from the two fleets in the van, to what extent that signal was complied with. But as the smoke at intervals dispersed, it was observed that the *Catara*, the leading ship of the British van, after  
being

being about on the starboard tack, and come a-bread of the Queen Charlotte, had not kept to the wind; and that the appointed movement would consequently be liable to fail of the purposed effect.

The Queen Charlotte was therefore immediately tacked; and, followed by the Bellerophon, her second officer (and soon after joined by the Leviathan) passed through in action, between the fifth and sixth ships in the rear of the enemy's line.

She was put about again on the larboard tack forthwith, after the enemy, in preparation for renewing the action with the advantage of that weathermost situation.

The rest of the British fleet being at this time passing to leeward, and without the sternmost ships, mostly of the French line, the enemy wore again to the eastward in succession, for succouring the disabled ships of their rear; which intention, by reason of the then disabled state of the fleet, and having no more than the two crippled ships, the Bellerophon and Leviathan, at that time near her, I was unable to obstruct.

The enemy having succeeded in this operation, wore round again, after some distant cannonading of the nearest British ships, occasionally retired, and stood away in order of battle on the starboard tack, followed by the British fleet in the same order (but with the weather-gage reversed), as soon as the ships coming forward to close with the Queen Charlotte was suitably arranged.

The fleets remained separated some few miles, in view at times on the intermission of a thick fog, which lasted most part of the two next days.

The commander of a fleet, their lordships know, is unavoidably so

confined in his view of the occurrences in time of battle, as to be little capable of rendering personal testimony to the meritorious service of officers who have profited, in a greater extent, by the opportunities to distinguish themselves on such occasions.

To discharge this part of my public duty, reports were called for from the flag-officers of the fleet, for supplying the defects of my observation, under the limited circumstances above-mentioned. Those officers, therefore, who have such particular claim to my attention, are the admirals Graves and Sir Alexander Hood; the rear-admirals Bowyer, Gardner, and Pasley; the captains Lord Hugh Seymour, Pakenham, Berkeley, Gambier, John Harvey, Payne, Parker, Henry Harvey, Pringle, Duckworth, and Elphinstone. Special notice is also due to the captains Nicholls of the Sovereign, and Hope of the Bellerophon, who became charged with, and well-conducted those ships when the wounded flag-officers, under whom they respectively served therein, were no longer able to remain at their posts; and the lieutenants Monckton of the Marlborough, and Donnelly of the Montague, in similar situations. These selections, however, should not be construed to the disadvantage of other commanders, who may have been equally deserving of the approbation of the lords commissioners of the admiralty, although I am not enabled to make a particular statement of their merits.

To the reports from the flag-officers are added those required from the several captains of the fleet; whereby their lordships will become more particularly acquainted

## APPENDIX to the CHRONICLE. 93

ed with the meritorious services of the several commanders, and animated intrepidity of their subordinate officers and ships companies; to which the defeat of the enemy, with every advantage of situation and circumstance in their favour, is truly to be ascribed. To the like purport, I beg my testimony, in behalf of the officers and company of every description in the Queen Charlotte, may be accepted.

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*Amount of the different salaries and emoluments of different officers appointed during the present war, and also the amount of the pay granted to the several army-commissaries appointed in 1793, presented to the house of commons.*

An account of the salary enjoyed by the hon. William Elliot, as chargé des affaires at the court of Berlin; with the date to which the same has been continued.

**N**O salary has been paid to the honourable William Elliott, as chargé des affaires at the court of Berlin.

Mr. Elliot was appointed secretary of legation at Berlin on the 14th of November, 1791, with the usual salary of one pound per day, gross, annexed to that office; which determined in July last, on his appointment to be secretary of embassy at the Hague.

CHARLES LONG.

*Whitehall, Treasury-Chambers,  
31st Jan. 1794.*

An account of the salary granted to lord Malmesbury, on his mission to the court of Berlin; together with all the perquisites and emoluments attending the said mission; with the date of the commencement of such salary.

For equipage-money, one thousand five hundred pounds.

Ordinary entertainment, one hundred and sixty pounds by the week, gross, to commence on the 20th day of November, 1793, and to determine on the day of his returning into the king's presence, or sooner, upon signification of his majesty's pleasure.

No perquisites or other emoluments attending the said mission.

CHARLES LONG.

*Whitehall, Treasury-Chambers,  
31st Jan. 1794.*

The amount of the pension granted to James Hayes, esq. late one of the justices of the grand sessions for the counties in Wales.

James Hayes, esq. five hundred pounds per annum.

CHARLES LONG.

*Whitehall, Treasury-Chambers,  
31st Jan. 1794.*



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The amount of the pay granted to the several commissaries for the forces, appointed in 1793, at home and abroad; with an account of the half-pay to which they will severally become entitled in consequence thereof.

NAMES AND RANK.	Total Daily Pay.			At the Treasury Pay per Day.			At the War Office. Pay per Day.			Half-pay per Day.			
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	
GREAT BRITAIN.													
Robert Bissett, Commissary General	—	2	0	0	—	—	2	0	0	1	0	0	
Leo. B. Morfe, Deputy Commissary	—	1	0	0	—	—	1	0	0	0	10	0	
Robert Bissett, ditto	—	1	0	0	—	—	1	0	0	0	10	0	
NORTH BRITAIN.													
Hon. John Cochrane, Deputy Commissary	—	1	0	0	—	—	1	0	0	0	10	0	
FLANDERS.													
Brook Watson, Commissary General	—	7	0	0	4	0	0	3	0	0	1	10	0
Henry Motz, Dep. Commissary General	—	1	10	0	—	—	1	10	0	0	15	0	0
Robert Gould, Assist. Commissary General	—	1	0	0	—	—	1	0	0	0	10	0	0
John Bessell, Assistant Commissary	—	1	0	0	0	5	0	0	15	0	0	7	6
Benjamin Mee, ditto	—	1	0	0	0	5	0	0	15	0	0	7	6
Fied. de Diemar, ditto	—	1	0	0	0	5	0	0	15	0	0	7	6
John Brawn, ditto	—	1	0	0	0	5	0	0	15	0	0	7	6
James Newland, ditto	—	1	0	0	0	5	0	0	15	0	0	7	6
Gideon Duncan, ditto	—	1	0	0	0	5	0	0	15	0	0	7	6
Francis Coffin, ditto	—	1	0	0	0	5	0	0	15	0	0	7	6
Thomas Greer, ditto	—	1	0	0	0	5	0	0	15	0	0	7	6
Thomas Durell, ditto	—	1	0	0	0	5	0	0	15	0	0	7	6
Charles Mafon, Commissary of Accounts	—	4	0	0	2	0	0	2	0	0	1	0	0
TOULON.													
John Erskine, Commissary General	—	5	0	0	2	0	0	3	0	0	1	10	0
John Buckholme, Dep. Commissary General	—	1	10	0	0	10	0	1	0	0	0	10	0
Nathaniel Whitworth, Assist. Commissary	—	1	0	0	0	5	0	0	15	0	0	7	6
George Berghman, ditto	—	0	15	0	0	5	0	0	10	0	0	5	0
John Fontaine, ditto	—	0	15	0	0	5	0	0	10	0	0	5	0
Martin Petrie, Commissary of Accounts	—	4	0	0	2	0	0	2	0	0	1	0	0
Henry L. Hunter, Assistant ditto	—	1	0	0	0	5	0	0	15	0	0	7	6
WEST INDIES.													
John Jaffray, Commissary General	—	5	0	0	2	0	0	3	0	0	1	10	0
John Carmody, Dep. Commissary General	—	1	10	0	0	10	0	1	0	0	0	10	0
Alexander Jaffray, ditto	—	1	5	0	0	10	0	0	15	0	0	7	6
Lauchlin McIntosh, ditto	—	0	15	0	0	5	0	0	10	0	0	5	0
Thomas Watton, ditto	—	0	15	0	0	5	0	0	10	0	0	5	0
John Amiel, ditto	—	0	15	0	0	5	0	0	10	0	0	5	0
Valentine Jones, Commissary of Accounts	—	4	0	0	2	0	0	2	0	0	1	0	0
EXPEDITION UNDER LORD MOIRA.													
Alexander Davison, Commissary General	—	5	0	0	5	0	0	3	0	0	1	10	0
Samuel Drewry, Deputy Commissary	—	1	10	0	0	10	0	1	0	0	0	10	0
John Thomson, Assistant Commissary	—	1	5	0	0	10	0	0	15	0	0	7	6
Thomas Boughton, ditto	—	1	5	0	0	10	0	0	15	0	0	7	6
Maurice Nelson, ditto	—	1	5	0	0	10	0	0	15	0	0	7	6
Gilbert Young, ditto	—	0	15	0	0	5	0	0	10	0	0	5	0
John Dornford, Commissary of Accounts	—	4	0	0	4	0	0	2	0	0	1	0	0

Whitehall, Treasury-Chambers,  
31st Jan. 1794.

CHARLES LO.

## APPENDIX to the CHRONICLE. 95

An account of the salary granted to sir Gilbert Elliot, bart. upon his appointment as commissioner at Toulon; together with all perquisites and emoluments attending the said appointment.

For ordinary entertainment, one hundred and sixty pounds per week.

Equipage money, one thousand five hundred pounds.

Plate, two thousand six hundred pounds nine shillings and ten pence.

Their majesties pictures at full length, in gilt frames, two hundred and fifty-four pounds sixteen shillings and six-pence.

State and chapel furniture, three hundred pounds.

CHARLES LONG.

*Whitehall, Treasury-Chambers,  
31st Jan. 1794.*

An account of the expences incurred by the mission of the earl of Yarmouth, as minister plenipotentiary to the king of Prussia.

For expences incurred by the earl of Yarmouth, in attending upon the king of Prussia, by his majesty's command, during the last campaign, and for several journies performed on his majesty's service, one thousand five hundred and eighteen pounds nine shillings and six pence.

CHARLES LONG.

*Whitehall, Treasury-Chambers,  
31st Jan. 1794.*

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*Papers relating to the Union of Corsica with the Crown of England.*

*Whitehall, July 22.*

The dispatch, of which the following is a copy, has been received by the right hon. Henry Dundas,

from the right hon. sir Gilbert Elliot, bart. dated Corté, the 21st of June, 1794.

SIR,

I HAVE the honour to acquaint you, that the union of Corsica to the crown of Great Britain is finally and formally concluded; and it is with the most sincere satisfaction that I find myself enabled to assure you that no national act was ever sanctioned by a more unanimous proceeding on the part of those who were authorized to do it, or by a more universal approbation, amounting, I may say, to enthusiasm on the part of the people.

I have already had the honour of transmitting to you a copy of the letter addressed by his excellency my lord Hood and myself, to his excellency general Paoli, dated the 21st of April. I have the honour to enclose to-day a copy of the circular letter, addressed by general Paoli to his countrymen, referring to that which he had received from us, an Italian translation of which was annexed.

Letters of convocation were soon after issued for the assembly of the General Consult to be held at Corté, on Sunday, the 8th of June, and were so framed as to procure the most general representation known in this island, every community, which is the smallest territorial division, having sent its representative, and the state of property being such, that although none but landholders were electors, every man, almost without exception, has voted.

The letters of convocation set forth the occasion of their being called together; and the minutes of election in every community expressed the general nature of the measure to which the deputies were authorized

authorized to consent, specifying distinctly the union of Corsica with Great Britain, and the tender of the crown to his majesty.

I have the honour to inclose copies of these proceedings.

The deputies met at Corté in sufficient numbers to constitute the assembly, on Tuesday, the 10th of June. Some days were employed in verifying their powers, and determining controverted elections; after which they chose general Paoli as their president, and Mr. Pozzo de Bargo and Mr. Muselli their secretaries.

On Saturday, the 14th instant, general Paoli opened the assembly by an excellent and eloquent speech, stating concisely the principal events which had occurred, and the principal measures adopted by himself since the separation of the last General Consult in May, 1793, the occasion of the present convocation, and the leading points on which their deliberations should turn.

The assembly voted unanimously their thanks to general Paoli, and a full and entire approbation of all he had done, by virtue of the powers formerly vested in him by the General Consult of 1793.

They then, first, declare unanimously, the separation of Corsica from France:

And secondly, with the same unanimity, and with the strongest demonstrations of universal satisfaction and joy, voted the union of Corsica to the crown of Great Britain.

A committee was then appointed to prepare the articles of union, and to consider the proper mode of tendering the crown to his majesty.

It was declared that all who came should have voices; and, in fact, several persons of character and ta-

lents, who were not even members of the assembly, were admitted to the deliberations, and took a share in the discussions of the committee.

The articles underwent, in the committee, a very full, free, and intelligent discussion; such as would have done honour to any assembly of public men in any country, and such as stamped the result with the sanction of a deliberate and informed, as well as a free and independent assent.

The report was voted with unanimity in the committee.

It was presented to the assembly on Thursday, the 17th, and on that and the following day was opened, and most ably as well as fully expounded to them by Mr. Pozzo de Bargo. It was adopted with unanimity, and with universal applause; and two copies of the act of union were signed by every member of the Consult.

On Thursday, the 19th of June, I received a deputation from the assembly, presenting to me a copy of the act of union, and inviting me to return with them, that the crown might be tendered to his majesty by the assembly itself, in the most solemn and authentic form.

I accompanied the deputation, and, in presence of the assembly, received from the president, his excellency general Paoli, in the name of the people, the tender of the crown and sovereignty of Corsica to his majesty.

His excellency's address to me is contained in the minutes.

After addressing the assembly in a manner which appeared to me suitable to the occasion, I pronounced in his majesty's name the acceptance of the crown, according to the articles contained in the act of union.

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I then took, in his majesty's name, the oath prescribed, "to maintain the liberties of Corsica according to the constitution and the laws."

The president then took and administered to the assembly the oath of allegiance and fidelity; after which I signed and sealed the acceptance annexed to both copies of the act of union, one of which I have now the honour to transmit.

The day following (yesterday) Te Deum was sung in the cathedral, accompanied by the discharge of artillery; and prayers were offered up for his majesty, by the name of George the Third, king of Great Britain and Corsica. In the evening the town was illuminated, and the people demonstrated their loyalty and joy by every means in their power.

The assembly has voted, this day, an address to his majesty, expressive of their gratitude, loyalty, and attachment; and have deputed four respectable gentlemen to present it to his majesty in London.

I cannot conclude this dispatch without offering my very humble congratulations on the fortunate termination of this important and interesting affair, at once advantageous, as I trust, to the contracting parties, honourable to his majesty, and gratifying, in every view, to his royal feelings, as well as to those of his British subjects.

The true foundation and basis of this transaction has rested on the confidence inspired by his majesty's princely virtues, and the exalted reputation enjoyed throughout the world by the British nation for every honourable and generous quality. The people of Corsica have, on one hand, done homage to those virtues, by confiding and tendering, even solicitously, the sovereignty of their

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country to his majesty; they have, on the other hand, heightened the value of that confidence, by evincing that it comes from men who have rejected with horror the poisonous and counterfeited liberty of France, without being ignorant or careless of a well-ordered and constitutional freedom.

His majesty has acquired a crown; those who bestow it have acquired liberty. The British nation has extended its political and commercial sphere by the accession of Corsica: Corsica has added new securities to her ancient possessions, and has opened fresh fields of prosperity and wealth, by her liberal incorporation with a vast and powerful empire.

This dispatch will be delivered to you by Mr. Petriconi, a young gentleman of this country, who has served with distinction throughout the war, under the orders of general Paoli, and particularly in the sieges of Bastia and St. Fiorenzo.

I beg leave to refer to him for any particulars which I may have omitted, and to recommend him to the honour of your attention during his residence in England.

I have the honour to be, &c.  
(Signed) GILBERT ELLIOT.

#### TRANSLATION.

*General Paoli to his Countrymen.*

*Furiani, May 1, 1794.*

*Most dearly beloved Countrymen,*

The unabated confidence with which you have honoured me, and the solicitude I have ever had to promote your interests and to insure your liberty, prescribe to me the obligation of stating to you the present situation of public affairs.

You remember how many cruel and treacherous arrangements were made by the three commissioners of the French Convention who were sent over to our island; and in what manner

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manner they attempted to concentrate the powers of government in a small number of their satellites, destined to be the instruments of those violences and cruelties which were to be exercised against all well meaning persons, and against the nation at large.

The unjust decree which ordered my arrest, and my transfer to the bar of the assembly, was the first attempt directed by them against your liberty. You unanimously declared yourselves, and humbly remonstrated, against an act designed to facilitate the execution of the enemy's plots: finally, you, in a general assembly, declared your indignation at this act of injustice; and you adopted, at that moment, such resolutions as were consistent with your own dignity, and with the public welfare.

I accepted, as a distinguishing proof of your confidence, the commission you were pleased to confer upon me, for providing in those critical circumstances for the maintenance of your safety and liberty: anxious that you should not be exposed to any danger, unless indignation and necessity commanded you to resist, I tried every means which prudence and moderation suggested to me at that time; but neither your just reclamations, nor my innocence, were sufficient to recal to sentiments of rectitude and humanity a violent and sanguinary faction, irritated by the noble resistance you had made, and resolved to accomplish your destruction: for which purpose the subversion of the government was ordered, and the members of it proscribed, conjointly with many other zealous patriots: the nation was declared in a state of rebellion; orders were given to reduce it by force of arms, and to

treat it with the bloody rigour of revolutionary laws.

Roused by these causes, by the endless succession of destruction and ruin, which characterizes the conduct of those persons who exercise the powers of government in France, and by the destruction of all religion, and of every form of worship, enforced and proclaimed among the people with unexampled impiety, every Corsican felt the necessity of separating from the French, and of guarding against the poisonous influence of their errors.

The acts of hostility committed by the French, and those Corsican traitors who had taken refuge in the garrisons of Calvi, St. Fiorenzo, and Bastia, compelled us to repel them by force of arms. I have seen with infinite satisfaction, during the course of a whole year, that your ancient bravery and attachment to your country were not in the least diminished. In various encounters the enemy have been defeated, although numerous and supported by artillery: you have treated the prisoners, taken in the heat of battle, with generosity; whilst the enemy have, in cold blood, massacred our prisoners, who were so unfortunate as to fall into their hands: in all these agitations we have kept ourselves united, and exempt from the horrors of licentiousness and anarchy; a happy presage of your future fate, and an irrefragable proof that you are deserving of true liberty, and that you will know how to preserve it unsullied by licentiousness and dissensions.

In such a state of things, a becoming diffidence made me, nevertheless, apprehend that the enemy would increase in force, and attempt to carry into execution the destructive plans they had formed against you: under these circumstances I felt

the necessity of foreign assistance, in conformity to your wishes, and to the public and universal expectation, recourse to the king, and to a vigorous and powerful nation, had, on other occasions, preserved the remains of our liberty; sure dictated by the public and which I took only when conciliatory offer had been totally rejected, and every hope aiming moderation or justice the French Convention was

Britannic majesty's arms have their appearance in your ships and troops are employed with you to drive from our eyes the common enemy, and aid of Britons and Corsicans jointly shed for the liberty of and. Our enterprise has already been crowned with happy success, and draws near to a fortunate completion.

The pleasing aspect of affairs has induced me to turn my thoughts to the most efficacious means of securing a permanent freedom, securing our island from the events which, till this moment, have kept us in agitation.

The protection of the king of Britain, and a political union of the British nation, of which prosperity and power, uninterrupted for ages, are to the universe of the excellency of its government, have appeared to me to be united with the happiness and safety of Corsica. The universal opinion on this head, evinced by the general inclination you have expressed, and strengthened by your desire for benefits received, appears fortunately to concur with

I have therefore made the

proper overtures to his majesty the king of Great Britain, with a view to establish this desirable union.

With a satisfaction never to be erased from my mind, I now behold our wishes anticipated, and our hopes realized: the memorial which has been transmitted to me by their excellencies, the admiral commanding the fleet, and the minister plenipotentiary of his majesty, affords us the opportunity of establishing this union in the manner best adapted to the benefit of both nations, and to the honour of his majesty. I cannot better make known to you their excellencies sentiments than by a faithful translation of their memorial.

The nature of the present address does not permit me to enlarge upon the benefits of this union, which tends to conciliate the most extensive political and civil liberty with personal security. You are convinced of these truths, and will regulate your conduct accordingly: I nevertheless avail myself of this opportunity to declare to you, that, in taking the English constitution for your model, you will proceed upon the most solid principles that philosophy, policy, and experience, have ever been known to combine for the happiness of a great people, reserving to yourselves the power of adapting them to your own peculiar situation, customs, and religion, without being exposed, hereafter, to the venality of a traitor, or to the ambition of a powerful usurer.

A matter of such importance ought nevertheless to be discussed, and agreed to by you in a general assembly, at which I intreat you to assist by your deputies, on Sunday the 8th of the ensuing month of June, in the city of Corté. The

provisional government will then suggest to you the form and mode of the elections.

I beseech you to impress yourselves with the great importance of the affairs on which you have to determine; and, on that account, let it be your care to select persons of zeal and acknowledged probity, and, as much as may be in your power, reputable heads of families, interested in good government and the prosperity of the country. Let moderation and propriety of conduct prevail in your assemblies, that no person among you may have the mortification to remark any disorder in the most happy moment which has occurred in the course of our revolutions, and in passing the most important act of civil society. In the mean time, let every man suggest whatever he may conceive most useful to the country, in order to communicate his opinion to the nation, legally represented and assembled.

Corfica is now justly regarded by foreign powers as a free nation; fier resolutions will, I hope, be suitable to her situation, and dictated by a wisdom and by a love for the public good.

With respect to myself my dearly beloved countrymen, after having devoted every moment of my life to your happiness, I shall esteem myself the happiest of mankind, if, through the means I have derived from your confidence, I can obtain, for our country, the opportunity of forming a free and lasting government, and of preserving to Corfica its name, its unity, and its independence, whilst the names of the heroes who have spilt their blood in its support and defence, will be, for future generations, objects of

noble emulation and grateful remembrance.

(Signed) PASQUALE DE PAOLI.

*Copy of a letter from their excellencies lord Hood and sir Gilbert Elliot, bart. to general Paoli.*

*Victory, Bastia-Roads, April 21, 1794.*  
SIR,

Your excellency having been pleased to represent to us, on behalf of the Corfican nation, that the intolerable and pernicious tyranny of the French Convention having driven that brave people to take up arms in their own defence, they were determined to shake off altogether the unjust dominion of France, and to assert the rights of a free and independent nation; but being sensible that their own efforts might be insufficient to contend with France, or other powerful nations, who might undertake hostile attempts against them, and confiding implicitly in the magnanimity and princely virtues of his Britannic majesty, and in the bravery and generosity of his people, they were desirous of forming a perpetual union with the British nation, under the mild and equitable government of his majesty and his successors, for the better protection, and for the perpetual security and preservation of their independence and liberties: and your excellency having, on these considerations, solicited, in the name of the people of Corfica, his majesty's present assistance, and his royal protection in time to come, we took the same into our most serious consideration; and knowing his majesty's gracious and affectionate disposition towards the Corfican nation, and his readiness to contribute in every way which is consistent with justice

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and the interests of his subjects, the happiness of that brave and being invested with powers for that purpose, I am bound to comply with your wish and have accordingly furnished aid of his majesty's naval forces in the Mediterranean towards expelling the enemy from the island of Cor-

si- since been honoured with special powers and authority in concert with your excellency to conclude, on his behalf, the particular form of relation which shall exist between the two na-

with the most lively satisfaction acquaint your excellency, I have it in command from his majesty to assent, on his part, to the system as will cement the union of our two nations under a common sovereign, and, at the same time, secure for ever the independence of Corsica, and the preservation of her ancient constitution, and religion.

I whatever satisfaction his majesty has graciously assented to the wishes, which promise, for the first time, not only to this island the present blessing of tranquillity and peace, and an increase of prosperity and abundance, but also to establish its independence and happiness on a sure and lasting foundation; and I am, however, determined to include nothing without the free and free consent of the people of Corsica.

I therefore request your excellency to take the proper steps for settling these important matters

to their judgement; and as the small number of the enemy, at present invested by the British and Corsican troops, and which must soon either be destroyed or yield to superior force, can no longer give any uneasiness to this country, but the freedom and deliverance of Corsica is in effect accomplished, we beg leave to submit to your excellency, whether it may not be desirable to take the earliest measures for terminating these interesting concerns, and for adding a formal sanction to that union, which is already established in the hearts of all our countrymen.

We have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) HOOD.

GILBERT ELLIOT.

*His excellency general Paoli,*

*&c. &c.*

### TRANSLATION.

*The General Council charged with the provisional government of Corsica, to the municipal officers, curates of parishes, and their fellow countrymen.*

*Beloved countrymen,*

The God of armies, protector of the most just cause, has favoured your efforts.

The audacious army, whose fury and violence was excited by the insidious faction which proposed to itself to abolish all order, customs, and religion in Europe, will shortly be removed from our territories.

To secure a more speedy success, Providence has given you the support of a powerful nation, accustomed to respect laws, and a legitimate power, which has generously assisted you, to extricate yourselves from the tyrannical anarchy of the present republic of France.



That nation and its king offer you the advantages of a lasting union and constant protection.

The happy influence of our glorious countryman, general de Paoli, added to the resources of his genius, and excited by the dangers of his own country, have accelerated this happy event; in short, brave Corsicans, *we are free*.

By our constancy, firmness, and courage, we have acquired the enjoyment of the advantages we inherit from our ancestors, *liberty and religion*.

However, it would be but little to have regained this noble succession, if our efforts and prudence were unable to secure it for ever.

To insure the success of these efforts, and to direct our prudence, a perfect union is necessary; our general resolutions must be formed with a view to our present situation and our future expectations.

The Corsicans must therefore prescribe the form of administration and government they choose to adopt, enunciate, or approve of, and the principles on which it is to be established, or on which their legislation is to be fixed.

Finally, beloved countrymen, the most important object is, a speedy union of the people, and the last act of the provisional administration you adopted, ordains us to support the paternal and patriotic intentions of general de Paoli.

In this invitation we can give you but a faint idea of the important functions you will confide to your representatives in the next assembly; however, you no doubt know the indispensable necessity of adopting measures for the maintenance of internal tranquillity, and of a form of government adapted to our customs,

powers, and situation, and finally to the various relations that will hereafter be established between Corsicans; the English nation and their king feel, even more than others, the necessity that such deputies should be appointed among our countrymen as shall have given evident proofs of their patriotism, and of their desire to act with a zeal adequate to the nature and importance of their mission, for establishing and securing by the new order of things, not only for the present, but in future, public felicity. This last consideration, in case you are sensible of it, will, we are in hopes, determine you to prefer one of the most respectable heads of family in each of your respective communities, as a representative on such solemn and important occasions in council.

In this union, which will form the most memorable crisis of our annals, the objects must be treated with that form and order due to the dignity of the representatives of a free people.

The ancient assemblies of our nation, at the time of the glorious government of its deserving general, were only composed of one deputy from each community. Finding it necessary to avoid the inconvenience of repeated elections, we have thought it expedient in this circumstance to invite you to adopt this ancient custom, chiefly on reflecting, that as harvest is approaching, the absence of chiefs from their families, added to the expences of the journey, and time spent in the election, would be of prejudice to their affairs and domestic interests; the people will therefore establish constitutionally the number of its representatives for the successive re-unions.

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The zealous and good citizens will, however, be enabled to lay before the council their knowledge of all important subjects, which will be taken into consideration and discussed accordingly, but they will have no part in its deliberations.

The general council therefore invites all communities of Corsica to assemble on Sunday the first of June, each to appoint, according to the form of election hereunto annexed, its representative at the general council, and the general assembly of the clergy to take place on the Sunday following, the 8th of June.

The municipal officers and parishes of the respective communities are charged with the publication and distribution of both general Paoli's circular letter and this.

Corté, May 9, 1794.

For the general council of the government.

(Signed)

*(A great number of names.)*

### FORM OF ELECTION.

In the year 1794, on the 1st of June, in the parish church of the community of \_\_\_\_\_ usual place for the general meeting of the clergy:

We N. N. N.\* the inhabitants of the said community, exceeding the age of twenty-five, being legally united by virtue of the circular letter wrote on the 1st of May by his excellency general de Paoli, and the one wrote by the provisional government on the 9th of the same month, duly published, to appoint a deputy, who is to be a representative at the general council of Corsica, to be held on the 8th current, we have chosen as our president Mr. N. the

most proper person among those assembled, who know how to write, and who has appointed as his secretary Mr. N.

In succession of the said appointment, the majority of votes is given in favour of Mr. N. father of a family, who has been duly elected by the present assembly, and proclaimed deputy, and unto him we give the power of concerting and treating with the other representatives of the nation, on the transactions that will in future take place between Corsica and his majesty the king of Great Britain and the English nation; as likewise on subjects of public utility contained in the aforesaid circular letter.

And the present verbal process has been registered, and deposited in the chancery of this community, and a copy given to serve him the said Mr. N. deputy, as a full power and certificate.

N. President.

N. Secretary.

Firm of the general council,  
COTTONI, vice-president,  
MUSELLI, secretary.

### TRANSLATION.

We, the representatives of the Corsican nation, free and independent, lawfully assembled in a general meeting, possessed of a special authority to form the present constitutional act, have unanimously decreed, under the auspices of the Supreme Being, the following articles:

### CHAPTER I.

*Of the nature of the constitution, and of the constituted powers.*

Article 1. The constitution of Corsica is monarchical, accord-

\* Here all names of such persons as shall be present at the meeting will be affixed.

ing to the following fundamental laws.

Art. 2. The legislative power is vested in the king, and in the representatives of the people, lawfully elected and convened.

Art. 3. The legislature, composed of the king and of the representatives of the people, is denominated the parliament; the assembly of the representatives are styled members of the parliament.

#### CHAPTER II.

*Of the mode of elections, the number of members, and the functions of parliament.*

Article 1. The territory shall be divided into pieves (districts), each of which shall send two members to parliament. The towns on the coast, of which the population shall amount to 3000 souls and upwards, have the right of sending two members each to parliament; the bishops who discharge the duties of their see in Corsica, and are recognized as such by the Corsican nation, shall be members of parliament.

Art. 2. The members of parliament shall be elected by all the Corsican citizens, of twenty-five years of age, who shall have been resident at least one year in the pieve, or in the town, and who are possessors of land.

Art. 3. No person shall be elected a member of parliament, unless he possesses at least 6000 livres in land in the pieve which he is to represent, and pays taxes in proportion to this possession, and unless born of a Corsican father, and *bona fide* an inhabitant, having kept house for five years in the said pieve, and until he has arrived at the age of twenty-five.

Art. 4. Lodgers, except those who are inmates for life, persons employed in collecting the revenue, the receivers and collectors of taxes, those who have pensions, or who are in the service of a foreign power, and priests, cannot be members of the house of parliament.

Art. 5. The form of election shall be determined by the laws.

Art. 6. If a member of parliament dies, or becomes incapable, according to law, of being a member of parliament, another member shall be elected by his pieve, within fifteen days, by the king's authority.

Art. 7. The house of parliament has the right of enacting all the acts which are intended to have force of law.

Art. 8. The decrees of the house of parliament shall not have force of law, unless they receive the king's sanction.

Art. 9. Any decree that has not passed the house of parliament, and received the king's sanction, shall not be looked upon as law, nor carried into execution as such.

Art. 10. No imposition, tax, or public contribution, shall be laid without the consent of parliament, or without being specially granted by it.

Art. 11. Parliament has the right of impeachment, in the name of the nation, of every agent of government guilty of prevarication before the extraordinary tribunal.

Art. 12. The cases of prevarication shall be determined by the laws.

#### CHAPTER III.

*Of the duration and convocation of parliament.*

Article 1. The duration of one parliament shall be two years.

Art.

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Art. 2. The king may dissolve the parliament.

Art. 3. In case of a dissolution of parliament, the king shall convene another within forty days.

Art. 4. Those persons who were members of the dissolved parliament, may be elected members of the succeeding one.

Art. 5. If the parliament expires without being dissolved, another shall be called, by the king's authority, within forty days.

Art. 6. The king may prorogue the parliament.

Art. 7. The parliament cannot be convoked or assembled but by the king's command.

Art. 8. The interval between the convening of the house, and its prorogation, or, if it be not prorogued until its dissolution, or if it be not dissolved until its expiration, is to be called the session of parliament.

Art. 9. The vice-roy, or, in case of illness, the commissioners nominated by him for that purpose, shall open the sessions in person, and declare the reasons for convoking the parliament.

Art. 10. The parliament may adjourn itself, and re-assemble during the same session.

Art. 11. The house shall decide upon the contested elections of its members.

Art. 12. The members of parliament shall not be subject to arrest or imprisonment for debt during the continuance of their representation.

### CHAPTER IV.

*On the mode of deliberation, freedom of debate, and internal regulations of parliament,*

Article 1. After the opening of parliament by the vice-roy, or by his commissioners, as is herein before mentioned, the oldest member shall take the chair; and the members present having elected a provisional secretary amongst themselves, shall proceed to the choice of a president, and of one or more secretaries. The secretaries shall not be chosen from among the members; and may be dismissed by a vote of parliament.

Art. 2. The parliament assembled, in all the cases before-mentioned has the power of debate, and of passing bills, whenever above one half of its members are present.

Art. 3. Every member elected and not appearing, shall have notice from the president of the house, to repair to his post within fifteen days.

Art. 4. In case of non-appearance, or of not sending a lawful excuse satisfactory to the house, such member shall be condemned to a fine of 200 livres.

Art. 5. Parliament may grant leave of absence, or permit the absence of such members who solicit it, provided more than one half of its members remain present.

Art. 6. Every proposition made in parliament shall be decided by the majority of the members present; the president, in case of an equal division, shall give the casting vote.

Art. 7. The forms and procedures of enacting laws, and of determining other matters in the house, which may not be fixed by the present constitution, shall be regulated by the house itself.

Art. 8. The king's sanction, or the refusal of it, shall be announced in person by the king's representative

tive in the house of parliament, or by a special commission in case of sickness.

Art. 9. The form of the sanction shall be, *the king approves*; that of refusal, *the king will examine*; the bills sanctioned by the king are named acts of parliament.

Art. 10. No member of parliament shall be called to account, or punished by the king's servants, for the opinions manifested, or the doctrines professed in the house, or by any other authority whatever, except by that of the house itself.

Art. 11. The president of the parliament has a right of calling to order any of its members, when he may think proper. The house may censure, arrest, and imprison, any of its own members, during the session.

#### CHAPTER V.

##### *Upon the exercise of the executive power.*

Article 1. The king shall have his immediate representative in Corsica, with the title of vice-roy.

Art. 2. The vice-roy shall have the power of giving his sanction or refusal to the decrees of parliament.

Art. 3. He shall moreover have the power to perform, in the king's name, all the acts of government which are within the limits of the royal authority:—There shall be a board of council and a secretary of state, nominated by the king, and mention shall be made in the vice-roy's orders, that he has taken the opinion of the said board of council; and these orders shall be countersigned by the secretary.

Art. 4. The nation has the right of petitioning, as well the vice-

roy as the house of parliament: the constituted and acknowledged corps of the law may petition in a body, the other corps in their individual capacity only; and a petition shall never be presented by more than twenty persons, however numerous may be the signatures to it.

Art. 5. The house of parliament may address the king to recall his vice-roy; in such case the house shall address his majesty in his privy-council assembled; the vice-roy shall be obliged to transmit the address to the king, upon the requisition of the house, within the term of fifteen days after such requisition, and the house may itself transmit it to the king, even through the channel of a deputation: but in any case the house is bound to present to the vice-roy, fifteen days previous to the departure of the address, a copy of the same, and of the papers which are to accompany it.

Art. 6. The king has the exclusive direction of all military arrangements, and is to provide for the internal and external security of the country.

Art. 7. The king declares war and makes peace: he shall not be authorized, however, in any event, nor on any account whatsoever, to give up, alienate, or in any manner prejudice, the unity and indivisibility of Corsica and its dependencies.

Art. 8. The king shall appoint to all the offices of government.

Art. 9. The ordinary employments of justice, and of the administration of the public money, shall be conferred upon natives of Corsica, or persons naturalized Corsicans, in virtue of the laws.

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### CHAPTER VI.

#### *Of judicial proceedings, and of the division of the tribunals.*

Article 1. Justice shall be executed in the king's name, and the orders carried into execution by officers appointed by him, in conformity to the laws.

Art. 2. There shall be a supreme tribunal, composed of five judges, and the king's advocate; and this shall be stationary in Corté.

Art. 3. There shall be a president and a king's advocate attached to every other new jurisdiction.

Art. 4. The functions of the said respective tribunals, their administration, and the emoluments, shall be determined by law.

Art. 5. There shall be in every pieve a *podestra* (magistrate.)

Art. 6. In every community there shall be a municipality, named by the people, and its functions shall be regulated by the laws.

Art. 7. Crimes, which deserve corporal or ignominious punishments, shall be tried by the judges and a jury.

Art. 8. The king has the power of granting pardon, in conformity to the same regulations under which he exercises this prerogative in England.

Art. 9. All civil, criminal, commercial, causes, and those of every other kind whatsoever, shall be terminated in Corfica, in the first and last instance.

### CHAPTER VII.

#### *Of the extraordinary tribunal.*

Article 1. There shall be an extraordinary tribunal, composed of five judges, appointed by the king and commissioned to judge upon any

impeachment from the house of parliament, or upon all charges made, on the part of the king, or prevarication, or other treasonable transactions.

Art. 2. The nature of the said crimes, and the form of trial, shall be determined upon by a special law; but a jury shall be allowed in every case of this sort.

Art. 3. The members of the tribunal shall not assemble, but in cases of impeachment by the house of parliament, and immediately after judgement given, they shall be obliged to separate.

### CHAPTER VIII.

#### *Of personal liberty, and of the liberty of the press.*

Article 1. No person shall be deprived of his liberty and property but by sentence of the tribunals acknowledged by the laws, and in the cases and according to the forms prescribed.

Art. 2. Whoever shall be arrested or placed in confinement, shall be conducted, within the term of twenty-four hours, before the competent tribunal, in order that the cause of his detention may be adjudged according to law.

Art. 3. In case of the arrest being declared vexatious, the person arrested will have a right of claiming damages and interest before the competent tribunals.

Art. 4. The liberty of the press is decreed, but the abuse of it is to be amenable to the laws.

Art. 5. Every Corsican shall have the power freely to depart from his country, and to return to it with his property, conforming himself to the regulations and ordonnances of general police, observed in such cases.

### CHAPTER

## CHAPTER IX.

*Of the Corfican flag and navigation.*

Article 1. The standard shall be a Moor's head, quartered with the king's arms, according to the form which shall be prescribed by his majesty.

Art. 2. The king shall afford the same protection to the trade and navigation of the Corficans, as to the trade and navigation of his other subjects.

Art. 3. The Corfican nation, deeply penetrated with sentiments of gratitude towards the king of Great Britain and the English nation, for the munificence and protection which it has always enjoyed, and which is now, in a more special manner, secured to it by the present constitutional act,

Declares, That it will consider every attempt which in war or in peace shall be made to promote the glory of his majesty, and the interests of the empire of Great Britain in general, as its own; and the parliament of Corfica will always manifest its readiness and deference to adopt all regulations, consistent with its present constitution, which shall be enacted by his majesty in his parliament of Great Britain for the extension and advantage of the external commerce of the empire, and of its dependencies.

## CHAPTER X.

*Of religion.*

Article 1. The Catholic, apostolic, Roman religion, in all its evangelical purity, shall be the only national religion in Corfica.

Art. 2. The house of parliament is authorized to determine on the number of parishes, to settle the sa-

laries of the priests, and to take measures for ensuring the discharge of the episcopal functions, in concert with the holy see.

Art. 3. All other modes of worship are tolerated.

## CHAPTER XI.

*Of the crown and its succession.*

The sovereign king of Corfica is his majesty George the Third, king of Great Britain, and his successors, according to the order of succession to the throne of Great Britain.

## CHAPTER XII.

*Of the acceptance of the crown and of the constitution of Corfica.*

Article 1. The present act shall be presented to his majesty, the king of Great Britain, through his excellency sir Gilbert Elliot, his commissary plenipotentiary, and specially authorized for this purpose.

Art. 2. In the act of acceptance his majesty, and his plenipotentiary in his name, shall swear to maintain the liberty of the Corfican nation, according to the constitution and the laws; and the same oath shall be administered to his successors, upon every succession to the throne.

Art. 3. The members of the assembly shall immediately take the following oath, which shall be administered by his excellency sir Gilbert Elliot: "I swear for myself and in name of the Corfican nation, which I represent, that I acknowledge for my sovereign and king his majesty George the Third, the king of Great Britain; to yield him faithful obedience, according to the constitution and laws of Corfica, and to defend the said constitution and laws."

Art.

## APPENDIX to the CHRONICLE. 109

**Art. 4.** Every Corfican shall, in his respective community, take the preceding oath.

Done, and unanimously decreed, and after three readings, on three succeeding days, in the general assembly of the Corfican nation, in Corté, this day, 19th June, 1794, and individually signed in the assembly of all the members of which it is composed.

Signed by above four hundred names.

*Continuation of the sessions of the 19th of June, 1794.*

ALL the members of the assembly having individually signed the constitutional act, it was proposed to present it to his excellency sir Gilbert Elliot, his Britannic majesty's commissary plenipotentiary, in order that it might be accepted by him in his said majesty's name. The assembly having adopted this proposition, decreed, That the said proposition shall be made by a deputation of twelve members who were chosen and commissioned for this purpose.

After which the deputation, having executed the commission assigned to them, re-entered the hall, and with them the said sir Gilbert Elliot: the members of the assembly stood up, during which he approached the president, and pronounced the following acceptance:

I, the undersigned, baronet, member of parliament of Great Britain, member of the privy council, and commissary plenipotentiary of his Britannic majesty, having full power, and being specially authorized for this purpose, do accept, in the name of his majesty George the Third, king of Great Britain, the crown and sovereignty of Corfica, accord-

ing to the constitution and the fundamental laws contained in the act of a general assembly held at Corté, and definitively settled this same day, the 19th of June, and as such offered to his majesty; and, in his majesty's name, I swear to maintain the liberty of the Corfican nation, according to the constitution and to the laws.

The present acceptance and oath is by us signed and sealed.

(L. S.) GILBERT ELLIOT.

The said acceptance and oath being read, the said sir Gilbert Elliot proposed to the president and to the assembly the constitutional oath; and this was taken by them in the following words:

"I swear for myself, and in the name of the Corfican nation, which I represent, to acknowledge for my sovereign and king, his majesty George the Third, the king of Great Britain, to yield him faithful obedience according to the constitution and the laws of Corfica, and to maintain the said constitution and laws."

The constitutional act being entirely completed and finished, the president adjourned the session, and signed the above, as did also the secretaries, the year, month, and day above-mentioned.

(Signed)

PASQUALE DE PAOLI, President.

CARLO ANDREA POZZO DE BARGO, Secretary.

GIO. ANDREA MUSELLI, Secretary.

### TRANSLATION.

*Speech made in the general assembly of Corfica, on the acceptance of the crown and constitution of the island, by his excellency sir Gilbert Elliot.*

GENTLEMEN,



GENTLEMEN,

In availing myself, for the first time, in the midst of the Corsican nation, of the privilege of calling you brothers and fellow-citizens, a reflection which will naturally occur to every one, excites in me the most heart-felt satisfaction; independent of the reciprocal political advantages which we may derive from so close a connection, I see, on the present occasion, every thing that can render it more precious and more estimable by the sentiments of confidence and of affection, the first and pure principles of our union, which they will for ever continue to cement and consolidate.

This remarkable truth, which it is impossible to overlook, cannot be mentioned without a strong emotion of sensibility and joy. Our two nations have, for a long period, been distinguished by a reciprocal and remarkable esteem. Without anticipating the happy end to which this instinctive partiality, this sympathetic attraction, may some day lead us, we have given to each other instances of confidence on every occasion, yet no relations have hitherto subsisted between us, except those of reciprocal and voluntary good offices. Our minds have been prepared by Providence for the fate which awaited us, and the Divine Goodness, intending our union, has ordained that it should be anticipated and brought about (if I may so express myself,) by a similarity of character, and by a conformity of views and principles, and, above all, by a pleasing exchange of friendly services.

This sacred compact, which I received from your hands, is not a cold and interested agreement between two parties who meet by accident,

and form a contract founded on the impulse of the moment, or on a selfish and temporary policy.—No; the event of this happy day is only the completion of wishes we had previously formed: to-day our hands are joined, but our hearts have long been united, and our motto should be *Amici et non di ventura*.

However seducing this prospect of our happiness may appear, I trust (and it is important for us to know it, as we assuredly do) that it does not depend on sentiment alone; but it rests on the solid basis of the true interests and permanent felicity of the two nations.

I will not mention to you the interests of Great Britain upon this occasion; not that they are of little consequence, but being of a nature purely political, the subject would be too cold, too dry, for this important day. Besides, it is not necessary on this occasion to appreciate them in detail. I shall confine myself to this remark, that every possible advantage which Great Britain could have in view from her union with Corsica, is essentially attached to your political and absolute independence of every European power, and that these advantages are not only compatible with your interests, but cannot for the most part exist, and still less flourish, but in proportion to your prosperity.

On your part, what is necessary to render you a happy people? I will tell you in two words—liberty at home, and security abroad.

Your liberty will not be exposed to any encroachments from a monarch, who, by his own experience and the example of his ancestors for several generations, is persuaded that the liberty and the prosperity of his people is the only foundation of the  
power,

power, the glory, and the splendour of the throne. A king who has ever governed according to the laws, and whose sceptre is at once strengthened by the privileges, and embellished by the happiness of his subjects. Here I might expatiate on the august virtues of that monarch whom you have chosen for your own; but they are known to all his subjects: you will therefore become acquainted with them by a happy and certain experience, and this testimony will be far more faithful than my weak voice.

It would not, however, be right that your liberty should depend solely on the personal virtues of the monarch. You have therefore been careful to ensure it by the wise constitution and fundamental laws of our union, which, in my opinion, constitute so essential a part of the act you present to me this day, that I could not (without violating the confidence reposed in me by my sovereign,) agree to a system which might have degenerated into tyranny; a condition equally unfavourable to the happiness of him who exercises it, and of those who endure it.

If his majesty, therefore, accepts the crown which you have agreed to offer him, it is because he is determined to protect, and never to enslave those from whom he receives it: and, above all, because it is given, and not seized upon by violence.

For external security, you wanted nothing but the constant and active assistance of a maritime power: this act injures it to you; and whilst you

enjoy at home peace and tranquillity, which the enemy will no longer be able to interrupt, you will share with us the treasures of trade, and the sovereignty of the seas.

From this day therefore you are quiet and free. To preserve these blessings, you have only to preserve your ancient virtues, courage, and the sacred love of your country; these are the native virtues of your soil; they will be enriched by those which accompany our union, and which you will derive from our industry, from our long experience, (that true source of political wisdom) and from our love of liberty, at once enthusiastic and enlightened. I speak of that liberty which has for its object to maintain your civil rights, and the happiness of the people; not to serve ambition and vice: that liberty which is inseparable from religion, order, respect for the laws, and a sacred regard for property; the first principle of every human society; that liberty which abhors every kind of despotism, and especially that most terrible of all despotism, which arises from the unrestrained violence of the human passions. Such are the virtues which belong both to you and to us. On their happy mixtures and influence on each other depends the prosperity of Corsica, immediate liberty, and a progressive and increasing prosperity. Such is the text; to which I hope and venture to predict, that our behaviour to each other, and our common destinies, will always prove a faithful and a satisfactory illustration.

# A GENERAL BILL

## OF

### CHRISTENINGS AND BURIAL

From DECEMBER 12, 1793, to DECEMBER 9, 1794.

Christened { Males 9538 } 18689. Buried { Males 9826 } 19241.  
 Females 9151 } Females 9415 }

Decreased in the burials this year, 2508.

Died under 2 years - - 6543	20 and 30 - 1363	60 and 70 - 1280	100
Between 2 and 5 - 2126	30 and 40 - 1674	70 and 80 - 957	101
5 and 10 - 772	40 and 50 - 1849	80 and 90 - 401	102
10 and 20 - 647	50 and 60 - 1563	90 and 100 - 59	105

DISEASES.		CASUAL.	
<b>A</b> Abortive & still-born 795	Diabetes 1	Lunatic 77	<b>B</b> It byms Broken
Abcess 22	Dropfy 816	Measles 172	bruised
Aged 1124	Evil 8	Miscarriage 1	Burnt
Ague 4	Fever, malignant fever, scarlet fever, spotted fever, and purples 1935	Mortification 193	Dropped do
Apoplexy 88	Fistula 2	Palfy 62	dead
Asthma and phthisic 401	Flux 4	Piles 1	Drowned
Bedridden 6	French pox 25	Pleurisy 8	Excessive dr
Bile 1	Gout 97	Quinfy 4	Executed *
Bleeding 9	Gravel, strangury, & stone 28	Rising of the lights 1	Found dead
Bloody-flux 1	Grief 3	Scurvy 7	Found hang
Bursten and rupture 17	Head ach 1	Small-pox 1913	Fractured
Cancer 97	Head-mould shot, horse shoe head, and water in the head 79	Sore throat 11	Frighted
Chicken-pox 2	Heart overgrown 1	Sores and ulcers 16	Killed by : several do
Childbed 180	Jaundice 42	Spasm 1	dents
Cold 3	Imposthume 3	St. Anthony's fire 1	Killed by fi
Colic, gripes, twisting of the guts 12	Inflammation 366	Stoppage in the stomach 17	Killed them
Consumption 4781	Leprosy 1	Suddenly 131	Murdered
Convulsions 4368	Lethargy 2	Surfeit 0	Overtlaid
Cough and hooping-cough 469	Livergrown 1	Teeth 430	Poisoned
Cramp 1		Thrush 55	Scalded
Croup 21		Tympany 1	Starved
		Vomiting and loose-ness 0	Died of a f
		Worms 6	Suffocated
			T

\* There have been executed, in Middlesex and Surrey, 11; of which number 5 have been reported to be buried (as such) within the bills of mortality.

# APPENDIX to the CHRONICLE. 113

## An Account of the Total Net Produce paid into the Exchequer, of the DUTIES of CUSTOMS in ENGLAND and SCOTLAND:

Distinguishing, as far as possible, the Produce upon every separate Article, the Duties on which shall have amounted to 1000l. or more, in the four Quarters, ending October 10, 1794.

Species of Goods.	Net produce, subject to the payment of bounties and management.			
	Charge.	£	s.	d.
Alas, pearl and pot	-	962	1	10
Bark	-	13,078	17	2
Bismuth	-	8,524	10	9
Bottles, undressed	-	5,261	0	1
Brigle, great	-	876	10	2
Carpets, Turkey	-	2,07	13	6
China ware	-	9,865	7	10
Copper, unwrought	-	1,083	1	11
Cut	-	3,777	13	1
Corn, oats	-	7,136	6	8
— wheat	-	9,485	13	7
Borax, refined	-	4,396	11	0
Cassia lignea	-	999	19	1
Cortex Peruv.	-	12,351	6	9
Jalap. bottles	-	1,047	17	3
Manna	-	881	4	6
Oil, per. med.	-	1,982	17	5
Opium	-	1,064	8	0
Quick Silver	-	3,666	4	7
Rhubarb	-	2,015	17	0
Saccharum saturni	-	1,542	1	4
Senna	-	1,612	8	10
Succus liquoritizæ	-	7,065	2	3
Dye stuffs, smalts	-	9,630	12	2
Elephant's teeth	-	1,264	7	10
Feathers for beds	-	7,527	6	10
Fruit, lemons and oranges	-	9,879	19	2
— nuts, small	-	2,113	3	9
Glass plates	-	5,807	7	2
Almonds, Jordan	-	2,912	1	8
— not Jordan	-	1,330	13	11
— cinnamon	-	1,328	12	6
— cloves	-	2,209	5	9
— cocca	-	1,679	13	9

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Net produce, subject to the payment of bounties and management.

		Species of Goods.	Charge.	£.	s.	d.
Grocery.	{	Coffee	-	45,851	0	11
		Currants	-	73,403	13	6
		Figs	-	1,988	1	8
		Ginger	-	2,223	12	9
		Mace	-	1,427	12	4
		Nutmegs	-	1,928	2	0
		Pepper	-	24,671	17	6
		Pimento	-	788	1	6
		Raisins, Denia	-	10,607	0	5
		— Lexia	-	9,672	0	6
		— Lipari	-	6,180	3	3
		— Smyrna	-	18,162	2	4
		— Solis	-	12,643	1	2
		Rice	-	11,656	3	2
		Sago	-	2,391	7	10
	{	Sugar, brown	-	1,448,195	19	5
		Tea	-	118,699	4	1
		Hair, horse	-	642	16	0
		— human	-	788	12	0
		Hemp, rough	-	118,209	4	5
		Hides, Indian	-	1,562	0	5
		— loth	-	7,600	11	8
		— ox or cow	-	1,132	9	2
		Incle, wrought	-	3,297	14	0
		Iron, bar	-	146,284	7	10
		— cast	-	1,567	14	7
		Kelp	-	1,190	19	9
Linens.	{	Cambricks	-	2,430	4	3
		Canvass, Heffens	-	19,917	17	6
		— spruce	-	5,093	1	11
		Damask tabg. Sila.	-	1,327	7	10
		Drilling	-	2,176	18	2
		Germany, narrow	-	49,353	4	9
		Russia, broad, above 22½	-	21,354	17	2
		— above 31½	-	1,717	12	7
		— above 36	-	3,997	19	4
		— narrow	-	4,701	6	6
	{	— towelling and napking	-	1,003	5	11
		Manufactured articles of India	-	3,373	6	11
		Mats, Russia	-	2,836	11	5
		Hats, chip	-	2,270	3	9
		Oil, ordinary	-	13,686	19	8
		— salad	-	5,118	19	0
		— train	-	1,612	10	9
		Paper, foolscap	-	1,353	9	0
						Figures

# APPENDIX to the CHRONICLE. 113

Net produce, subject to the payment  
of bounties and management.

Species of Goods.	Charge.	£	s.	d.
		937	4	10
{ Calicoes		21,473	10	8
{ Muslins		113,474	17	1
{ Nankeens		11,647	17	0
{ Prohibited		14,327	18	9
e		846	10	0
clover		4,363	16	4
mother of pearl		1,532	5	7
ingal, raw		100,834	15	0
hina, raw		24,854	4	10
alian and Turkey, raw		6,945	18	10
rown		93,703	16	2
ar, black		2,016	6	0
aver		1,022	13	6
lf, undressed		1,801	8	5
—tanned		2,604	1	9
er, in hair		3,268	5	6
d, undressed		3,812	14	0
artin		324	15	8
		868	14	2
brandy		29,388	14	8
Geneva		28,481	17	1
rum		49,086	19	10
blocks of marble		1,434	19	0
		7,387	10	10
, filters		1,174	10	1
o		235,211	6	0
		1,259	19	6
tine		3,068	0	5
rees		1,121	4	5
Canary		3,462	15	11
French		10,465	9	10
Madeira		12,082	3	2
Portugal		377,794	19	11
Rheims		3,213	5	4
Spanish		75,558	6	2
ilks		2,227	9	6
ltens		11,201	14	7
ards, paling		1,215	8	9
—scale		1,223	11	2
ails		125,411	18	8
—ends		3,715	13	5
th-wood		3,104	13	9
afts		3,207	19	9
ank, oak		7,056	3	10

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Net produce, subject to the payment  
of bounties and management.

Species of Goods.		Charge.	£.	s.	d.
Wood.	Staves	-	16,764	1	6
	Timber, fir	-	54,903	13	1
	— oak	-	1,051	5	6
	Ufers	-	1,108	0	3
	Waincoat, logs	-	3,296	12	6
	Yarn, mohair	-	1,895	7	11
	Allum	-	1,204	10	1
	Coals	-	98,370	18	10
	Indigo	-	8,119	8	4
	Lead	-	33,697	12	7
	Skins, beaver	-	3,479	10	6
	Tin	-	4,453	18	3
	Other subsidy articles	-	6,641	7	10
	Coals brought coastways	-	518,239	6	9
	Wine brought coastways to London	-	907	1	10
	Stones and Rates brought coastways	-	6,064	11	7
	Surcharges on sundry small articles	-	2,579	19	9
	Interest on bonds	-	6	1	6
	Tobacco condemned or sold for the duty	-	7,587	16	8
	Duties on corn	-	23,129	19	8
	Received from the inspector of corn returns	-	864	10	8
	Duty on wine sold by the excise	-	179	13	1
	Duties remitted from the plantations	-	24,507	4	1
	Window, or commutation duty, by 24th George III.	-	229,848	1	8
	Sundry small articles, the duties whereof have not amounted to 1,000l. on each	-	280,313	0	7½
			£ 5,101,206	10	0½

## DISCHARGE.

	£	s.	d.
Bounties	566,808	6	6
Repayments on over entries and damaged goods	41,118	8	0½
Charges of management	402,625	4	9
Money issued out of the revenues of Scotland, appli- cable to his majesty's civil government	44,929	15	21
Paid treasurers of the counties in Scotland, on ac- count of corn returns	801	0	0
Paid into the exchequer	4,044,923	13	6
			£ 5,101,206 10 0

THOMAS IRVING,

Inspector-General of the imports and exports of Great Britain

Inspector-General's office,

Custom-house, London, Dec. 16, 1794.

## APPENDIX to the CHRONICLE. 117

### An Account of the Total Produce of the DUTIES of CUSTOMS, EXCISE, STAMPS, and INCIDENTS, re- spectively, for one Year, ending October 10, 1794.

	£	s.	d.
The total produce of the duties of customs for one year, ended the 10th day of October, 1794 -	4,044,923	15	6½
Ditto of the duties of excise for one year, ended ditto (exclusive of 586,888l. the produce of the annual malt-duties) -	7,541,965	2	5½
Ditto of the stamp duties for one year, ended ditto -	1,420,867	11	10
Ditto of incidents at the receipt of the exchequer for one year, ended ditto -	2,368,839	5	10½
	£ 15,376,595	15	8½

*Memorandum.*—In the sum of 2,368,839l. 5s. 10½d. stated as the amount of incidents at the exchequer, is included 352,184l. 6s. 5½d. being the amount of the imprest and other moneys paid in there within the above period.

Presented, pursuant to an act of the 27th year of his present majesty's reign, the 2d day of January, 1795, by

GEORGE ROSE.

### SUPPLIES granted by PARLIAMENT for the Year 1794.

#### NAVY.

	JANUARY 31.	£	s.	d.
For 85,000 men, including 12,115 marines -	4,420,000	0	0	
	FEBRUARY 4.			
Ordinary of the navy -	558,021	11	3	
Extra navy -	547,310	0	0	
	£ 5,525,331	11	3	



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## ARMY.

FEBRUARY 1.		
Subsidy to the king of Sardinia	200,000	0
FEBRUARY 4.		
For 60,244 men, as guards and garrisons	1,492,812	12
Forces in the plantations	677,682	12
Difference between British and Irish establishments	50,279	13
Troops in the East Indies	8,323	17
Recruiting land-forces and contingencies	219,368	0
Levy money, &c. for augmentation of the forces	270,000	0
General and staff officers, &c.	97,989	1
Full pay to supernumerary officers	39,118	16
Allowances to the paymaster-general, &c.	64,790	18
Reduced officers of land-forces and marines	146,849	10
Reduced horse-guards	156	9
Officers late in the service of the states-general	8,000	0
Reduced officers of British American forces	55,092	10
Allowances to several reduced officers of ditto	4,907	10
Widows' pensions	9,931	19
Chelsea pensioners	151,742	5
Scotch roads and bridges	4,500	0
Embodied militia and fencibles	687,420	14
Contingencies for ditto	160,000	0
Clothing for the militia	93,658	3
Corps transferred from Irish to British establishment	185,667	15
Hanoverian troops	538,874	0
Troops of Hesse-Cassel	304,309	0
Troops of Hesse-Darmstadt	102,073	0
Troops of Baden	21,067	0
Extraordinaries of the army	808,805	14
MARCH 31.		
Fencible cavalry	300,117	16
	£ 6,641,060	0

## ORDNANCE.

FEBRUARY 4.		
Ordnance for 1794	701,736	3
Ditto, previous to Dec. 31, 1788, not provided for	576	19
Ditto, land service, not provided for in 1792	925	4
Ditto, not provided for in 1793	611,419	11
Ditto, sea service, ditto	30,350	3
	£ 1,345,008	2

MISC

# APPENDIX to the CHRONICLE. 119

## MISCELLANEOUS SERVICES.

### FEBRUARY 1.

	£	s.	d.
To discharge exchequer bills - -	4,000,000	0	0

### FEBRUARY 4.

Civil establishment of Upper Canada - -	6,450	0	0
Ditto, Nova Scotia - - - -	5,315	0	0
Ditto, New Brunswick - - - -	4,400	0	0
Ditto, St. John's Island - - - -	1,900	0	0
Ditto, Cape Breton - - - -	1,800	0	0
Governor and civil officers of Newfoundland, and the charge of a patent creating a court of civil and criminal jurisdiction - - }	1,344	1	6
Civil establishment on the Bahama islands -	4,250	0	0
Chief justice of the Bermuda or Somers' islands -	580	0	0
Ditto of Dominica - - - -	600	0	0
Civil establishment of New South Wales -	4,795	8	2

### FEBRUARY 14.

For rendering the house of peers more commodious	465	11	10½
On account of the French refugees - - -	27,692	4	6½
For works done at the Fleet prison - - -	3,376	8	0
Ditto, at Somerset-place, &c. - - -	9,255	6	9
To pay sums assessed for land-tax, &c. - -	1,814	15	4
For the discharge of debts contracted by Mr. Tully late consul at Tripoli - - - }	2,111	1	0
For reporting upon losses on evacuating the Musquito shore	1084	15	0
On account of surveys, &c. at Cape Breton -	669	9	11
To the bishop of Quebec, for expences of proceed- ing to his see; to Mr. Davison, Mr. Reeves, &c. }	1,504	10	6
For inquiring into the laws, &c. of Jersey -	537	12	6
For removal of Mr. Starbuck - - -	248	18	0
Allowances for American sufferers - - -	19,500	0	0
Foreign secret service - - - -	14,585	10	6
Address money - - - -	46,619	13	7
Late board of land revenue, and their officers -	2,043	0	0
American and East Florida sufferers - -	268,091	14	2½
Prosecution of Warren Hastings, esq. - -	10,749	3	8
Provisions, &c. to New South Wales - -	19,820	8	10
Convicts on the Thames - - - -	11,393	4	8
	£ 4,472,997	18	6½

Convicts

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	£	s.	d.
Brought over	4,472,997	18	6½
Convicts in Langstone and Portsmouth harbours	13,576	17	8½
Extraordinary expences of the mint	18,844	12	4
African forts	13,000	0	0
MARCH 27.			
To discharge exchequer bills	1,500,000	0	0
MARCH 31.			
To the bank, for the reduction of the national debt	200,000	0	0
To the Turkey company	5,080	0	0
APRIL 15.			
Payments of fundry persons out of the civil list	13,377	9	¾
Board of agriculture	3,000	0	0
	<u>£ 6,241,696</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>2½</u>

## DEFICIENCY.

	APRIL 10.	£	s.	d.
Deficiency of grants for 1793	-	475,022	13	10½
Navy	5,525,331	11	3	
Army	6,641,060	0	9½	
Ordnance	1,345,008	2	6	
Miscellaneous services	6,241,696	18	2½	
Deficiency	475,022	13	10½	
	<u>£ 20,228,119</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>7½</u>	

## WAYS and MEANS for raising the SUPPLIES for 1794.

	FEBRUARY 4.	£	s.	d.
Land and malt tax	-	2,750,000	0	0
Annuities	-	11,000,000	0	0
Consolidated fund	-	2,697,000	0	0
MARCH 27.				
Exchequer bills	-	3,500,000	0	0
MARCH 31.				
Profit of a lottery, 40,000 tickets, at 18l. 10s. 4d.	-	240,666	13	4
APRIL 10.				
Surplus of consolidated fund on 5th April	-	231,841	16	10
		<u>£ 20,419,508</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>2</u>

TRIAL

## APPENDIX to the CHRONICLE. 121

### TRIAL for ADULTERY.

HON. B. E. HOWARD, ESQ. *against*  
THE HON. R. BINGHAM.

*In the court of King's Bench, Westminster, Feb. 24, before lord Kenyon and a special jury.*

**T**HIS was an action for criminal conversation.—The damages were laid at 10,000*l*.

Mr. Mingay said, he was about to solicit the attention of the jury to a cause of great magnitude, as it respected the parties themselves; and of great importance, as it respected the public comfort and morality of the country in which we lived.

The plaintiff, Mr. Howard, was the presumptive heir to the dukedom of Norfolk. The defendant, Mr. Bingham, was son and heir of lord Lucan. The complaint was, that Mr. B. had debauched and withdrawn the affections of the lady of Mr. H. Having stated that to the jury (many of whom, he believed, had been witnesses to the very pathetic, earnest, moral addresses that had fallen from the noble and learned judge who presided at these questions with infinite concern, during the time his lordship had with such satisfaction and benefit to the public, and with so much honour to himself, administered the justice of the country), he said, he would not, because he could not, imitate his lordship in endeavouring to impress on the feelings of the jury the necessity of checking so grievous an evil. They would weigh in those scales in which questions of this sort ought to be weighed, with delicacy and with nicety, the importance of the object upon which they had to

decide, and, as far as in their power lay, would give some reparation (for a complete one could not be given by them) to the party injured.

The circumstances that gave rise to this very important and distressing inquiry were these: The plaintiff having seen the lady who was afterwards his wife, and who was one of the daughters of earl Fauconberg, became much attached to her, was enamoured of her beauty, and was desirous of forming an honourable connection with her. In the course of a very short time, having again seen the lady, he had an opportunity of proposing himself to her as her husband. She accepted his proposal. It was communicated to both families. It met with their approbation, and they were married on April 24th, 1789.

On August 12th, 1791, this lady had a son, and it was much to the satisfaction of the plaintiff; and he thought it did Mr. H. infinite honour, that he had authorized him to say, that he did not charge the defendant with any thing criminal till after the birth of this son; so that the legitimacy of that child could not be questioned by the most inquisitive feelings of the most affectionate husband. But he did not long live in that comfort and happiness which he at first enjoyed in this lady's society. Mr. B. a young gentleman of elegant manners and insinuating address, ingratiated himself into her affections by frequently soliciting her attention, meeting her in the Park, walking with her, and whenever she went to a watering-place, he went there also; and, in short, wherever she thought proper to go, he was sure to attend her. When this came to the ears of the husband, it wounded him deeply. He

He took all the pains that an honourable, an affectionate, and a feeling man could take. He reasoned with her. He endeavoured to prevail on her not to run the risk of permitting Mr. B. to throw himself in her way, nor to throw herself in his way, for fear of consequences that might prove fatal to her honour and to his peace. All the entreaties of Mr. H. proved unsuccessful, and at last, on account of the apparent partiality which this lady shewed to Mr. B. it was agreed between her and her husband that she should go down to lord Fauconberg's, in order, if possible, to shake off from her mind that impression which the defendant had made upon it by his address. This was on the 24th of July, 1783. On that day Mr. H. went into the country to Lord Petre's, and (Mr. M. said) no man could tell the agonies of his heart who had not seen him. He said, he was an eye-witness to the agony which that transaction had occasioned. On the same day, this lady ordered a carriage, and went to Mr. Gray's shop at the west end of the town. Her husband no more expected the consequences that followed than any of the gentlemen of the jury. Instead of going down to her father's, as she had agreed with Mr. H. to do, she went from Mr. Gray's shop in a carriage (provided by Mr. B.) to the house of lord Dungannon, in Park-lane, to whom Mr. B. was related by marriage, and where he then resided. He said, the statement beyond that would wound their delicacy.

Mr. B. and this lady had lived as husband and wife ever since, and she was far advanced in pregnancy, and that child would be born before a divorce could possibly be obtained.

The whole house of Howard had a right to complain; for suppose the plaintiff's son to die, and that that child of which this lady was pregnant proved a son, what was to prevent him from being duke of Norfolk? He said, he might be told that the wisdom of parliament would set all this to rights. But he said, that the time of this lady's departure from her husband, and the birth of this child, would come so near, that parliament would find itself puzzled in doing justice between the parties.

He said, we lived in an age in which the most important questions were decided by the newspapers. It had been stated in some of the daily prints, offensively, in the hearing of all the noble relations, that it was notorious that Mr. B. had the heart of the lady, that the father told Mr. H. so, and that the lady herself told him, she could give him her hand, but could not give him her heart. He said, that was not true. He could call the whole family to contradict it. Could the gentlemen of the jury suppose for a moment, that earl Fauconberg would have sacrificed his child to a man of the first rank in England, and would not allow her to take the most valuable of all possessions—the man of her heart? This should not have been said any where, inasmuch as it could not be proved.

This case deserved their most serious attention, and after they had heard it they would, to the best of their judgment, do justice between the parties.

The marriage on the 24th of April, 1789, was admitted.

Ann Hancock said, she lived with Mr. H. in the capacity of nurse to his child. Lady E. left Mr. H. on the 24th of July last. They were then

then at Norfolk-house, in St. James's Square. Mr. H. on that day set off for lord Petre's at one o'clock, and lady E. went away a little before seven. She was going to her father's, lord Fauconberg. The witness accompanied lady E. in her carriage from Norfolk-house to Mr. Gray's shop; when they arrived there lady E. delivered the witness a letter for her maid at Norfolk-house. Her ladyship never returned again.

On cross-examination she said, she then knew lady E. was going to be separated from her husband, and that she was going to her father's; she had seen her unhappy many times, but did not know on what account.

Sarah Scriven said, she lived with Mr. H. in the year 1789, as lady E.'s maid. She fully confirmed the evidence of the last witness. She saw lady E. on the 29th of November last at lord Dungannon's, in Henrietta-street, Cavendish-square. Mr. B. was in the house with her; she said she lived with them.

Mr. Erskine admitted, that lady E. and Mr. B. had lived as husband and wife ever since the 24th of July last.

The witness said, she was always about her ladyship, and had an opportunity of seeing whether she was happy or otherwise. Lady E. appeared to the witness to be very unhappy, and apparently very much distressed; she had frequently heard Mr. H. and her lady have words. The cause of lady E.'s uneasiness was, her having married a man she disliked. Mr. H. and lady E. took leave of each other on the 24th of July, previous to their leaving Norfolk-house. They were together alone on that occasion for two hours or more. Lady E. said to the wit-

ness, she had been taking leave of Mr. H. She remembered one night, about two years ago, when they were at Suffolk, that Mr. H. and lady E. sat up till three o'clock in the morning. Her ladyship appeared very much flurried and agitated. Mr. H. called the witness, and lady E. told her, in the presence of Mr. H. that he had had an hysterical fit. He brought her some medicines to relieve her. Lady E. said she had been talking to Mr. H. but she did not tell the witness what. They were frequently quarreling. This gentleman and lady were very unhappy before their final separation; her ladyship said, the cause of her unhappiness was, that she had the misfortune to be married to a man she did not like. This she frequently told the witness. She said, she never saw Mr. H. use lady E. ill; and lady Elizabeth always behaved extremely well to her servants. Mr. H. seemed to be jealous of Mr. B.

John Pearson said, he was groom to Mr. B. He knew lady E. He had seen his master speak to her in her carriage; and then they have sometimes gone into Kensington-gardens, and walked together for ten minutes or half an hour. He might have seen them do so four or five times. There were more ladies with them. He said, he ordered a chaise on the 24th of July last, at four o'clock in the afternoon, to be ready at six. Lady E. came in that chaise to Park-lane; and she and Mr. B. set off together, and had lived together ever since.

William Guthrie said, he was coachman to Mr. H. and came into his service on January 10th, 1791. He used to drive lady E. in her carriage. He knew Mr. B. from April, 1791. He constantly met her

her ladyship in the Park. First of all, a conversation of five or ten minutes used to take place between them, and then her ladyship would get out and walk in the Park, and sometimes in Kensington-gardens. This happened almost every day. He drove her to places of amusement, though she often went in a chair. He had seen Mr. B. come and hand his mistress into the carriage after the opera was over. In the year 1792, he remembered lady E. and Mr. B. going from the opera to the Mansion-house in the city to a ball. There was a young lady in the carriage with them, but who she was he did not know. Mr. B. on all occasions paid particular attention to lady E. Mr. B. never was at Mr. H.'s house.

On cross-examination he said, Mr. H. went very seldom to public places of amusement. Lady E. used to go to Ranelagh, and return at two or three o'clock in the morning. Mr. H. did not go there, though Mr. B. frequently did. He said, he drove lady E. another lady, and Mr. B. twice to Ranelagh. Mr. H. he said, used to see lady E. at breakfast, at dinner, and what not. Lady E. also attended routs, but she went to them in a chair. He did not know whether Mr. H. went to routs. She came home at three, four, five, and six, in the morning. Mr. H. had gone to bed. This was the case for a great length of time.

Mr. Bellasys said, he was a distant relation of lord Fauconberg's, and also of Mr. H. He saw them in the month of October after they were married. They did not seem to live on the most pleasant terms. The cause of their difference was the jealousy which Mr. H. enter-

tained of Mr. B. He could not say he ever saw Mr. H. treat lady E. with unkindness. Some few words sometimes passed between them, which seemed to be owing to that cause.

On cross-examination he said, to the best of his recollection the first time he perceived any appearance of jealousy was in about a year and a half after the marriage. He said, he was made a confidential friend on both sides, and he used his best endeavours to make them agree as husband and wife ought to do.

#### DEFENCE.

Mr. Erskine said, "The plaintiff's counsel has bespoke an address from me which you must not expect to hear. He has thought it right, either in courtesy to me, as I am willing to believe in part, and undoubtedly in part for the purposes of this cause, that you should suppose you are to be addressed with a degree of eloquence which most undoubtedly I never possessed, and if I did, I should be incapable at this moment of exerting it; because the most eloquent man, in order to exert his eloquence, must find his mind free from embarrassment on the occasion on which he is to speak. I am not in that condition. My friend has expressed himself as the friend of the plaintiff. He does not regard him more than I do, and hardly knows him better. I stand in the same predicament towards my own honourable client. I know him, and because I know him I regard him also; and my embarrassment only arises at being obliged to discuss this question in a public court of justice, which if I were enabled to refer, I should feel no manner of embarrassment in being called upon

to settle it.—My embarrassment is abundantly increased when I see present a noble person, high, very high in rank, in this kingdom, but not higher in rank than he is in my estimation. I speak of the noble duke of Norfolk, who most undoubtedly feels somewhat at being obliged to come here as a witness in the cause of a person so nearly allied to him. I am persuaded there is no man in court who has so little sensibility as not to feel, that a person in my situation must be a little embarrassed in discussing a question of this sort, between such parties as I have described. He desired you would take care not to suffer argument, observation, or eloquence, to be called into the field to draw your minds from the evidence, on which alone you ought to decide. I wish at the same moment he had not introduced himself as a witness, without the ordinary ceremony, by telling you, he was an eye-witness to the agony of his noble client. I will not follow his example. This part of the cause stands on his single, unsupported, unsworn evidence. No relation is called to support it, though we are told the whole house of Fauconberg, Bellafyse, and Norfolk, are in the avenue of the court, ready to be called at my discretion; and yet he is the only witness to it, though it might have been proved by so many illustrious persons.

“He states, that the child born on the 12th of August, 1791, must have been the child of its honourable parent, and therefore Mr. H. cannot say the parental mind has been wrung. He cannot say, “hereafter no son of mine succeeds.” He can say none of these things. As this child was born August 12, 1791,

Mr. H. must be supposed to have been the author of its existence in 1790, and therefore I have a right to say, that during all that interval this gentleman could not have the least reasonable cause to complain against Mr. B.”

Mr. Erskine said, the next day stated was July 24, 1793, and said, there was no evidence that there was any thing improper between lady E. and Mr. B. previous to that time. He wished to disembarraß the cause from another difficulty, that a divorce could not take place before the birth of the child, and that, if a son, under certain contingencies, he must be duke of Norfolk. That he denied. In a similar case, that of Mr. Stuart, a gentleman in Scotland, the lords and commons of England not only passed an act of divorce, but on finding there was no access on the part of the husband, and that consequently the child was not the child of the husband, bastardized that issue. What then remained in this cause which must stand on the evidence? How did the plaintiff make out that he had lost, and had been deprived of the comfort and society of his wife by the misconduct of the defendant? The loss of society, of domestic happiness, and of peace, was the foundation of the action. Before any thing could be lost, it must have existed. Before any thing could have been taken away, it must have been possessed. Before the seduction of a woman's affections from a man, he must have possessed those affections. If it turned out that the case was supported, the jury would deal with it as with other cases that were supported. He speaks of his client in terms of regard and respect, and I have shewn already that I am not disposed



disposed to differ from him. He states the plaintiff as a branch of a most illustrious house, as casting the eyes of affection upon a disengaged woman, a lady of rank equal to his own, or at least suitable to his own. He states a marriage of mixed affection, and endeavours to shew this young couple with all the ardour of love flying into each other's embraces. He shews a child the fruit of that affection:—he shews an adulterer coming to disturb all their happiness, and to destroy all that comfort which he describes:—he shews a young man coming with the rashness which distinguishes people of this age; careless of the comforts he was about to destroy, and thinking of nothing but that he should gratify his lustful appetites at the expence of another man's honour and peace:—he represents the husband watching over his wife, anxious to prevent, and feeling also that affection which has been so warmly described.

If that case was made out, which he was confident it could not, Mr. H. had a right to ask for damages, though Mr. B. was not in a condition to pay them. Mr. E. said, he would assert that Mr. H. knew that lady E.'s mind was irredeemably fixed on his client, but it was enough for him that the thing existed; and he was about to sue (would to God that it seldom happened in this country! we should have a race of nobles worthy of their ancestors, maintaining their high notions, if we were to see matches better adjusted than they are), that instead of this honourable couple coming together with all that affection that ought to distinguish persons in that state, he should prove that this unfortunate lady was

dragged, by the will of her parents, as a victim to this gentleman's bed. He did not mean to say that Mr. H. knew it; but so the fact was. Mr. E. having described the happiness of the married state when love was the foundation of the union, said, instead of that happiness I will now draw up the curtains of this marriage bed, and will shew you a scene which I am sure every man must lament. I will shew you a man and woman in the vigour of life; a man of a most amiable disposition I am ready to admit; a man of a vigorous body and a handsome person; and a woman whose beauty I am willing to say was equal to any rank, any fortune, and with every thing to bless them, doomed to worse than a prison. On the marriage day, aye, on the marriage night, she was in tears; not the tears of modesty; though her modesty was undoubted; not the tears of fear; not the tears one might expect from a virgin, but those of violence, misery, and despair. I may state what she said of her husband:

Believe me, Howard,  
Such hearts as ours were never pair'd above;  
Ill suited to each other; join'd, not match'd;  
Some sullen influence, a foe to both,  
Has wrought this fatal marriage to undous.  
Mark but the frame and temper of our  
    minds,  
How very much we differ; ev'n this day;  
That fills thee with such ecstasy and trans-  
    port,  
To me brings nothing that should make me  
    bless it,  
Or think it better than the day before,  
Or any other in the course of time,  
That duly took its turn and was forgotten.

I will prove, that on the marriage night she said, she would rather go to Newgate than to the embraces of her husband; and that day after day,

day, and night after night she spent her time in tears.

Mr. E. here made a number of very just observations on the aristocracy of the country. He said, these were the most extraordinary times that were ever recorded in history, when the whole habitable earth seemed to be in a state of change and fluctuation. This cause begot in him many reflections. He had heard much of the aristocracy of the country: he had heard much of rank and dignity, and long might he hear of it, for rank and station must always exist, in some shape or other. Would to God the nobles of the land would imitate a little more closely the example of their illustrious ancestors, and instead of going from the opera to the play, and from the play to Ranelagh or to a masquerade, they would attend their hospitable halls: let them, like their fathers, spread innumerable blessings among the lower orders of the people; let them set an example to others of genuine morals; let them pay some regard and attention to the affections of their children; let the nobles of England do this, and they would do more to preserve the country than all the informations and terrors of state enquiry that could be decreed. The necessary effect would be, an illustrious race of nobles, vigorous in mind and pure in morals.

Such, he said, was the inveterate reluctance of this lady to Mr. H. that he was not allowed the privileges of a husband for months and months after the marriage. Her affection was irredeemably fixed upon another. What was the cause of Mr. H.'s uneasiness? according to the plaintiff's case, it was the jealousy of Mr. B. But what if it

turned out on the other hand, that lord Fauconberg's family had seduced the wife of Mr. B. ? for he said, he considered this lady as the wife of Mr. B. and he could hardly consider himself in any other light than as a plaintiff in this cause.

Mr. E. said, he did not come there to reproach Mr. H. but to pity him, and he called on the jury to pity his client. He saw the woman of his heart fall into the hands of another. He went away a desponding man. His health declined. He went into the country to recruit it, and it appeared that for months and months he never saw this lady. The defendant was one of an illustrious family. He had sisters, one married into an illustrious family, and another yet to be married. Lord Lucan was a person of high rank. Mr. B. had no property, though he had some expectations. He was certain, that Mr. H. did not come into court for the purpose of taking a large sum of money out of the pockets of Mr. B. and Mr. E. conceived it would not be very creditable to the jury to give to the plaintiff that which would be disgraceful in him to receive.

Mrs. Bishop was the first witness called on the part of the defendant. She said, she went into the family of lord Fauconberg about five weeks before the marriage of lady E. She was lady E.'s own woman. She remembered, that on the morning of her marriage she attended lady E. before she left her chamber. She cried very much, trembled exceedingly, and seemed very unhappy. She was young, and very beautiful. Mr. H. was nearly of her own age, a handsome, accomplished young man. Lady E. said, "Mind you call

call me early in the morning." She called her ladyship about nine o'clock. She went into the room after Mr. H. had left it. Lady E. was in bed. She threw her arms about the witness's neck, and cried very much, but did not speak. This unhappiness and shedding of tears continued for about a fortnight after the marriage. The family then returned to town, that her ladyship might be presented at court.

In general, Mr. H. retired to rest before lady E. who used to come home very late, at three, four, five, and six, o'clock in the morning. After she came home, she sometimes slept an hour in a chair, and the witness was forced to wake her and put her to bed. She recollected that lady E. once said, she would as soon go to Newgate as go to bed to her husband. Her ladyship was sometimes in very good spirits, and sometimes very dull. The witness once said something to lady E. about her wedding-clothes. "Indeed," Polly, replied her ladyship, when "I had these clothes I never thought of marrying Mr. H." When the family was in Suffolk, and one of her ladyship's sisters was in the house, the witness recollected that lady E. left her husband's bed and went to her sister's. The witness never saw nor heard any words between them; but lady E. was very unhappy at times. One day, after she had been at Kensington-gardens, her ladyship seemed to be very unhappy. The witness asked her what was the matter? She replied, she had met B. in the gardens, and that he had turned up his nose at her.

Lord George Conway and Mr. Greville were called to prove, that Mr. B. was acquainted with lady

E. before her marriage with Mr. H. and that their regard and affection was mutual. They said, that after lady E.'s marriage with Mr. H. Mr. B. went to Bath, Cheltenham, &c. and that he did not see her for many months after her marriage.

Mr. Singleton said, he saw Mr. H. and lady E. shortly after their marriage, and that she did not appear to be extremely fond of Mr. H.—He saw reasons for Mr. H. to be dissatisfied with the conduct of his lady. Mr. H. told him he did not think that she was particularly attached to him, and that she would not allow him to use the privileges of a husband. This was about six weeks or two months after the marriage, and she had refused down to that time.

Charles Morris was next called.

Mr. E. said, he did not wish that any more evidence should come out, which was so distressing to every person nearly connected with the parties, and therefore he had no objection, if it was agreeable to Mr. Mingay, that the cause should stop here.

This being agreed to, the lord chief justice addressed the jury as follows:

"Gentlemen of the jury, The cause is now arrived at that period which calls for the discharge of a duty which peculiarly belongs to you, to ascertain the damages which the plaintiff comes to demand, and which justice requires for the injury he has received.

"I had not been long on the seat of justice, before I felt I should best discharge my duty to the public, by making the law of the land subservient to the laws of morality and religion; and therefore, in various cases that have come before me, when

when I saw a considerable degree of guilt, I have pressed the judgment of juries to go along with me in enforcing the sanctions of religion and morality by the heavy penalties of the law; and I have found juries co-operate with me in trying how far the immorality of a libertine age would be corrected, by letting all parties know, that they best consulted their own interest by discharging those duties they owed to God and society.

"Causes of this kind have very different complexions. Causes have come before me, where I have thought it incumbent on juries to discharge plaintiffs with small damages. Causes of this kind have come before me, where I have thought the very cause of action failed, and therefore the plaintiff has been nonsuited. There have also been causes of this sort where juries have given very large damages.

"This cause has about it a character and complexion different from all I ever witnessed, different from all I have heard of in the history of the jurisprudence of this country. It is *emphatically* an unfortunate cause.

"If I had found the defendant making use of the friendship of the plaintiff, entering his house, and obtaining the confidence of his wife; if I had found him using the liberty of access as the means of seduction, I should have thought no damages put on the record too high for the plaintiff to receive at your hands. But this is not that case. To the plaintiff no imputation on earth belongs. He appears to have acted with the honour belonging to the most illustrious house of which he is so important a member. But at the moment he received this Lady's hand, he did not receive her affections. She was never seduced from

his arms, because her affections were engaged from the beginning, and irredeemably fixed upon another.—To the defendant, for a great part of the time, I can impute no blame at all; he did that which was difficult for a young man; he seems to have bridled his passion for a considerable time; he retired with his friends, young men, branches of honourable families, to the country, to see whether absence might not wean his affections. Unfortunately for both, the absence was not of very long continuance; he returned to town—they saw each other. The half-extinguished flame was again lighted up, and the unfortunate consequence followed which you have heard.

"It is for you, on this occasion, to ascertain the damages. The action complains of the loss of the comfort and society a man ought to receive in the married state. Unfortunately for the plaintiff, this comfort and society hardly ever began—but still he has a right to expect some damages. I should give damages, not merely nominal damages, but damages not to a very large amount. These damages will shew the sense you have of the immorality, for that is not to be defended. You will not give great damages which shall press a young man, who, it is clear, at one time of his life had weaned himself from the unfortunate share the beauty and perfections of this lady had got him into. On these considerations I shall leave the cause in your hands:—You will decide it better on your own suggestions than on any observations I can make to you."

The jury immediately found a verdict for the plaintiff.—*Damages one thousand pounds.*

## AVERAGE PRICES OF CORN DURING THE YEAR 1794.

			Wheat.		Barley.		Oats.		Beans.	
			s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.
January	"	"	6	0	4	1	2	7	4	10
February	-	-	6	3	4	2	2	8	5	1
March	-	-	6	4	4	2	2	9	5	2
April	-	-	6	3	4	1	2	9	5	1
May	-	-	6	4	4	0	2	9	5	0
June	-	-	6	5	4	0	2	5	5	1
July	-	-	6	5	3	11	2	9	5	1
August	-	-	6	6	3	11	2	8	5	4
September	-	-	6	4	3	11	2	8	5	4
October	-	-	6	4	4	0	2	7	5	6
November	-	-	6	8	4	2	2	8	5	7
December	-	-	6	9	4	2	2	9	5	7
			<hr/>		<hr/>		<hr/>		<hr/>	
General Average			6	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	4	0 $\frac{1}{2}$	2	7 $\frac{1}{4}$	5	2 $\frac{1}{2}$
			<hr/>		<hr/>		<hr/>		<hr/>	

*Account 2*

# APPENDIX to the CHRONICLE. 131

*Account of the quantity of corn imported into Great Britain, from foreign countries, with the amount of the duties collected thereon, in the year 1794.*

	ENGLAND.			SCOTLAND.		
	Quantity.	Duty.		Quantity.	Duty.	
	qrs. bufh.	l.	s. d.	qrs. bufh.	l.	s. d.
Barley .	101,515 1	1,268	19 9	3,311 5	85	13 10½
Ditto (free)	1,298 0			1,713 6		
Beans -	88,053 0	1,209	7 11	313 5	4	5 11
Oats -	455,626 4	3,796	14 7	23,459 4	199	3 11½
Ditto (free)	43,242 0			420 0		
Oatmeal						
Ditto (free)						
Pease -	39,094 4	488	12 11	2 0	3	0
Ditto (free)	340 2			296 1		
Rye .	18,464 0	230	14 11	1 2	1	7 6
Ditto (free)	1,705 4					
Rye meal						
Wheat .	101,196 7	3,687	7 10	16,300 4	2,089	0 8½
Ditto (free)	65,273 7			3,909 1		
Wheat flour	cwt. qrs. lb. 42 3 16	2	14 4	cwt. qrs. lb. 13 2 20	1	16 11
Ditto (free)	5,184 3 4					
Indian corn	qrs. bufh. 151 6	1	17 11			
Ditto (free)						
Buck wheat				qrs. bufh. 8 0	4	5 10½
		10,686	10 2		2,385	17 8½

# 132 ANNUAL REGISTER, 1794.

*Account of the quantity of corn imported into Great Britain, from Ireland, Guernsey, Jersey, and Isle of Man, with the amount of the duties collected thereon, in the year 1794.*

	ENGLAND.			SCOTLAND.		
	Quantity.	Duty.		Quantity.	Duty.	
	qrs. bush.	l.	s. d.	qrs. bush.	l.	s. d.
Barley -	15,757 9	196	19 3			
Ditto (free)	719 0			1,441 2		
Beans - -	1,846 6	23	1 8			
Oats - -	311,840 2	2,599	10 0	49,812 6	415	2 1 1/2
Oatmeal -	3,104 17	28	8 5			
	bolls. lb.					
Ditto (free)	7 61					
	qrs. bush.					
Pease - -	23 0		5 9			
Ditto (free)	33 0					
Rye - -	414 6	5	3 8			
Ditto (free)	311 4					
Wheat -	8,301 0	302	14 8			
Ditto (free)	250 0					
	cwt. qrs. lb.					
Wheat flour	924 3 11	38	11 7			
Ditto (free)	4,950 2 0					
		3,194	15 0		415	2 1

*Accor.*

# APPENDIX to the CHRONICLE. 133

*Account of the quantity of British corn exported from Great Britain to foreign parts, with the amount of the bounties paid thereon in the year 1794.*

	ENGLAND.		SCOTLAND.	
	qrs.	bu sh.	qrs.	bu sh.
Barley	366	1	27	4
Beans			290	5
Groats			37	2
Malt	65	4	2,947	4
Oats	11,598	2	1,037	5
	cwt.	qrs. lb.	cwt.	qrs. lb.
Oatmeal	3,552	3 15	533	2 6
	qrs.	bu sh.	qrs.	bu sh.
Pease	2,991	0	39	2
Rye	497	4		
Wheat	11,667	1		
	cwt.	qrs. lb.	cwt.	qrs. lb.
Wheat flour	48,492	2 25	455	2 0

*Bounties paid on British corn exported.*

	l.	s.	d.
England	5,078	7	2
Scotland	715	16	4



# 184 ANNUAL REGISTER, 1794.

*Account of the quantity of British corn exported from Great Britain to Ireland, the Isles of Guernsey, Jersey, and Man, in the year 1794.*

	ENGLAND.		SCOTLAND.	
	qrs.	buſh.	qrs.	buſh.
Barley	1,662	6	100	0
Oats	60	0		
Oatmeal	87	56		
Peaſe	32	0		
Wheat	7,096	7	576	4
Wheat flour	61,836	0 0	905	0 20
Rye	21	3		
Malt	3,159	4		

*Account of the quantity of foreign corn exported from Great Britain, to foreign parts, in the year 1794.*

	qrs.	buſh.
Barley	775	0
Oats	692	0
Peaſe	217	2
Rye	323	4
Wheat	26,699	4
Wheat flour	23,441	3 5
Indian corn	1,445	2

*Account of foreign corn exported to Ireland, Guernsey, Jersey, and Iſle of Man, in the year 1794.*

England - 29,568 quarters 7 buſhels of wheat.  
 Scotland , 870 quarters of ditto.

*Principal*

## APPENDIX to the CHRONICLE. 135

*Principal public acts passed in the fourth session of the seventeenth parliament of Great Britain.*

*Feb. 20.*

Act for raising the sum of eleven millions by annuities.

*Feb. 21.*

Land-tax and malt-duty bills.

Marine mutiny bill.

American trade bill.

*March 1.*

Mutiny-bill.

An act for preventing money or effects, in the hands of his majesty's subjects, belonging to, or disposeable by, persons resident in France, being applied to the use of the persons exercising the powers of government in France, and for preserving the property thereof, for the benefit of the individual owners thereof.

An act for repealing the stamp-duties on gloves and mittens sold by retail.

An act for repealing the duties on the registry of burials, marriages, and christenings.

*March 28.*

An act for regulating the conveyance of letters by the penny-post.

An act for augmenting the militia.

*April 17.*

An act for encouraging and disciplining such corps, or companies of men, as shall voluntarily enrol themselves for the defence of their counties, towns, or coasts, or for the general defence of the kingdom, during the present war.

*May 9.*

An act to enable subjects of France to enlist as soldiers in regiments to serve on the continent of

Europe, and in certain other places, and to enable his majesty to grant commissions to subjects of France to serve and receive pay as officers in such regiments, or as engineers, under certain restrictions.

*May 23.*

An act to enable his majesty to secure and detain such persons as his majesty shall suspect are conspiring against his person and government.

An act for the better observation of the Lord's day, by persons exercising the trade of bakers.

An act for better regulating the watermen on the Thames between Windsor and Gravesend.

*June 11.*

An act for the better management of the land revenues of the crown, and for the sale of fee farms and other unimprovable rents.

An act for the farther encouragement of the British mariners.

An act to prevent ships of war, and private ships or vessels of war, taken as prizes, from the payment of duty.

The insolvent act.

*July 7.*

An act for more effectually preserving money or effects, in the hands of his majesty's subjects, belonging to, or disposeable by persons resident in France, for the benefit of the individual owners thereof.

An act, to continue an act of the last session of parliament, respecting aliens.

An act for regulating the militia of the city of London.

An act, to continue an act, regulating the shipping of slaves from the coast of Africa.

## PRICES OF STOCK, FOR THE YEAR 1794.

N. B. The highest and lowest prices of each stock in the course of any month are put down in that month.

	Bank Stock.	3 pr Ct. Reduced	3 pr Ct. Confol.	4 pr Ct. Confol.	5 per Ct.	Long Ann.	Short Ann.	India Stock	India Bonds.	S. Sea Stock	Old Ann.	New Ann.	Navy Bills.	Excheq. Bills.	Lottery Tickets.
Jan.	165 $\frac{1}{2}$	73	73 $\frac{1}{2}$	87 $\frac{1}{2}$	101 $\frac{1}{2}$	21 $\frac{1}{2}$	9 $\frac{1}{2}$	209 $\frac{1}{2}$	23 Pre.		71 $\frac{1}{2}$	66 $\frac{1}{2}$	11 $\frac{1}{2}$	12	16 7 6
Feb.	161 $\frac{1}{2}$	67 $\frac{1}{2}$	66 $\frac{1}{2}$	82 $\frac{1}{2}$	100	19 $\frac{1}{2}$	9 $\frac{1}{2}$	197 $\frac{1}{2}$	3 dif.	73 $\frac{1}{2}$	68	67 $\frac{1}{2}$	8	4	16 10
Mar.	155	69 $\frac{1}{2}$	68 $\frac{1}{2}$	85	101 $\frac{1}{2}$	20 $\frac{1}{2}$	9 $\frac{1}{2}$	202 $\frac{1}{2}$	19 Pre.	71 $\frac{1}{2}$	67 $\frac{1}{2}$	66 $\frac{1}{2}$	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	12 Pre.	16 13 6
	162 $\frac{1}{2}$	66 $\frac{1}{2}$	65 $\frac{1}{2}$	82 $\frac{1}{2}$	100	19 $\frac{1}{2}$	9 $\frac{1}{2}$	199 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 do.	73 $\frac{1}{2}$	67 $\frac{1}{2}$	68 $\frac{1}{2}$	5 $\frac{1}{2}$	6 dif.	16 5 0
Apr.	160		65 $\frac{1}{2}$	83 $\frac{1}{2}$	102 $\frac{1}{2}$	20	9 $\frac{1}{2}$	203 $\frac{1}{2}$	15	71	67	65 $\frac{1}{2}$	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	9 Pre.	
	169 $\frac{1}{2}$	71 $\frac{1}{2}$	71 $\frac{1}{2}$	82 $\frac{1}{2}$	100	19 $\frac{1}{2}$	9 $\frac{1}{2}$	200 $\frac{1}{2}$	19	75	67	68 $\frac{1}{2}$	4	3 do.	
May	161	68 $\frac{1}{2}$	67 $\frac{1}{2}$	85 $\frac{1}{2}$	106 $\frac{1}{2}$	20 $\frac{1}{2}$	9 $\frac{1}{2}$	208 $\frac{1}{2}$	6	73	68	68 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	5	
	168	71	71 $\frac{1}{2}$	84 $\frac{1}{2}$	100 $\frac{1}{2}$	19 $\frac{1}{2}$	9 $\frac{1}{2}$	209 $\frac{1}{2}$	19	75	70 $\frac{1}{2}$	70 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	15	
June	166 $\frac{1}{2}$	69 $\frac{1}{2}$	68 $\frac{1}{2}$	85 $\frac{1}{2}$	101 $\frac{1}{2}$	20 $\frac{1}{2}$	9 $\frac{1}{2}$	207 $\frac{1}{2}$	7	75	69 $\frac{1}{2}$	70 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	8	
	167	71 $\frac{1}{2}$	71 $\frac{1}{2}$	84 $\frac{1}{2}$	103	19 $\frac{1}{2}$	9 $\frac{1}{2}$	211 $\frac{1}{2}$	9	76 $\frac{1}{2}$	71 $\frac{1}{2}$	70 $\frac{1}{2}$	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	10	
July	161	67 $\frac{1}{2}$	67 $\frac{1}{2}$	82 $\frac{1}{2}$	103 $\frac{1}{2}$	20 $\frac{1}{2}$	9 $\frac{1}{2}$	203 $\frac{1}{2}$	3	73 $\frac{1}{2}$	69 $\frac{1}{2}$	70 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	5	
	168	69 $\frac{1}{2}$	69 $\frac{1}{2}$	85 $\frac{1}{2}$	102 $\frac{1}{2}$	20 $\frac{1}{2}$	9 $\frac{1}{2}$	206 $\frac{1}{2}$	15	73 $\frac{1}{2}$	68 $\frac{1}{2}$	66 $\frac{1}{2}$	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	12	
	160	66 $\frac{1}{2}$	66 $\frac{1}{2}$	81 $\frac{1}{2}$	100 $\frac{1}{2}$	19 $\frac{1}{2}$	9 $\frac{1}{2}$	199 $\frac{1}{2}$	7	72 $\frac{1}{2}$	66 $\frac{1}{2}$	66 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	5	
Aug.	165 $\frac{1}{2}$	69 $\frac{1}{2}$	68 $\frac{1}{2}$	85 $\frac{1}{2}$	101 $\frac{1}{2}$	20 $\frac{1}{2}$	9 $\frac{1}{2}$	199 $\frac{1}{2}$	16	70 $\frac{1}{2}$	69 $\frac{1}{2}$	68 $\frac{1}{2}$	2	15	
	163 $\frac{1}{2}$	67 $\frac{1}{2}$	67 $\frac{1}{2}$	81 $\frac{1}{2}$	101	19 $\frac{1}{2}$	9 $\frac{1}{2}$	197 $\frac{1}{2}$	10	70 $\frac{1}{2}$	67 $\frac{1}{2}$	66 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	6	
Sept.	164 $\frac{1}{2}$	67 $\frac{1}{2}$	67 $\frac{1}{2}$	85 $\frac{1}{2}$	102	20 $\frac{1}{2}$	9 $\frac{1}{2}$	197 $\frac{1}{2}$	10	71 $\frac{1}{2}$	65	66 $\frac{1}{2}$	2	17	19 17 0
	157	67 $\frac{1}{2}$	64 $\frac{1}{2}$	83	100	19 $\frac{1}{2}$	9 $\frac{1}{2}$	192 $\frac{1}{2}$	13	69 $\frac{1}{2}$	63 $\frac{1}{2}$	63 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	11	19 11 6
Oct.	158 $\frac{1}{2}$	67 $\frac{1}{2}$	68 $\frac{1}{2}$	85	103	20 $\frac{1}{2}$	9 $\frac{1}{2}$	194 $\frac{1}{2}$	16	69 $\frac{1}{2}$	66	63 $\frac{1}{2}$	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	17	20 0 0
	151 $\frac{1}{2}$	63 $\frac{1}{2}$	63 $\frac{1}{2}$	81 $\frac{1}{2}$	99	19 $\frac{1}{2}$	8 $\frac{1}{2}$	183 $\frac{1}{2}$	4	69 $\frac{1}{2}$	66	63 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	8	19 9 6
Nov	160 $\frac{1}{2}$	68 $\frac{1}{2}$	69 $\frac{1}{2}$	84 $\frac{1}{2}$	103	20	9 $\frac{1}{2}$	195 $\frac{1}{2}$	18	73	68 $\frac{1}{2}$	67 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	18	20 14 6
	154 $\frac{1}{2}$	63 $\frac{1}{2}$	65 $\frac{1}{2}$	82 $\frac{1}{2}$	101	19 $\frac{1}{2}$	8 $\frac{1}{2}$	189 $\frac{1}{2}$	14	69 $\frac{1}{2}$	68 $\frac{1}{2}$	68 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	15	19 6 0
Dec.	159 $\frac{1}{2}$	68 $\frac{1}{2}$	68 $\frac{1}{2}$	81 $\frac{1}{2}$	103	19 $\frac{1}{2}$	9 $\frac{1}{2}$	192 $\frac{1}{2}$	19	72 $\frac{1}{2}$	67 $\frac{1}{2}$	67 $\frac{1}{2}$	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	19	20 18 0
	153 $\frac{1}{2}$	64 $\frac{1}{2}$	64 $\frac{1}{2}$	79 $\frac{1}{2}$	100	18 $\frac{1}{2}$	8 $\frac{1}{2}$	186 $\frac{1}{2}$	3	69	65	67 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	6	20 0 0

*State of the Barometer and Thermometer for the Year 1794.*

1794.	Thermometer without.			Thermometer within.			Barometer.			Hygrometer.			Rain.																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																										
	Greatest height.	Leaf height.	Mean height.	Greatest height.	Leaf height.	Mean height.	Greatest height.	Leaf height.	Mean height.	Greatest height.	Leaf height.	Mean height.																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																											
														Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.

# STATE PAPER

*On the 21st of January, 1794, his majesty went to the house of lords, and opened the fourth session of the seventeenth parliament of Great Britain, with the following speech from the throne.*

My Lords and Gentlemen,

**T**HE circumstances under which you are now assembled require your most serious attention.

We are engaged in a contest, on the issue of which depend the maintenance of our constitution, laws, and religion; and the security of all civil society.

You must have observed, with satisfaction, the advantages which have been obtained by the arms of the allied powers, and the change which has taken place in the general situation of Europe since the commencement of the war. The United Provinces have been protected from invasion; the Austrian Netherlands have been recovered and maintained; and places of considerable importance have been acquired on the frontiers of France. The re-capture of Mentz, and the subsequent successes of the allied armies on the Rhine, have, notwithstanding the advantages recently obtained by the enemy in that quarter, proved highly beneficial to the common cause. Powerful efforts have been made by my allies in

the south of Europe; the possession of the town of Toulon has greatly facilitated the operations of my enemies in the circumstances attending the evacuation of that place, and the decisive blow has been given to their naval power, by the distinguished conduct, ability, and valour of my commanders, and the forces, both by sea and

The French have been driven from their possessions in Newfoundland, and in valuable acquisitions have been made both in the East and West Indies.

At sea our superiority is undisputed, and our commerce is effectually protected, and sustained have been in proportion to its extent the captures made on the trade of the enemy.

The circumstances attending the further progress of the war hitherto been impeded, prove the necessity of perseverance on our part. At the same time, the constitution of ultimate success.

Our enemies have been pursuing a system which has proved to be a means of temporary success, to dispose arbitrarily of the property of a people, and which openly

restraint of justice, humanity, and religion: but these efforts, productive as they necessarily have been of internal discontent and confusion in France, have also tended rapidly to exhaust the natural and real strength of that country.

Although I cannot but regret the necessary continuance of the war, I should consult the essential interests of my people, if I were desirous of peace on any grounds but such as may provide for their permanent safety, and for the independence and security of Europe. The attainment of these ends is still obstructed by the prevalence of a system in France, equally incompatible with the happiness of that country, and with the tranquillity of all other nations.

Under this impression, I thought proper to make a declaration of the views and principles by which I am guided. I have ordered a copy of this declaration to be laid before you, together with copies of several conventions and treaties with different powers, by which you will perceive how large a part of Europe is united in a cause of such general concern.

I reflect with unspeakable satisfaction on the steady loyalty and firm attachment to the established constitution and government, which, notwithstanding the continued efforts employed to mislead and to seduce, have been so generally prevalent among all ranks of my people. These sentiments have been eminently manifested in the zeal and alacrity of the militia to provide for our internal defence, and in the distinguished bravery and spirit displayed on every occasion by my forces both by sea and land: they have maintained the lustre of

the British name, and have shewn themselves worthy of the blessings which it is the object of all our exertions to preserve.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

I have ordered the necessary estimates and accounts to be laid before you, and I am persuaded you will be ready to make such provision as the exigencies of the time may require. I feel too sensibly the repeated proofs which I have received of the affection of my subjects, not to lament the necessity of any additional burdens. It is, however, a great consolation to me to observe the favourable state of the revenue, and the complete success of the measure which was last year adopted for removing the embarrassments affecting commercial credit.

Great as must be the extent of our exertions, I trust you will be enabled to provide for them in such a manner, as to avoid any pressure which could be severely felt by my people.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

In all your deliberations, you will undoubtedly bear in my mind the true grounds and origin of the war.

An attack was made on us, and on our allies, founded on principles which tend to destroy all property, to subvert the laws and religion of every civilized nation, and to introduce universally that wild and destructive system of rapine, anarchy, and impiety, the effects of which, as they have already been manifested in France, furnish a dreadful but useful lesson to the present age and to posterity.

It only remains for us to persevere in our united exertions; their discontinuance or relaxation could hardly procure even a short interval of delative repose, and could never terminate in security or peace. Impressed with the necessity of defending all that is most dear to us, and relying, as we may, with confidence, on the valour and resources of the nation, on the combined efforts of so large a part of Europe, and, above all, on the incontestable justice of our cause, let us render our conduct a contrast to that of our enemies, and, by cultivating and practising the principles of humanity, and the duties of religion, endeavour to merit the continuance of the Divine favour and protection which have been so eminently experienced by these kingdoms.

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*Message from his majesty, to the house of commons, January 27, 1794.*

George R.

**H**IS majesty thinks it proper to acquaint the house of commons, that a corps of Hessian troops, taken into the pay of Great Britain, to be employed on foreign service, having been brought to the appointed place of rendezvous, off the Isle of Wight, his majesty has found it necessary, with a view to the preventing any sickness taking place among the said troops from their continuance on board of the transports, to order them to be disembarked, and to be stationed, for the present, on the Isle of Wight, at Portsmouth, and at places adjacent.

G. R.

*Protest of earl Stanhope, & rejection of the earl of All motion (on the 21st of F. 1794) respecting the introduction of foreign troops into this without the previous consent of parliament.*

### Dissentient.

1. **B**ECAUSE "It is a breach of the law for the crown to keep an army in this kingdom in time of peace or in time of war without the previous consent of parliament;" and it is essential, to the preservation of the important constitutional principle (which was unequivocally established in the debate) should be maintained inviolate in this. And the friends of public liberty ought ever to bear in mind the admirable vote of the house of commons, on the 5th day of March, when it was resolved, "That the house doth declare, that the crown shall give counsel or assist in any manner, to bring foreign force into the kingdom, less it be by command of his majesty with the consent of both houses of parliament, shall be adjudged a public enemy to the crown and kingdom."

2. Because the annual meeting of parliament is a proof that the crown cannot perpetuate or assume a prerogative which parliament annually denies, nor exercise, at its own discretion, that power which the law specially limits.

3. Because it is a most dangerous doctrine, that the crown has a prerogative (by virtue of an "undefined prerogative") to do any act which is not warranted, either by common law or by statute law, under the pretence of its appearing to be

ful, And the supineness of it, in the reign of king Second, when so many seriously illegal, were committed by the crown, and yet passed by the two houses, clearly that, from the want of vigilance in certain parliaments, pre- may be established, subver- sion of the first principles of national

cause the maintaining of a army on the establishment, in the territory of this king- dom open defiance of the very parliament which settles the the present royal family the 12th and 13th of Wil- chap. the 2d.) which ex- nacts, " That no person of the kingdoms of Eng- land, or Ireland, or the is thereunto belonging (al- be naturalized, or made n, except such as are born h parents) shall be capable any office or place of trust, civil or military." And the 29th George II. chap. the 1 proof that the legislature a special act of parliament to enable the king to even a limited number of foreign officers in America, for certain restrictions and tions.

cause " foreign mercenaries have been useless, or dan- to those who employ them. conduct, at first, has gene- a peaceable and enlaving; seditious and destructive; se states that have carried ts which they intended, by stance, have usually in the en enslaved by them."

6th. Because a prerogative executive power, to intro-

duce any number, without limit, of armed men foreign hirelings into any country, without the previous and express consent of the legisla- ture, is totally incompatible with any form of a free constitution; for, not only that government is tyran- nical, which is actually trannically administered, but that government also is tyrannical (however admini- stered) where there is no sufficient security against its being trannically administered in future. And I so- lemnly protest against a measure which tends to endanger the rights and liberties of my fellow-citizens, of whom I consider myself only as a trustee.

STANHOPE.

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*Protest of earl Radnor against the re- jection of the Indemnity Bill, for the landing of troops in this kingdom without the consent of parliament; which was moved by the earl of Albemarle.*

1. **B**ECAUSE, with the ex- ception of only one noble lord, not one of his majesty's mini- sters, it was in the debate unani- mously admitted, that the keeping in this country troops, whether na- tive or foreign, in time either of war or peace, without the consent of parliament, is unconstitutional. And as it was also admitted, unani- mously and unequivocally, that the troops in question are here upon grounds of fitness and expediency; and as the consideration of fitness and expediency, though they render, and in fact in the present instance do render, not only justifiable, but highly meritorious, do in no degree so change the nature as to make it more or less constitutional.

2. This



2. This bill, though of a nature to be very sparingly adopted, yet was of particular propriety; for in a matter of great moment, it declared the law, saved the constitution, and did justice to the motives of the executive government.

3. Because the stopping of this bill leaves the troops here, without any consent of parliament.

4. Because the effect of the declarations, by which the right of the crown so to keep troops here was disclaimed, however strong, general, and unequivocal, is yet transitory and fugitive; but the fact that troops are so here, is notorious and recorded; and when the motives which justified, and the declarations that reconciled to the house the measure, are forgotten, may be turned into precedent.

RADNOR.

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*Message from his majesty, to the house of commons, March 25.*

George R.

**H**IS majesty thinks it proper to acquaint the house of commons, that for the purpose of more effectually guarding against any attempt which may be made, on the part of the enemy, to execute their professed design of invading the kingdom, his majesty has ordered a farther augmentation of his land forces, the estimate for which he has directed to be laid before the house. It is also his majesty's intention to take measures in order to be able, in case of emergency, to assemble speedily a large additional force in any part of the kingdom where it may become necessary; and his majesty relies, with confidence, on the cordial and effectual

support of parliament, and on the zealous and spirited exertions of his people, in carrying into execution such measures as may be requisite for the general security.

G. R.

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*Message from his majesty, to the house of commons, April 28.*

George R.

**H**IS majesty has ordered copies of a treaty, which has been signed at the Hague, by the plenipotentiaries of his majesty and the states general of the united provinces on the one part, and by the plenipotentiary of the king of Prussia on the other part; and likewise of a convention agreed upon between the respective plenipotentiaries of his majesty and the states general, to be laid before the house: and his majesty, relying on the zealous and affectionate support of his faithful commons, in the vigorous prosecution of the war in which he is engaged, recommends it to this house to consider of making provision towards enabling his majesty to fulfil the engagements which his majesty has entered into, as well as to defray any extraordinary expenses which may be incurred for the service of the present year, and to take such measures as the exigency of affairs may require.

G. R.

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*Message from his majesty, to the house of commons, May 12.*

George R.

**H**IS Majesty having received information, that the seditious practices

which have been for some time on by certain societies in correspondence with different parts of the country lately been pursued with activity and boldness, openly avowedly directed to assembling a pretended convention of the people, and defiance of the authority of the government, and on principle of the existing laws, and directly tending to the introduction of that system of anarchy and confusion which prevailed in France, has led to the seizure of the papers of the said societies which have been seized; and these books and papers are of great importance to the government, his majesty has given orders for laying them before the courts; and his majesty is it to the house to consider, and to take such measures as may appear necessary for effectually guarding against the farther prosecution of seditious designs, and for to his majesty's subjects the enjoyment of the blessings decreed by the constitution established in these kingdoms.

G. R.

*At the first reading of the bill suspending the habeas corpus act, May 22.*

Content.

USE I abhor the idea of establishing a dangerous constitutional system of letters in this country.

STANHOPE.

*Protest against the passing of the act for suspending the Habeas Corpus act, May 22.*

Dissentient.

1. **B**ECAUSE no evidence has been laid before us, that this kingdom is at present in those circumstances of imminent danger and imperious necessity which alone, in our opinion, would justify even the temporary surrender of that sacred fundamental law which is the sole guardian of the personal liberty and security of our fellow-subjects. None of these circumstances, either of foreign invasion or of domestic insurrection, or of formidable conspiracy, now exist which induced our ancestors to commit their liberties to the perilous guardianship of a despotic authority. Instead of such an unequivocal public danger, which silences all deliberations and overrules all laws, we are now required to vest an arbitrary power in his majesty's ministers upon the authority of a detail of the offences of individuals or societies, whose strength and numbers are not proved to our apprehension to be such as would justify such a measure as the present, especially as the ordinary operations of the law is sufficient to check the spirit which is supposed to prevail. One of the worst effects of the conduct of these societies is their having operated as the instrument for former artificial panics, and as a pretext for former measures, in our opinion the most hazardous and pernicious. They continued the same conduct without injury experienced by the public, without accession of strength, without the proof of any change in their systems or designs. We cannot therefore without betraying the trust reposed in us, consent to resign the liberties

of

of all our fellow-subjects to the discretion of the servants of the crown, on no better ground than that of a catalogue of offences which have been long notorious to the whole kingdom.

2. Because even the proof that some individuals entertain those desperate designs which have been ascribed to them would not, in our opinion, form any justification of the present measure. From the revolution to the complete defeat of the pretensions of the house of Stuart the wisdom of our ancestors did not deem the existence of a zealous, powerful, and indefatigable, jacobite party a sufficient reason, without overt acts of rebellion, or actual existing conspiracy, for subjecting the personal liberty of the whole kingdom to the will of ministers. Miserable, indeed, and precarious is our condition, if, at the pleasure of a handful of visionaries and incendiaries (characters which every age produces and disguises, which the agents of every government may assume,) our liberties are to be laid under a legal interdict, and ministers are to be vested with an arbitrary power over the persons of all the freemen of this realm.

3. Because, even if the danger had been as real and imminent as is pretended, it might have been provided against by measures far less odious than that of depriving the subject of those rights of personal security which distinguish the British constitution beyond any other free government ancient or modern, and changing it for the time from a government of law to a government of will. One expedient, comparatively more moderate, is obvious, namely, to put the law

respecting bail for misdemeanors which affect the state for a limited time on the same footing with bail in cases of treason.

4. Because this bill appears to us, under a still more melancholy and alarming aspect, when we combine it with declarations which have been made by considerable persons during the dependence of this bill. Even this, the utmost extremity to which our ancestors were ever driven, by the pressure of the greatest danger, is but the prelude to a system of measures (if possible) still more violent and arbitrary. These menaces too forcibly illustrated by some past measures, in our opinion of a rigour equally impolitic and odious, fill us with the most melancholy apprehensions that designs are entertained by a progressive series of encroachments, to annihilate all the rights of Englishmen, and to extinguish all the free principles of the British constitution.

5. Because the precipitation with which this bill has been hurried through the house is both indecent in itself, and directly repugnant to two standing orders of this house, one of the 29th of June, 1715, and the other of the 28th April, 1699, standing orders, which insure to this house the advantages of mature deliberation, and to the subject the invaluable privilege of petitioning against measures which, like the present, are subversive of his fundamental rights.

ALBEMARLE -  
BEDFORD.  
LAUDERDALE  
DERBY.

*His majesty's speech to the houses of lords and commons, on closing the session, July 11.*

My lords and gentlemen,

**T**HE state of public business enables me to close this session of parliament, in doing which I have again to acknowledge that assiduity and zeal for the interests of my people, of which you had before given me so many proofs, and which have been so particularly manifested in the present year.

I am persuaded that you entertain too just a sense of the nature and importance of the contest in which we are engaged, to suffer your zeal to be abated, or your perseverance shaken, by the recent successes of the enemy in the Netherlands.

In a moment which so strongly calls for energy and vigour, it is peculiarly gratifying to me to reflect on the uniform skill and bravery of my fleets and armies, the undaunted spirit and unwearied exertions of my officers and troops in every situation, and the general public spirit of my people, which have never at any period been more conspicuous.

I have observed with the highest satisfaction the rapid and valuable acquisitions made in the East and West Indies, the successful operations which have been carried on in the Mediterranean, and the brilliant and decisive victory obtained by my fleet under the command of earl Howe, an event which must ever be remembered as one of the most glorious in the naval history of this country.

Gentlemen of the house of commons.

I return you my warmest thanks  
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for the cheerfulness and liberality with which you have granted the large supplies which were necessary for the service of the year, and for the maintenance of a cause equally important to the security and happiness of every class of my subjects.

My lords and gentlemen,

I feel it incumbent upon me particularly to acknowledge your diligence in the investigation of the designs which had been formed against the government and constitution of these kingdoms, and to thank you for the confidence you have reposed in me on this occasion. It will be a principal object of my attention to make a vigorous and prudent use of the additional powers vested in me for the protection and security of my people; and relying, as I do, with the utmost confidence, on the uniform loyalty and public spirit of the great body of my subjects, I have no doubt of speedily and effectually repressing every attempt to disturb the public peace, and of defeating the wicked designs which have been in agitation.

It must not, however, be forgotten, that these designs, against our domestic happiness, are essentially connected with the system now prevailing in France, of which the principles and spirit are irreconcilably hostile to all regular and established government: and that we are therefore called upon by every consideration of our own internal safety to continue our efforts in conjunction with my allies, and to persevere with increased vigour and exertion in a contest, from the successful termination of which we can alone expect to establish on a solid and permanent foundation, the

L

future

future security and tranquillity either of this country, or of the other nations of Europe.

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*Protest of earl Stanhope, on the rejection of his motion to delay the transportation of Mr. Muir.*

Dissentient,

1. **B**ECAUSE the attending to the due administration of justice, and the watching over the conduct of the various courts in this kingdom, is one of the most important branches of the business of this house, and is at all times also one of its most essential duties.

2. Because it obviously appears to be proper to examine into the justice and legality of a sentence, before it is executed, and not to permit it to be executed first, and then to examine into its justice and legality afterwards.

3. Because, for want of such timely interference on the part of this house, it has formerly happened, that within a short time, no less than four unjust and illegal judgments were actually carried into execution, as appears from the respective attainders of the innocent sufferers having been afterwards reversed and made void (when it was too late) by four acts of parliament, made and passed in the first year of the reign of their late majesties king William and queen Mary, namely, in the cases of alderman Cornish, Alice Little, Algernon Sydney, and lord Russell.

4. Because it is contrary to the first and immutable principles of natural justice, that any thing to the prejudice of a defendant should be brought before a jury in a cri-

iminal prosecution, that is "only collateral, not in issue, nor necessary in the conclusion."

5. Because it is not (nor ought to be) competent for the prosecutor to produce any evidence to support any matter that is not charged in the indictment; that is to say, distinctly and precisely charged, and not by mere epithets or general words, such as oppression, sedition, vexation, or the like.

6. Because in like manner it is not (nor ought to be) competent for a prosecutor to produce any evidence to prove any crime to have been committed by a defendant, in any other particular place than that wherein it is in the indictment expressly charged to have been committed.

7. Because no such proceedings as those above stated, nor any of them, can be justified under pretence, that "if it had been necessary to specify in the indictment all the facts against the defendant, the indictment would have covered, by its magnitude, the walls of the court." And,

8. Because in one year of the trial of Warren Hastings, esquire, namely, in the year one thousand seven hundred and ninety, there were no less than four decisions of the house of lords upon this subject, viz. on the twenty-fifth day of February, when the lords resolved,

"That the managers for the commons be not admitted to give evidence of the unfitness of Kellaram for the appointment of being a renter of certain lands in the province of Bahar; the fact of such unfitness of the said Kellaram not being charged in the impeachment."

And again on the 4th day of May, when the lords decided,

"That

"That it is not competent to the managers for the commons to put the following question to the witness upon the seventh article of charge, viz. Whether more oppressions did actually exist under the new institution than under the old?"

And again on the 18th day of May, when the house of lords resolved,

"That it is not competent to the managers for the commons to give evidence of the enormities actually committed by Deby Sing; the same not being charged in the impeachment."

And again on the 2d day of June, when the lords resolved,

"That it is not competent for the managers, on the part of the commons, to give any evidence upon the seventh article of the impeachment, to prove that the letter of the 5th of May, 1781, is false, in any other particular than that wherein it is expressly charged to be false."

The said decisions of the house of lords are founded upon principles not peculiar to trials by impeachment. They are founded upon common sense, and on the immutable principles of justice. In Scotland those principles are peculiarly necessary to be adhered to, inasmuch as by the laws of that part of the kingdom, a defendant is obliged to produce a complete list of all his witnesses in exculpation, the day before the trial. That alone appears to me a considerable hardship. But if, after such list is actually delivered in by the defendant, any facts (or supposed facts) not particularly set forth as crimes in the indictment, may, on the following day, for the first time,

and without notice, be suddenly brought out in evidence upon the trial against the defendant; such defendant, from such an entrapping mode of trial, may be convicted, although innocent. Such proceedings (whether supported or unsupported by any old Scotch statute passed in arbitrary times) ought, I conceive, to be revised. For, in a free country, there ought not to be one mode of administering justice to one man, namely, to Mr. Hastings, and an opposite mode of administering justice to another man, namely, to Mr. Muir.

STANHOPE.

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*Protest against the declaration of the object of the war.*

Dissentient,

1. **B**ECAUSE it appears to us, that it would have been highly becoming and expedient for this house, as leading to the great and invaluable blessing of peace, at this time to have resolved, that it appears to this house, that during the several changes which took place in the constitution and government of France before the commencement of hostilities, and more particularly after the events of the 10th of August, 1792, when his majesty was advised by his ministers to suspend all official communications with France, it was, and continued to be the professed principle and policy of his majesty's government carefully to observe a strict neutrality, and uniformly to abstain from any interference with respect to the internal affairs of France: that when his majesty was advised to make a farther augmentation of

his forces by sea and land, at the beginning of last year, it was for the declared purpose of opposing views of aggrandisement and ambition on the part of France; and that when his majesty acquainted parliament that acts of hostility had been directed by the government of France against his majesty's subjects, and after war had been declared against his majesty and the united provinces, the then avowed object of prosecuting the war on our part, was to oppose the farther views of aggrandisement imputed to France, and that the prosecution of the war on this ground, and for the attainment of this object, was approved by both houses of parliament.

2. Because it would have been equally becoming and expedient in this house, as tending to the same desirable object of peace, at this time to have declared, in conformity to the other resolutions, opened, discussed, and submitted to its consideration.

That, at or before the end of April, 1793, the armies of France were obliged to evacuate Holland and Flanders, and to retire within their own territory; and that the prince of Cobourg, commander-in-chief of the emperor's forces in Flanders, did, on the 5th of April, engage and declare that he would join and co-operate with general Dumourier to give to France her constitutional king, and the constitution which she had formed for herself; and that the Prince of Cobourg did also then declare, on his word of honour, that if any strong places should be delivered over to his troops, he should consider them no otherwise than as sacred deposits; and that on the 9th of the same month, all the preceding declara-

tions of the prince of Cobourg were revoked.

That, by the 15th article of the treaty concluded with the landgrave of Hesse Cassel, on the 10th of April, 1793, his majesty's ministers were of opinion that *the situation of affairs had then entirely changed its aspect*, in consequence of which, his majesty might not have occasion for the Hessian troops, and might be at liberty to relinquish their service on certain conditions of compensation to be made to the landgrave.

That, on the 14th of July, 1793, a convention was concluded between his majesty and the king of Prussia, in which their majesties reciprocally promised to continue to employ their respective forces, in far as their circumstances would permit, in carrying on a war equally just and necessary.

That, on the 23d of August, 1793, lord Hood declared to the people of Toulon, that he had no other view but that of *restoring peace* to a great nation, upon the most just, liberal, and honourable terms: that the inhabitants of Toulon did in return declare, that it was their unanimous wish to adopt a monarchical government, such as it was originally formed by the constituent assembly in 1789; and that lord Hood, by his proclamation of 28th August, accepted of that declaration, and did then repeat what he had already declared to the people of the town of France, that he took possession of Toulon, and held it in trust only for Louis the Seventeenth.

That the constitution, to which the declaration and acceptance herein immediately before stated, was the same which his majesty's ambassador at the Hague did, in a memorial presented

to the states general on  
 f January, 1793, describe  
 lowing terms, viz. "It  
 e four years since certain  
 , assuming the name of phi-  
 have presumed to think  
 ; capable of establishing a  
 n of civil society; in order  
 this dream, the offspring  
 it became necessary for  
 overturn and destroy all  
 l notions of subordination,  
 , and of religion;" and  
 lescription was applied by  
 nballador to a government  
 h his majesty continued to  
 egociate from its institution  
 to its dissolution in August,  
 d that his majesty's ambaf-  
 not recalled from Paris,  
 government was dissolved.  
 y the declaration made by  
 y's ministers, and dated on  
 of October, 1793, "that  
 y only demands of France  
 legitimate and stable go-  
 should be established,  
 upon the acknowledged  
 : of universal justice, and  
 f maintaining, with other  
 the accustomed relations of  
 d peace;" and that his  
 in treating for the re-sta-  
 of general tranquillity with  
 vernment, "would propose  
 or than equitable and mo-  
 nditions, not such as the  
 , the risks, and the fa-  
 of the war might justify;"  
 his majesty hoped to find,  
 her powers engaged with  
 e *common cause*, sentiments  
 as perfectly conformable to

t the commencement of the  
 prosecution of it was con-  
 y his majesty as a cause of

*general concern*, in which his majesty  
 had *every reason* to hope for the  
*cordial co-operation* of those powers  
 who were united with his majesty,  
 by the ties of alliance, and who felt  
 an interest in the same cause.

That in the prosecution of a war,  
 considered by his majesty as *a cause  
 of general concern*, and as *a common  
 cause*, his majesty has not received  
 that cordial co-operation, which we  
 were led to expect from those powers,  
 and who were united with him by  
 the ties of alliance, and who were  
 supposed to feel an interest in the  
 same cause.

That, on a review of the con-  
 duct of the several powers of  
 Europe, from whom if the cause  
 was *common*, and if the concern  
 was *general*, such *cordial co-ope-  
 ration* might have been expected;  
 that many of those powers have  
 not co-operated with his majesty;  
 that the empress of Russia has not  
 contributed, in any shape, to the  
 support of this common cause; that  
 the crowns of Sweden and Den-  
 mark have united to support their  
 neutrality and to defend themselves  
 against any attempt to force them to  
 take part in this common cause;  
 that Poland is neither able nor in-  
 clined to take part in it, and that  
 Switzerland and Venice are neutral;  
 that the king of Sardinia has requi-  
 red and obtained a subsidy from  
 Great Britain to enable him to act  
 even on the defensive; that the  
 king of the Two Sicilies, professing  
 to make common cause with his  
 majesty in the war against France, is  
 bound to it by nothing but his own  
 judgement, in the *course of events  
 which may occur*, and that he is at  
 liberty to abandon the common  
 cause, *whenever he shall judge that*



*he cannot any longer with justice and dignity continue the war: that the efforts of Spain and Portugal have been completely ineffectual,*

That with respect to the powers who were principals in the present war, (viz. the states general, the king of Prussia, and the emperor) the states general having refused to contract for the payment of their portion of the subsidies, to be paid to the king of Prussia, beyond the term of the present year, have thereby reserved to themselves a right to withdraw from the support of the war at that period, and to throw the whole burden of it upon Great Britain; that the king of Prussia being bound, by the convention of July, 1793, to act in the most perfect concert, and with the most intimate confidence, with his majesty, upon all the objects relative to the present war, and having then promised to continue to employ his forces, as far as circumstances would permit, in carrying on the war, and his majesty having since been obliged, by the treaty of the 19th of April, 1794, to grant to the king of Prussia an enormous subsidy, in order to engage him to continue to co-operate in the prosecution of the war, it follows, that the king of Prussia is no longer a principal party, nor even an auxiliary in the said war; but that he barely lends out his troops to this country in return for a most profitable pecuniary compensation, at our expence; and that Great Britain is, in fact, loaded with his proper share of the burden of a war, which is said to be the common cause of every civilized state; and finally, that if it were expedient or necessary to purchase the king of Prussia's co-operation on such terms, the emperor, whose in-

terests are more directly at stake, was full as much bound, in reason and justice, as his majesty, or the states general, would be to contribute equally to that expence: and that if, at any future period of the war, the emperor's finances should be so exhausted as to make it impossible for him to maintain it on his part, at his own charge, his imperial majesty will be invited and encouraged, if not justified, by the example and success of the king of Prussia, to call upon this country to defray the whole expence of whatever army he may continue to employ against the French; and does it appear by what distinctions, in policy or in argument, the terms granted to the king of Prussia can be refused to the emperor, whose efforts and expences in the course of the war have infinitely exceeded those of Prussia; or how this country can, in prudence or with safety, decline a compliance with such demands if it be true, as has been declared, that the destruction of the present French government is essential to the security of every thing, which is most dear and valuable to us as a nation.

That, in consequence of the events of the war on the continent and elsewhere, all views of aggrandisement and ambition, on the part of France, supposing the French to entertain such views, are evidently unattainable, and must be relinquished by France; and therefore the object of the war, as it was originally professed on our part, viz. the restoration of peace, on terms of permanent security, is now attainable and may be secured, provided that, on one side, the French shall be content with the possession and safety of their own country, and that

that we, on the other, shall adhere to the principles of justice and policy, so often declared by his majesty and avowed by his ministers, of *uniformly abstaining from any interference with respect to the internal affairs of France.*

3. Because the facts herein before set forth, being, as we conceive, undeniable truths, fit now to be resolved and declared, it becomes the duty of his majesty's ministers, in conformity to two other resolutions opened, discussed, and submitted to the consideration of this house, to avail themselves of the present circumstances of the war, to promote a pacification, by every means in their power, by proposing to France, equitable and moderate conditions of peace, and above all things *by abstaining from any interference in the internal affairs of France.*

4. Because, in every possible case, it is equally desirable that his majesty should make an explicit declaration of his views; for if, on the one hand, it is the intention not to interfere in the internal government of France, nothing can contribute so much to advance a negotiation with those who now exercise the powers of government in that country, as such a declaration, solemnly and explicitly made; so, on the other hand, if it is intended to interfere, it is highly essential to make the degree of interference precisely known, so as to induce such parts of the French nation as are dissatisfied with the present government, to unite and exert themselves, with satisfaction and security, to promote the ascertained object.

NORFOLK, E. M.  
GRAFTON,  
ALBEMARLE,  
DERBY,

BEDFORD,  
LAUDERDALE,  
LANSDOWNE,  
THANET.

*Protest against the vote of thanks to lord Hood.*

Dissentient,

1. **B**ECAUSE it has not been the practice of this house to vote thanks to officers commanding his majesty's forces by sea or land, except on occasions where they have eminently advanced the honour, and promoted the interests of their country, by the most important and acknowledged services.

2. Because, by voting the thanks of this house, except in such instances, we diminish the value of the most honourable reward we have in our power to confer, and lessen one of the best incitements to future service.

3. Because the reduction of Bastia does not in itself appear to us to be such a service as calls upon this house for any extraordinary mark of approbation or applause.

4. Because, whatever the merit of that service may be, the other admirals of the fleet, and the commanding officers of his majesty's land forces, must have had their share in it, and to refuse thanking them, as had been usual on similar occasions, appears to us to justify an opinion, that the vote of thanks to lord Hood originated from some motive of a private and personal nature, which it is improper for this house to countenance.

5. Because, even ministers themselves do not seem, in the first instance, to have considered that service as entitled to such a mark of

approbation; for though accounts had been received of the reduction of Bastia, previous to those of the victory obtained by the fleet under the command of earl Howe, no intention was announced of moving a vote of thanks to lord Hood, till this house had paid the just tribute of gratitude and honour for that most important and splendid victory.

BEDFORD,  
LAUDERDALE,  
DERBY,  
THANET,  
ALBEMARLE.

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*The speech of the speaker of the house of commons, when he gave the thanks of the house to the managers of the impeachment against Warren Hastings, esquire, June 20.*

Gentlemen,

IT is my duty to communicate to you the thanks of this house, for the manner in which you have discharged a most arduous trust, on an occasion highly interesting to the honour and justice of the nation.

The subject, to which your attention has been directed, was intricate and extensive beyond example: you have proved, that it was well suited to your industry and eloquence, the exertions of which have conferred honour, not on yourselves only, but on this house, whose credit is intimately connected with your own. A forcible admonition has been given, on this occasion, to all persons in situations of high and important national trust, that they can neither be removed by distance, nor sheltered by power, from the vigilance and authority of

this house, which is possessed of no privilege more important, than that by which it is enabled to bring public delinquents to the bar of public justice, and thus to preserve or rescue from dishonour, the British name and character.

But in addressing you on this occasion, and in considering the beneficial consequences to be expected from this proceeding, it is impossible not to advert to the increased security, which the constitution has derived in the course of it, from the recognition and full confirmation of the principle, that an impeachment is not discontinued by a dissolution of parliament; a principle essential to the privileges of this house, and to the independent and effectual administration of public justice.

Under these impressions, suggested by the nature and importance of your trust, and by the manner in which you have discharged it, I obey, with the utmost satisfaction, the commands of this house, by stating to you their resolution.

"That the thanks of this house be given to the members, who were appointed the managers of the impeachment against Warren Hastings, esq. for their faithful management in their discharge of the trust reposed in them."

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*His majesty's speech to the houses of lords and commons, Dec. 30.*

My lords and gentlemen,  
AFTER the uniform experience which I have had of your zealous regard for the interests of my people, it is a great satisfaction to me to recur to your advice and assistance, at a period which calls for

**for** the full exertion of your energy and wisdom.

Notwithstanding the disappointments and reverses which we have experienced in the course of the last campaign, I retain a firm conviction of the necessity of persisting in a vigorous prosecution of the just and necessary war in which we are engaged.

You will, I am confident, agree with me, that it is only from firmness and perseverance that we can hope for the restoration of peace on safe and honourable grounds, and for the preservation and permanent security of our dearest interests.

In considering the situation of our enemies, you will not fail to observe, that the efforts which have led to their successes, and the unexampled means by which alone those efforts could have been supported, have produced among themselves the pernicious effects which were to be expected; and that every thing which has passed in the interior of the country has shewn the progressive and rapid decay of their resources, and the instability of every part of that violent and unnatural system, which is equally ruinous to France, and incompatible with the tranquillity of other nations.

The states general of the United Provinces have, nevertheless, been led, by a sense of present difficulties, to enter into negotiations for peace with the party now prevailing in that unhappy country. No established government or independent state can, under the present circumstances, derive real security from negotiations: on our part, they could not be attempted without sacrificing both our honour and safety to an enemy whose chief ani-

mosity is avowedly directed against these kingdoms.

I have, therefore, continued to use the most effectual means for the farther augmentation of my forces; and I shall omit no opportunity of concerting the operations of the next campaign with such of the powers of Europe as are impressed with the same sense of the necessity of vigour and exertion. I place the fullest reliance on the valour of my forces, and on the affection and public spirit of my people, in whose behalf I am contending, and whose safety and happiness are the objects of my constant solicitude.

The local importance of Corsica, and the spirited efforts of its inhabitants to deliver themselves from the yoke of France, determined me not to withhold the protection which they sought for; and I have since accepted the crown and sovereignty of that country, according to an instrument, a copy of which I have directed to be laid before you.

I have great pleasure in informing you that I have concluded a treaty of amity, commerce, and navigation, with the United States of America, in which it has been my object to remove, as far as possible, all grounds of jealousy and misunderstanding, and to improve an intercourse beneficial to both countries.—As soon as the ratifications shall have been exchanged, I will direct a copy of this treaty to be laid before you, in order that you may consider of the propriety of making such provisions as may appear necessary for carrying it into effect.

I have the greatest satisfaction in announcing to you the happy event of the conclusion of a treaty for the marriage of my son, the prince of Wales,

Wales, with the princeſs Caroline, daughter of the duke of Brunſwick. The conſtant proofs of your affection for my perſon and family perſuade me that you will participate in the ſentiments I feel on an occaſion ſo intereſting to my domeſtic happineſs, and that you will enable me to make proviſion for ſuch an eſtabliſhment as you may think ſuitable to the rank and dignity of the heir apparent to the crown of theſe kingdoms.

Gentlemen of the houſe of commons,

The conſiderations which prove the neceſſity of a vigorous proſecution of the war will, I doubt not, induce you to make a timely and ample proviſion for the ſeveral branches of the public ſervice, the eſtimates for which I have directed to be laid before you. While I regret the neceſſity of large additional burdens on my ſubjects, it is a juſt conſolation and ſatiſfaction to me, to obſerve the ſtate of our credit, commerce, and reſources, which is the natural reſult of the continued exertions of induſtry under the protection of a free and well-regulated government.

My lords and gentlemen,

A juſt ſenſe of the bleſſings now ſo long enjoyed by this country will, I am perſuaded, encourage you to make every effort which can enable you to tranſmit thoſe bleſſings unimpaired to your poſterity.

I entertain a confident hope that, under the protection of Providence, and with conſtancy and perſeverance on our part, the principles of ſocial order, morality, and religion, will ultimately be ſucceſſful; and that my faithful people will find

their preſent exertions and ſacrifices rewarded by the ſecure and permanent enjoyment of tranquillity at home, and by the deliverance of Europe from the greateſt danger with which it has been threatened ſince the eſtabliſhment of civilized ſociety.

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*The ſpeech of his excellency John, earl of Weſtmoreland, lord-treſurer of Ireland, to both houſes of parliament, Jan. 21.*

My lords and gentlemen,  
**I** HAVE his majeſty's commands to meet you in parliament. You muſt have felt, with the higheſt ſatiſfaction, that, by the ſucceſs of his majeſty's arms and thoſe of his allies, the hopes of France, in their unprovoked declaration of war, to impair the ſtability or ſhake the conſtitution of Great Britain and Ireland, have been utterly diſappointed.

The forces of his majeſty and his allies are in poſſeſſion of many important fortrefſes which belonged to the French, and many of their oppreſſive and unjuſt conqueſts have been wrotted from them; and whilſt the trade of the empire has been generally protected, the reſources which our enemies derived from their wealthy ſettlements and extenſive commerce have been almoſt intirely cut off.

I have the ſatiſfaction to acquaint you, that the ſpirit of inſurrection, which was for ſome time prevalent among the lower orders of people, is in general ſuppreſſed. No exertion ſhall be wanting, on my part, to bring them to a due ſenſe of order and ſubordination, and to prevent and puniſh the machinations of

of those who may aim to seduce them from their accustomed loyalty into acts of sedition and outrage.

The law for rendering a militia in this kingdom effectual has been carried successfully into execution. I am happy to find that the people are at length fully reconciled to this institution, which has already been attended by the most beneficial consequences, in producing internal tranquillity, and contributing to the general strength and force of the empire.

I am commanded to acquaint you, that his majesty has appointed a commission under the great seal, to execute the office of lord high treasurer of this kingdom, in order that the payment of the civil list granted to his majesty, and a regular appropriation of the revenue to distinct services, may be carried into execution in a manner as conformable to the practice of Great Britain, as the relative situation of this kingdom will permit.

Gentlemen of the house of commons,

I have ordered the national accounts to be laid before you, as well as the estimates for the service of the ensuing year. It is painful to me to observe, that the exigencies of the times will require a large supply and additional resources; but when you consider that this is a war of absolute necessity, and that you are contending for your liberty, property, and religion, I doubt not that you will cheerfully contribute to support the honour of his majesty's crown, and the essential interests of the kingdom.

My lords and gentlemen,

The agriculture, the manufactures, and particularly the linen-manufacture of Ireland, the Protestant charter schools, and various other institutions of public utility, have so constantly received the benefit of your care and liberality, that I need not particularly, at this time, inculcate their importance.

His majesty has the fullest reliance upon the loyalty and attachment of his people of Ireland. You are now, by the unjust aggression of France, involved in a contest for your religion, for your constitution, and for the preservation of every principle which upholds social order, or gives security to your persons or properties. In such a cause, his majesty has no doubt of being cordially supported by the efforts of all his subjects, in resisting the desperate designs of men, who are endeavouring to erect their own power and dominion on the ruins of law and order, and to involve every government of Europe in a general scene of confusion and anarchy.

His majesty's object is peace; and he will exert himself, in conjunction with his allies, whenever an occasion shall present itself, for obtaining this desirable end, without surrendering the honour of his crown, or sacrificing the present or future security of his people and of the rest of Europe.

You may depend upon my faithful representations of your services to his majesty; and I will zealously co-operate with your exertions for the welfare and prosperity of Ireland.

*The speech of his excellency John, earl of Westmoreland, lord-lieutenant of Ireland, to both houses of parliament, on closing the session, March 25.*

My lords and gentlemen,

**T**HE important objects which engaged your attention being concluded, I am enabled to relieve you from farther attendance in parliament.

I have his majesty's commands to express his most intire satisfaction in the zeal and unanimity which have governed your proceedings during the present session, and the cheerfulness with which you have provided for the extraordinary emergencies of the state. This conduct, so honourable to yourselves, must essentially tend to preserve the internal tranquillity of your country, to maintain that free constitution under which you enjoy such inestimable blessings, and is highly beneficial to the general interests of the empire, and to the common cause of Europe.

Gentlemen of the house of commons,

I am directed by his majesty to return you his thanks for the very liberal supplies you have voted for the public service. You may rely on their faithful application to the purposes for which they were granted.

My lords and gentlemen,

His majesty feels, with the most cordial pleasure, the loyalty of his people of Ireland, and the affectionate determination they have always shewn to stand or fall with Great Britain. In the contest in which we are engaged, by the unprovoked

aggression of France, measures of the most vigorous nature continue to be requisite, and his majesty will persevere in his exertions, in conjunction with his allies, against the common enemy. Under the Divine Providence, on the justice of his cause, on the disciplined valour of his fleets and armies, and the united efforts of all his subjects, his majesty relies for a favourable issue to a war, which, on the part of our enemies, is waged against the enervated liberty of these kingdoms, and the established government of every state in Europe.

I applaud your wisdom in passing an act for preserving the property, within this kingdom, of persons resident in France from becoming the plunder of those who have usurped the government of that unhappy country. It is peculiarly our duty to support the security of private property, and to maintain the principles of justice, when doctrines have been advanced, and attempts endeavoured to be carried into execution, for the destruction of both.

I am sorry to inform you, that in some parts of the county of Cork, the people, deluded by the artifices of wicked and designing men, have assembled in numerous bodies, and have compelled many to take unlawful oaths. The timely exertions of the magistrates, aided by the spirited conduct of his majesty's regular and militia forces, have nearly suppressed those disturbances. No attention shall be wanting on my part to the protection of the peaceable and industrious, and to the punishment of offenders against the law, and especially of those who have instigated the ignorant to the commission of such dangerous crimes.

The

conclusion of the session  
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shall endeavour to en-  
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; with which I am in-  
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uillity, and the advan-  
kingdom, and by faith-  
uting to his majesty your  
attention to the welfare  
nd your unanimous ex-  
re general cause of the

powers of Europe, have agreed, in  
conformity to the bonds of friend-  
ship and alliance which so happily  
unite them, to conclude the present  
treaty; and, for this purpose, they  
have named their respective plen-  
potentiaries, to wit, his Britannic  
majesty, the lord baron of Malmf-  
bury, a peer of the kingdom of  
Great Britain, privy counsellor,  
knight of the order of the Bath; his  
Prussian majesty, the sieur Chrétien  
Henry Curce, count de Haugwitz,  
his minister of state, of war, and of  
the cabinet, knight of the order of  
the Red Eagle; and their high  
mightinesses the states general of  
the United Provinces, the sieurs  
Laurent Pierre van de Spiegel,  
counsellor, pensionary of the pro-  
vince of Holland and West Fries-  
land, keeper of the seals, and de-  
puty of the said provinces at the  
assembly of the states general, and  
Henry Fagel, greffier of their high  
mightinesses: who, after having  
communicated to each other their  
respective full powers, have agreed  
upon the following articles:

*en his Britannic majesty,  
f Prussia, and the states  
f the United Provin-  
ed at the Hague, April*

majesties, the kings of  
at Britain and of Prus-  
r high mightinesses the  
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etting a stop to the pro-  
system of anarchy and  
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g together to support,  
effectual manner, the  
use in which they are  
consequence of the un-  
el war, which the per-  
exercise the powers of  
in France, have raised  
several of the great

Article 1. His majesty the king of  
Prussia engages to furnish an army  
which shall be composed of sixty-  
two thousand four hundred men,  
conformably to the establishment  
which he has caused to be deliver-  
ed to the ministers of the maritime  
powers: which establishment shall  
be considered as making part of the  
present treaty. This army shall re-  
main united under a Prussian com-  
mander, and shall act, in the most  
effectual manner, against the com-  
mon enemy, either separately, or  
jointly, with a body of troops, in  
the pay of the maritime powers, or  
of one of them. The said army  
shall be and shall remain as com-  
plete as possible, and shall be em-  
ployed,



ployed, according to a concert on military points between his Britannic majesty, his Prussian majesty, and their high mightinesses the states general of the United Provinces, wherever it shall be judged to be most suitable to the interests of the maritime powers: this army shall arrive at the place of its destination on the twenty-fourth of May, in the year one thousand seven hundred and ninety-four, or sooner if possible. It shall be provided with field-pieces with their carriages, and also with the tents and all military equipments necessary for acting in the field.

Art. 2. It is agreed by the high contracting parties, that the troops which his Prussian majesty is bound to furnish to his Britannic majesty and to their high mightinesses, by virtue of the respective treaties of alliance between his Prussian majesty and the maritime powers, shall be comprised in this army of sixty-two thousand four hundred men; and that, by employing the said army in the manner declared in this present treaty, his Prussian majesty shall be deemed to have furnished to his high allies the succours stipulated in the said treaties.

Art. 3. In order to facilitate to his Prussian majesty the means of acting with vigour, and conformably to the sentiments of zeal and concern with which he is animated for the common cause, his Britannic majesty and their high mightinesses agree to furnish to his Prussian majesty a subsidy of fifty thousand pounds sterling per month, until the end of the present year, and to be reckoned from the beginning of the month in which the present treaty is signed.

Art. 4. His Britannic majesty and their high mightinesses will pay to his Prussian majesty, immediately, the sum of three hundred thousand pounds sterling, to enable him to defray the charge of completing the above-mentioned army, and the first expences necessary for putting it in a state of action, and for carrying it to the place where it is to act; and, at the period of the return of the said troops, his Britannic majesty and their high mightinesses will moreover pay to his Prussian majesty the sum of one hundred thousand pounds sterling for the expences of the return of the army into the territories of his Prussian majesty. The said payments, for the expences of completing and putting the troops in motion, shall be made immediately after the exchange of the ratifications, as well as that of the first subsidy, to be paid monthly, of fifty thousand pounds. The following months shall be discharged in advance, at the beginning of each month. All these payments shall be made at Berlin by the maritime powers, agreeably to such arrangement as they shall agree upon between themselves; and the pound sterling shall be reckoned at six crowns in Frederics d'Or.

Art. 5. The above-mentioned subsidy and payments shall satisfy all demands which his Prussian majesty might be entitled to make upon the maritime powers for the expences of the army; all these expences, of what nature soever they may be, being to be defrayed by his Prussian majesty, with the exception only of the expences of bread and forage, which shall be furnished by the maritime powers.

for the thirty-five thousand  
dred men, whom his Prus-  
sian majesty engages to employ over  
the stipulated succours,  
use succours themselves in  
conformable to the terms  
treaties of alliance subsist-  
between the maritime powers  
aid majesty. But, in order  
the difficulties which might  
arise to the furnishing of  
articles in kind, the high con-  
tracting parties agree that this ex-  
pense shall be satisfied in money,  
paying at the rate of one pound  
sterlings (sterling money of  
England) per month, for each man  
sixty-two thousand four hun-  
dred, to be furnished by his Prus-  
sian majesty, according to the es-  
timate herein before-mentioned,  
the payment of this sum shall  
be made in advance, at the begin-  
ning of each month, in the same  
manner as that of the subsidy, and  
begin the same day. But, if  
it happen in future that any  
change shall be made, by consent  
of the high contracting parties, in  
the respective proportions of infan-  
try, and artillery, settled  
the said establishment; in such  
new valuation of the afore-  
mentioned aid shall be made,  
according to the new proportion of  
men and portions which may re-  
sult from the said variation, so that  
the said valuation may not be be-  
hind the actual expenses occasioned  
by the furnishing of the articles  
mentioned, according to the pro-  
portions of men and horses which  
shall be employed.

6. It is agreed, that all  
aid made by this army shall  
be made in the names of the two  
contracting powers, and shall remain  
at their disposal during the course of

the war, and, at the peace, to be  
made such use as they shall then  
judge most proper.

Art. 7. The two maritime  
powers shall name two persons  
commissioned to reside in their  
names at the head-quarters of the  
Prussian army, to keep up the ne-  
cessary communication and corre-  
spondence between the respective  
armies.

Art. 8. This treaty shall con-  
tinue in its full force until the end  
of the present year one thousand  
seven hundred and ninety-four.

Art. 9. The present treaty shall  
be ratified by all parties, and the  
exchange of the ratifications shall  
be made in the space of one month,  
or sooner if possible.

In witness of which, we, the Ple-  
nipotentiaries of his Britannic  
majesty, and of his Prussian  
majesty, and of the lords states  
general of the United Provin-  
ces, by virtue of our respective  
powers, have signed the pre-  
sent treaty, and have thereunto  
affixed the seal of our arms.

Done at the Hague, the 19th of  
April, in the year of grace one  
thousand seven hundred and  
ninety-four.

(L. S.) HAUGWIZ.

(L. S.) MALMSBURY.

(L. S.) H. FAGEL.

(L. S.) L. P. VAN DE SPIE-  
GEL.

#### SEPARATE ARTICLE.

The plenipotentiaries of their high  
mightinesses not having thought  
themselves empowered to contract,  
at the present moment, any engage-  
ments relative to the payment of  
the subsidies stipulated in the pre-  
sent treaty, beyond the term of the  
present

present year, this treaty has been concluded only for that term; but their Britannic and Prussian majesties, being desirous of continuing the effect of the aforesaid engagements until the end of the war, will enter into farther concert, as well between themselves as with their high mightinesses, for the renewal of the present treaty, for so long as the war shall last, on the same conditions as are therein declared with respect to the troops, to their employment, and to the payment of the aforesaid subsidies, as well as to the furnishing bread and forage, conformable to Art. 5. of the treaty; without however adding any thing for the expences of completing the troops, or for those of putting them in motion.

Done at the Hague, the nineteenth of April, in the year of grace one thousand seven hundred and ninety-four.

(L. S.) HAUGWIZ.

(L. S.) MALMSBURY.

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*Convention between his Britannic majesty and the states general of the United Provinces. Signed at the Hague, April 19.*

**H**IS Britannic majesty and the lords the states general of the United Provinces, desiring to put his Prussian majesty into a situation to prosecute with vigour the war, in which the greatest part of the powers of Europe find themselves engaged, through the unjust aggression of those who have exercised the powers of government in France, a negotiation has been opened for this purpose at Berlin, which having since been transferred to the Hague, has been there ter-

minated by the treaty of subsidy concluded this day, by which the maritime powers have engaged themselves to furnish to his Prussian majesty the sums specified in the above-mentioned treaty, to the ends which are also announced in it. In consequence of this treaty, his Britannic majesty and their high mightinesses the lords the states general of the United Provinces, desiring to come to a farther understanding between themselves upon the repayment of the said sums to be furnished to his Prussian majesty, have resolved to conclude for that purpose, between themselves, the present convention, and have named in consequence, that is to say, his Britannic majesty, the lord baron Malmesbury, peer of the kingdom of Great Britain, a privy counsellor, and knight of the order of the Bath; and their high mightinesses the states general, the sieur Laurent Pierre Van de Spiegel, counsellor pensionary of the province of Holland and of West Friesland, keeper of the seals, and deputy of of the said province at the assembly of the states general, and Henry Fagel, greffier of their high mightinesses: who, after having mutually communicated their respective full powers, and having found them in good and due form, have settled the following articles.

Art. 1. Their high mightinesses the states general shall furnish for their quota-part of the entire sum to be paid to his Prussian majesty, in order to enable him to fulfil the engagements which he has contracted by the treaty of subsidy, concluded and signed this day, the sum of four hundred thousand pounds sterling, after the same valuation which is stipulated for in the above-mentioned

mentioned treaty; which sum shall be divided in such a manner that one hundred thousand pounds sterling may be appropriated to answer part of the expences expressed in the said treaty under the name of charges of completing, of putting in motion, and of establishment, whilst the remaining three hundred thousand pounds shall be divided into nine equal portions, to answer in part the expences of bread and forage, according to the valuation of the said treaty, and in part of subsidy, which his Britannic majesty and their high mightinesses have engaged themselves, by Art. 3. of the treaty to furnish to his Prussian majesty.

Art. 2. As the existing circumstances do not permit their high mightinesses to enter into engagements of subsidy for an indefinite term, it is understood, that the present convention will not be extended beyond the term of the present year; but, if unhappily the war should not then be finished, his Britannic majesty and the States general would consult together, in order to take, from time to time, all the adequate measures for renewing this convention, and for supporting with vigour the just cause, in which his Britannic majesty and their high mightinesses find themselves engaged.

Art. 3. The present convention shall be ratified on both sides, and the exchange of the ratifications shall take place in the space of one month, or sooner if it be possible.

In faith of which we, plenipotentiaries of his Britannic majesty, and of the lords states general of the United Provinces, in virtue of our respective powers, have signed the pre-

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sent convention, and affixed to it the seal of our arms.

Done at the Hague, the nineteenth of April, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-four.

(L. S.) L. P. VAN DE SPIEGEL.

(L. S.) H. FAGEL.

(L. S.) MALMSBURY.

*Treaty between his Britannic majesty and the duke of Brunswick. Signed at Brunswick, Nov. 8, 1794.*

**B**E it known to those whom it does and may concern: The present situation of affairs in Europe having caused a desire in his Britannic majesty that a corps of Brunswick troops should be granted to him, the most serene duke of Brunswick has seized, with all possible eagerness, the opportunity of proving his unalterable attachment to his Britannic majesty, and his zeal for every thing that can tend to the good of the country. To which effect, his serene highness has engaged himself to furnish his Britannic majesty a corps of two thousand two hundred and eighty-nine men. In order to conclude a treaty relative to this object, his Britannic majesty has named, on his part, the honourable William Elliot, and the most serene duke of Brunswick has named, on his side, the sieur John Batiste de Fronce de Rotencrutz, his minister of state, and knight of the royal order of Dannebrog.

These two ministers plenipotentiary, after the exchange of their full powers, have agreed to the following articles.

Art. 1. The most serene duke of Brunswick furnishes, in virtue of the present treaty, to his majesty the

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king

king of Great Britain, a corps of troops, amounting in the whole to two thousand two hundred and eighty-nine men, amongst whom is included a company of horse chafseurs of one hundred and five men. This corps shall be furnished with the following artillery; namely,

Four six-pounders, a battery of six six-pounders, two three pounders, for the corps of chafseurs.

This artillery shall be provided with every thing necessary for its complete equipment.

The composition of the aforesaid corps is according to the following statement:

	Men.
1st. The staff - -	27
2d. A regiment of infantry -	724
3d. A second regiment of infantry - -	724
4th. A corps of horse and foot chafseurs -	454
5th. A detachment of artillery, forming two companies, including artificers, workmen, and servants necessary for the train -	360

Total 2289

Art. 2. These troops, at the time of their march, shall be well disciplined, completely armed and equipped; and his most serene highness engages himself, during the existence of this treaty, to keep the said troops on the most proper footing, in order that they may be employed with success in the military services which shall be required of them by virtue of the present treaty; the duration of which is fixed to three years, counting from the day of its signature.

These troops shall not be separated, unless the necessity of the war shall require it, but they shall

always remain under the orders of their chief, subordinate to the command of the general to whom his Britannic majesty shall entrust that of the whole army. It will depend on his Britannic majesty to retain this corps of troops in his service all the time of the duration of this treaty, to make use of them in any part of Europe where he may have occasion for them, provided it be not on board the fleet. The said troops shall take the oath of fidelity to his Britannic majesty, at their first review, before an English commissary, without any prejudice, however, to that which they have taken to the most serene duke. His said most serene highness shall moreover retain the nomination to all employments and offices that may become vacant, and the administration of justice shall, in like manner, be preserved to him.

Art. 3. This corps of troops shall be ready to pass in review, and to put itself in march, on the first of next January, or sooner if it can be done: nevertheless, as it is to be feared that, considering the difficulty of furnishing, in so short a time, every thing necessary to the equipment of the said corps, it is agreed to cause this corps to march in two divisions, one of which shall begin its march on the first of January, or sooner if it can be done; and the second, the first of February, or sooner if it can be done, without this influencing upon the payments, which are to take place for the whole corps from the first of January.

As to the expences of the march, the following regulation has been made: this corps of troops being destined to serve in the army of Brabant, it is agreed that his Britannic majesty, in order to answer the ex-  
pences

pences of this long march, shall cause to be paid, immediately after the signature of the treaty, to the agent of his most serene highness at London, the amount of three months pay, on the footing of the Brabantine pay; and as to the period of the return of the said troops into the country of Brunswick, it is agreed that his Britannic majesty shall cause this return to be notified three months beforehand; and with regard to the expences of the route, two months of Brabantine pay is to be allowed.

Art. 4. His Britannic majesty will cause to be paid, under the head of levy money, for each foot soldier, foot chasseur, artillery man, &c. &c. thirty banco crowns, the crown computed at fifty-three pence of Holland, or at four shillings and nine pence three farthings English money; and for each horseman, duly armed and mounted, eighty banco crowns of the same value, which makes the sum of seventy-three thousand three hundred and ninety banco crowns. This sum shall be paid immediately after the signature of the present treaty.

Art. 5. As to what relates to the pay and allowances, both ordinary and extraordinary, of the said troops, during the time that they shall be in the pay of Great Britain, it is agreed that this pay, and all the emoluments, shall commence from the first of January next, and shall continue until the day whereon the troops shall return into their respective garrisons. His Britannic majesty will moreover cause to be paid unto them the pay and emoluments for the remainder of the month in which these troops shall have returned into their garrisons.

It is moreover agreed, that if these troops shall happen to serve in the empire, they shall enjoy the same pay and the same advantages which his majesty grants to his German troops, according to the effective state in which the said corps shall be delivered, which shall be verified by a statement, signed by the respective ministers of the high contracting parties, which shall have the same force as if it were inserted, word for word, in the present treaty. So long as these troops shall be employed in the Low Countries, they shall be treated, with respect to pay and emoluments, both ordinary and extraordinary, on the footing of the Brabantine pay, it being well understood, that in the one and in the other case, that is to say, in that of the German, as well as in that of the Brabantine pay, the allowances shall not be below what has been granted in former wars to the Hessian troops: and if the nature of the war shall require that these troops should serve in other countries on the continent of Europe than in countries above-mentioned, they then shall be placed on the same footing in every respect as the most favoured of his majesty's auxiliary troops. If it should happen that they should be employed in Great Britain or Ireland, they shall be placed on the same footing in every respect as the British national troops. All these allowances for the said troops shall be paid into the military chest of his most serene highness, without any abatement whatever.

Art. 6. Every object relating to the equipment of the officers having considerably increased in price during this war, his Britannic majesty will

will cause to be paid three months of Brabantine pay to all the officers of the corps, to answer in part the expences of their equipment, which must be done with a dispatch which will infinitely increase their expence.

Art. 7. With respect to the subsidy which his Britannic majesty shall pay to the most serene duke of Brunswick, during the three years that this treaty is to last, it is stipulated, that it shall be an annual subsidy of sixty-four thousand six hundred and eighty-seven banco crowns, the crown being reckoned at fifty-three pence of Holland, or at four shillings and nine-pence three farthings English money. And if these troops should be sent back into the territories of Brunswick before the expiration of the three years, this subsidy of sixty-four thousand six hundred and eighty-seven banco crowns shall be, neither more or less, paid during three years, to be computed from the day of the signature of the treaty.

Art. 8. If it should happen that one of the regiments, battalions, or companies of this corps should suffer an extraordinary loss, whether in battle or at a siege, or by an uncommon contagious distemper, or by other accidents; or if the cannon or other military effects, with which it may be provided, should be taken by the enemy, his majesty the king of Great Britain will pay the extraordinary expences of the necessary recruits and remounting, as well as the loss of cannon, &c. &c. in order speedily to restore the whole corps to a serviceable state.

He will reimburse, in the most equitable manner, the loss of both officers and soldiers. With regard to this reimbursement, every thing that has been stipulated in the treaty

concluded with the most serene highness the landgrave of Hesse, at Cassel, the 10th of April, 1793, shall be adopted.

Art. 9. It is agreed, that at the review which is to be made every spring, at the opening of the campaign, by the commissary of his Britannic majesty, the corps must be complete, or the pay of those who are wanting shall be withheld. On the other hand the pay of those who may be wanting, from one review to another, shall not be withheld, but shall be paid, without abatement, on the footing of the full complement. Instead of what was formerly paid, in similar cases, for the recruiting of one killed or three wounded, it is agreed, that each recruit furnished shall be paid for, without distinction, at the rate of twelve banco crowns a head, under express condition, however, that the payment which is here agreed upon shall only regard the recruiting which is referred to in this article.

Art. 10. The sick of the said corps shall be attended by their physicians, surgeons, and other persons appointed for that purpose, under the orders of the commander of this corps of troops; and every thing shall be granted to them which his majesty grants to his own troops.

Art. 11. All deserters from this corps shall be faithfully given up wherever they may be discovered in the countries dependent upon his Britannic majesty.

Art. 12. All transports of men and military effects shall be done at the expence of his Britannic majesty during the whole time of the troops being in the field.

Art. 13. It is agreed that the corps of Brunswick troops shall enjoy

joy every advantage granted to the most serene landgrave of Hesse, by the treaty of the 10th of April, 1793, and its secret articles. Moreover, every thing, which is not determined by the preceding articles in a precise manner, is to be hereafter regulated upon the principles of equity and good faith, which have conducted the present negotiation.

Art. 14. This treaty shall be ratified by the high contracting parties, and the ratifications thereof shall be exchanged as soon as possible.

Done at Brunswick, this 8th day of November, 1794.

(L. S.) WM. ELIOT,

(L. S.) JEAN BATISTE de FERONCE de ROTENCREUTZ.

#### SEPARATE ARTICLE.

It is determined that this corps of troops shall enjoy Brabantine pay, being destined to serve in the army of the low countries; but the expedition with which it was necessary to complete the present treaty not permitting a state of the Brabantine pay to be added thereto, the undersigned minister of his Britannic majesty engages himself to cause to be delivered to the minister of the most serene duke, as soon as it can be done, a complete statement of Brabantine pay, on the same footing as it is allowed to the Hessian troops. In this statement of pay shall also be specified the number of rations and portions allowed as well as all the other emoluments enjoyed by the Hessian troops actually in Brabant. This communication of the statement of pay shall be made with the accustomed good faith, and without any reserve.

Done at Brunswick, this 8th of November, 1794.

(L. S.) WM. ELIOT.

(L. S.) JEAN BATISTE de FERONCE de ROTENCREUTZ.

*Manifesto and supplement published at Martinique. January 1, 1794.*

George R.

THE assembly, calling itself the national convention of France, having exercised in that kingdom and its dependencies the most unlimited and barbarous despotism, destroyed religion, with the government and the laws, and violated all kinds of property, have added to so many crimes, a declaration of their design to involve other nations in the same calamities, to overthrow their respective constitutions, and the fundamental principles of every civilized state; and to that end, not content with making use of secret and incendiary emissaries, they have gone the length of open hostility, by a declaration of war, wholly unprovoked, against his Britannic majesty and his allies; and his said majesty seeing himself compelled to have recourse to arms, and to prosecute a war as just as necessary, for the protection of his subjects, the security of his throne, the preservation of the British constitution, and the defence of his allies.

His majesty moreover taking into consideration how notorious it is, that the aforesaid convention and its adherents, among other atrocious machinations, have conceived the project of entirely destroying all the French colonies in the West Indies—a plan they have executed in some parts by circumstances of the most horrid nature, and by means



the most criminal and detestable; and that they have, at the same time, manifested similar intentions against the possessions of his majesty in the same quarter of the world; to put a stop, in the most prompt and effectual manner, to the execution of such projects, and to preserve his own colonies from the misfortune with which they are thus menaced, his majesty, relying on the protection of Providence, on the valour of his subjects, and the justice of his cause, has thought it expedient and necessary to undertake, by the force of arms, the reduction of the adherents of the said national convention, and to deliver the island of Martinique from the misfortunes and oppression by which it is overwhelmed.

In consequence whereof, we the undersigned commanders in chief of his Britannic majesty's forces by sea and land in the West Indies, by virtue of the powers and authorities entrusted to us by his majesty for that purpose, invite all the friends of peace, government, religion, and order in the island of Martinique, to throw off tyrannical oppression, and to set itself free from the horrors of anarchy, by having recourse to the protection and government of a just and beneficent sovereign.

And by these presents, we solemnly promise, grant, and guarantee, to all those who avail themselves of this invitation, and will submit themselves peaceably and quietly to the authority of his majesty, personal security and full and immediate enjoyment of their lawful possessions, conformable to their ancient laws and customs, and upon the most advantageous terms; excepting only those persons whose absence from

the island seems to be requisite for its peace and security; and even to those persons we promise (whatsoever may have been their conduct) to furnish them the means of transport to France, or to any other place they may desire, that may not be prejudicial to his majesty's service.

We promise also, that on the establishment of peace, Martinique shall enjoy all the rights and privileges of trade possessed by the British West-India colonies.

And furthermore, we promise to all persons (except as before excepted) who, submitting themselves peaceably and in the manner before-mentioned, will and do conduct themselves as good and faithful subjects to his majesty, a full amnesty for all acts committed under the colour or pretext of any authority whatsoever, and which they may have done before the publication of these presents, guaranteeing them hereby from all persecution and molestation for acts emanating from actual existing authorities.

All persons who, in despite of the instructions graciously and beneficially manifested by his majesty, shall dare to oppose themselves to this proclamation, will be treated as enemies, and exposed to all the evils that the calamities of war necessarily produce both on persons and effects.

Given on board his majesty's ship *Boyne*, the 1st of Jan. 1794.

CHARLES GREY, General.  
JOHN JERVIS, Vice-Admiral.

By their excellencies command,

G. FISHER, } Secretaries.  
G. PURVIS, }

SUP.

SUPPLEMENT.

His Britannic majesty's generals, willing by all means possible to prevent the effusion of blood, and to remove from the inhabitants of the French islands in America, all doubt of their intentions, think they ought to publish what follows, as a supplement to the manifesto:

Art. 1. As they cannot be ignorant that there exists great animosity between the emigrants from the French islands in America, and those inhabitants who remain there, an animosity that would lead them to pursue each other with rage, and retard the re-establishment of peace, his Britannic majesty's generals have judged it necessary to forbid all emigrants to re-enter any of the said islands before such shall be entirely conquered; exacting thereafter a perfect tranquillity, and engaging to protect none but peaceable inhabitants.

Art. 2. His Britannic majesty's generals promise all succour and protection to the colonists who shall continue peaceably on their plantation; but they are also determined to treat as prisoners of war all those who, in contempt of this declaration, shall be taken with arms in their hands, announcing to them moreover that they will incur pains of death, if after such transportation they shall ever again appear in either of the windward islands.

Art. 3. General Rochambeau having promised freedom to those slaves who take up arms for the defence of Martinico, and his Britannic majesty's generals, sensible of the impossibility of distinguishing those *Brigands* from people of colour born free, or legally released from slavery, think it proper to apprise all people of colour, without dis-

tinction, that those among them who shall be found armed, or who having sought, shall have escaped the bayonets of the British troops, shall be treated as slaves, and transported immediately to the coast of Africa, where they will be abandoned to their fate; promising on the other hand a full amnesty to those who will surrender themselves, and to those who retire to their respective habitations peaceably to renew their occupations.

Given on board his majesty's ship the *Boyne*, 1st Jan. 1794.

CHARLES GREY, General.

JOHN JERVIS, Vice-Admiral.

By their excellencies command,

G. FISHER, } Secretaries.  
G. PURVIS, }

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*Proclamation by the states of the island of Jersey, March 8, 1794.*

THE commander-in-chief having caused the states to be assembled, to communicate to them the intelligence which he has just received, that the enemy have actually collected in force on the adjacent coasts, that it is their avowed plan to make a descent in this island, and that they announce they are invited to it by the inhabitants of Jersey, with a view, doubtless, of spiriting up their soldiers, by making them believe that they will meet with no resistance, and perhaps also with a view of making bad impressions upon our august sovereign respecting the loyalty of this country: the states, after having testified their gratitude to the commander-in-chief for his attentive conduct in this critical moment, cannot forbear expressing the horror which they feel at such a calumny,

as false as it is malicious, against the acknowledged fidelity of the inhabitants of this island. The states take this opportunity to assure the commander-in-chief of their zeal and their inviolable attachment to the best of kings, and to the British government, under which this island has enjoyed, for several centuries, inestimable privileges and advantages.—They declare to him, that he will always find them ready to second his efforts for the safety of the country; and knowing, from happy experience, the sentiments of the people whom they represent, the states dare assure the commander-in-chief of the devotion of this loyal people, and of their eagerness to defend their country, and to repulse the attacks of a cruel and barbarous enemy, who trample under foot all laws human and divine, and who have no other aim but the plunder and the destruction of their fellow-creatures. Withing, at the same time, that the advice communicated by the commander-in-chief to the states, relative to the meditated invasion, and the atrocious calumny thrown out against the most faithful people, and which cannot fail to excite the most lively indignation in the hearts of the inhabitants, be publicly made known, the states have ordered that this present act, unanimously voted, be printed, published, and put up, in all the parishes of this island: and the ministers are requested to have the goodness to read the same next Sunday from the pulpit.

PHILIP DE CARTERET, Clerk.

*General order at St. Helena.*

**E**NGLAND being at war with France, this is not a time for

disputes between British subjects: none of them can quarrel now but rascals. I make it public therefore, that I am determined to see the laws put in execution, as every good man would wish, and to have every bad man, who disturbs the peace here, brought before a court or jury, let him wear whatever coat he may; and if any farther disturbances arise between soldiers and sailors, I must, contrary to my inclinations, put a stop to all intercourse between them, and keep the latter from coming inside the gates. British subjects, wherever they meet, should shew that love and affection to each other, that God and nature directs. At all events, they shall not quarrel here with impunity.

(Signed)

ROBERT BROOK, Governor.  
St. Helena, May 2, 1794.

*Duke of York's general orders,  
June 7, 1794.*

**H**IS royal highness the duke of York thinks it incumbent on him to announce to the British and Hanoverian troops under his command, that the national convention of France, pursuing that gradation of crimes and horrors which has distinguished the periods of its government, as the most calamitous of any that has yet occurred in the history of the world, has just passed a decree, that their soldiers shall give no quarters to the British or Hanoverian troops. His royal highness anticipates the indignation and horror which has naturally arisen in the minds of the brave troops, whom he addresses, upon receiving this information. His royal highness desires, however, to remind them, that mercy to the vanquished

rightest gem in a soldier's ; and exhorts them not to let resentment lead them to precipitate act of cruelty on it, which may fully the re- they have acquired in the His royal highness believes could be difficult for brave conceive that any set of ho are themselves exempt ring in the dangers of war, ie so base and cowardly as to aggravate the calamities on the unfortunate people subject to their orders.

is, indeed, reserved for the times to produce to the e proof of the possibility o- lence of such atrocity and

The pretence for issuing ree, even if founded in ould justify it only to minds to those of the members of oral convention. It is, in absurd to be noticed, and to be refused. The French emselves see through the rifice of an intended assis-

by which Robespierre has d in procuring that military which has at once et. Altho' successor of the unfortunate y whatever name he may o dignity his future reign, he wars which long the times have existed between list and the French nations, e been accustomed to cons- sh other in the light of go- as well as brave enemies, ie Hanoverians for a centu- allies of the former, have in this reciprocal esteem- ity and kindness have all ken place, the instant that on ceased; and the time as been frequently seen in those who were wounded,

and enemies, whilst indiscriminat- ly conveying to the hospitals of the conquerors.

The British and Hanoverian armies will not believe that the French nation, even under their present institution, can so far forget their characters as soldiers, as to pay any attention to a decree, as injurious to themselves, as it is disgraceful to the persons who passed it: on this confidence, his royal highness trusts, that the soldiers of both nations will confine their sentiments of resentment and abhorrence to the national convention alone; persuaded that they will be joined in them by every Frenchman who possesses one spark of honour, or one principle of a soldier: and his royal highness is confident, that it will only be on finding, contrary to every expectation, that the French army has relinquished every title to the fair character of soldiers, and of men, by submitting to and obeying so atrocious an order, that the brave troops under his command will think themselves justified, and indeed under the necessity of adopting a species of warfare, for which they will then stand acquitted to their own conscience, to their country, and the world: in such an event, the French army alone will be answerable for the ten-fold vengeance which will fall upon themselves, their wives, and their children, and their unfortunate country, already growing under every calamity, which the accumulated crimes of unprincipled ambition and avarice can heap upon their devoted victims.

His royal highness desires these orders may be read and explained to the men at their successive roll-calls.

*Proclamation*

*Proclamation of his excellency brigadier general Whyte, commanding his Britannic majesty's forces in St. Domingo.*

THE commissioners and their agents, in order to carry into execution those perfidious designs, which have proved so fatal to the lives, the laws, the liberty, and the happiness, of this once flourishing colony, have every where calumniated the British government.

General Whyte, who has the honour to represent his Britannic majesty, assures the inhabitants of Port au Prince, and its vicinity, that the object of his majesty and of his government is to restore peace among every class of inhabitants.

Those parts of the colony, which have already placed themselves under his majesty's protection, can bear a faithful testimony that there is nothing oppressive in the behaviour and laws of the English.

A considerable part of the people of St. Domingo has been seduced from its duty; these persons are hereby invited to return to their occupations, to lay down their arms, and to forget every cause of resentment.

The English government demands, and will obtain, by force if necessary, that peaceful obedience which is due to its mild and just laws.

The mulattoes will find in the general and the government every disposition to favour their interests; they are considered by the English, who are and will continue to be their friends.

The negroes, who have been so long the dupes of the vile artifices of the commissioners, will soon be

convinced that the English disdain falsehood and deceit.

Let them, relying with confidence on the generosity of the British people, return to their masters, lay down their arms, and enjoy the advantages of a life devoted to industry; their present sufferings will soon be relieved, and the law will protect them against cruelty and oppression.

The forces, which are now in the colony to support the happiness of the inhabitants, and the glory of the English nation, are but a part, even a small part, of the army destined for its service; it being his majesty's resolution to punish in a manner as certain as severe, those who will not accept the offers of this and of the preceding proclamations.

All persons who shall repair to Port au Prince, and to the English general, within the delay of eight days from the date of this proclamation, except those who have been guilty of murder, or of taking a part in the insurrection, will be received and pardoned; but all those who are taken in arms after the above-mentioned period, will be put to death as traitors.

Done at Port au Prince, the 8th of June, 1794.

(Signed) JOHN WHYTE,  
Brigadier-general commandant

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*Instructions to the commanders of all ships of war and privateers, that have, or may have, letters of marque against France. August 18, 1794.*

George R.  
**W**HEREAS, by an article of our instructions to the commanders of our ships of war and privateers,

privateers, having letters of marque against France, given at our court at St. James's, the 8th day of June, 1793, we thought fit to declare, that it should be lawful to stop and detain all ships laden wholly, or in part, with corn, flour, or meal, bound to any port in France, or any port occupied by the armies of France, and to lend them to such ports as should be most convenient, in order that such corn, meal, or flour, might be purchased on behalf of our government, and the ships be released after such purchase, and after a due allowance for freight, or that the masters of such ships, on giving due security, to be approved by our court of admiralty, should be permitted to dispose of their cargoes of corn, meal, or flour, in the ports of any power in amity with us. We not judging it expedient to continue for the present the purchase of the said cargoes on behalf of our government, are pleased to revoke the said article, until our farther order therein; and to declare, that the same shall no longer remain in force. But we strictly enjoin all our commanders of our ships of war and privateers, to observe the remaining articles of the said instructions; and, likewise, all other instructions which we have issued, and which still continue in force.

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*His royal highness the duke of York published a general order at his head-quarters, Sept. 23, 1794.*

**I**T is with the greatest regret that his royal highness thinks himself obliged once more to order the severest measures to be pursued, in order to put a stop to the most shameful acts of violence and plun-

der, which dishonour the army under his command. His royal highness is so strongly convinced of the necessity of this severity, since five men of the 38th regiment, discovered yesterday in the act of plundering, have actually been condemned to death by a court-martial, which sentence, out of humanity only, his highness mitigated into a less severe punishment. His highness, in order to prevent such dishonourable excesses for the future, orders, that hereafter, whenever a soldier should be detected in the act of plundering, the provost marshal, with his assistants, is charged to execute the offender upon the spot; and, in case of the absence of the provost, that the criminal, instead of being hanged, shall be shot.

Besides the publication of this resolution, his royal highness thinks it his duty to exhort the officers of the army under his command, and to request of them, as they value the national character (it being their duty to unite their personal honour to that of his majesty's service, as well as to that of their country) to prevent all violence and pilfering, of which unhappily they but too often have hitherto been the eye witnesses; and, to prevent which, nothing is so necessary as a strict military discipline.

His highness wishes not to be under the necessity of taking any severe measures against the officers. His highness will expect the above order punctually executed, particularly by the commanders of regiments, and will certainly give information to his majesty, if, by their neglect, the depredations should continue, which, by this general order, his royal highness endeavours to put an end to.

*Proclamation*

*Proclamation by his excellency Robert Prescott, esq. lieutenant-general of his Britannic majesty's forces, governor and commander-in-chief of the island of Martinico and its dependencies.*

*majesty's fleets and arms West Indies.*

**T**HE inhabitants of the different quarters of the island of Martinico are desired to meet in their respective parishes, for the purpose of choosing by ballot, for their representative, an intelligent person of known integrity; and those deputies, after they are chosen, are requested to assemble next Sunday, the 18th instant, in the town of Fort Royal, to meet the commissioners appointed by their excellencies sir Charles Grey, K. B. and admiral sir John Jervis, K. B. for the purpose of fixing, in an equitable and efficacious manner, a general contribution (the amount of which shall be made known to the representative of each parish) to be paid by all those who possess property in the colony; the commanders in chief having decided, that such an arrangement would be much more convenient than a general confiscation: other matters concerning the welfare of the colony will also be proposed to them.

Given at the governor's house, at St. Pierre, on the 10th of May, 1794, in the 34th year of his majesty's reign.

(Signed) ROBERT PRESCOTT.

By order of the general,

(Signed) B. CLIFTON, Secretary.

*Proclamation by order of their excellencies, general sir Charles Grey, and admiral sir John Jervis, commanders-in-chief of his Britannic*

**N**O attention having to the proclamation 10th instant, issued by his general Prescott, desiring good people of this color ble in their respective quarters, for the purpose of sing persons of known integrity and approved integrity, sent them in an assembly according to the said proclamation was to be held at Fort Sunday, the 18th instant the commissioners appointed by the commanders in chief, and to confer on the most equitable and expeditious ways and means of sum of money adequate to the conquest, desirous of the valour, to overcome excessive fatigues, and to quences, sickness and mortality to make good the heavy incurred by the British soldiers, and sailors, who shaken firmness, and perseverance, have achieved the conquest of this island, submit the British government from a wretched exile to a number of its inhabitants stored them to the quiet of their property, the colony which had already been.

And the procrastination of a general arrangement being which prevents many of the inhabitants from carrying commodities to market, and themselves what is in their habitations, to the prejudice of the whole colony.

The commanders in chief do hereby order to remove an evil

, and which is daily in-  
enact and ordain as fol-

the civil commissaries, each  
pective parish, are to draw  
deliver, as soon as possible,  
its of the habitations situ-  
the said parishes, containing  
ber of slaves, cattle, acres  
buildings, and plantations,  
ate of each of those objects,  
specification of all sorts of  
ions made and gathered on  
late, wherein ought to be  
ished those, that, *bona fide*,  
n made and collected before  
of last March.

he civil commissaries in the  
of the different towns and  
is are likewise to draw up  
liver a list of the houses,  
and servants, to be found in  
towns and boroughs, stating  
prietors thereof, the yearly  
each house, and enumera-  
sorts of property, comprised  
he denomination of goods,  
lities, or merchandize, in  
town and boroughs.

he civil commissaries are also  
, in their respective quarters,  
and the ledgers, and all ac-  
counts, notes, and deeds, be-  
to captains or agents of the  
trade, as well as an exact

of all sorts of property,  
under the description of vac-  
cession in each quarter of  
ny, with a correct inventory  
ie goods, effects, and chat-  
longing to such persons as  
en taken, arms in hand, or  
uring the siege, or banished  
id; and farther, a specifica-  
all property belonging to  
of any description whatever,  
in France.

he civil commissaries are to

name in their reports all persons,  
without exception, that should de-  
lay giving in the different speci-  
fications required, or be suspected of  
making a false declaration, or fail  
to give the usual assistance, necessa-  
ry for the exactness and impartiality  
of reports of that kind; it being  
the intention and wish, that the in-  
tended levy be made in the most  
equitable manner, and in exact pro-  
portion with the means of each in-  
dividual.

5. The said reports are to be  
made with all possible expedition,  
so that on Saturday, the 31st instant,  
or sooner, they may be delivered by  
the civil commissaries to the com-  
missioners appointed to receive  
them, and who, for this purpose,  
will repair either to the intendant's  
hotel at St. Pierre, or to the gover-  
nor's house at Fort Royal: the com-  
manders in chief having, on their  
part, manifested their ardent wish  
to adopt the mildest measures, de-  
clare herewith, that it is their firm  
resolution to have this present mea-  
sure fully executed; or, on the  
failure of it, to avail themselves of  
the power with which they are in-  
vested, to order and enforce a ge-  
neral confiscation.

Given under our signature, on  
board the Boyne, Fort Royal Bay,  
on the 21st of May, the year of our  
Saviour, 1794, and the 34th of his  
majesty's reign.

(Signed) CHARLES GREY,  
JOHN JERVIS.

By order of their excellencies,

(Signed) G. FISHER,  
G. FURVIS.

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Copy of the letter of major James  
Grant, commander of the British  
forces at the Mole in St. Domingo,



# 174 ANNUAL REGISTER, 1794.

*to general Lavaux, commander of the French troops in the same island.*

*Mole St. Nicholas, 12th Feb.*

Mr. General,

**I** HAVE the honour to forward to you inclosed a letter from Col. Whitlock, commander-in-chief of the British forces, I am informed that its contents are of the greatest importance, and that it may reach you in a safe and proper manner, I send you an English officer with a flag of truce, not doubting but you will procure to him an honourable protection. You will be so kind as to give him your answer, which he will deliver to me at Jean Rabel, where I shall have a sufficient number of men for the immediate execution of whatever plan you may do me the honour to propose.

Should you prefer to communicate with a ship of war, there will be one cruising in the canal that is between the land and la Tortue. In addition to what may be proposed in the letter from the colonel, I take this opportunity to assure you on the honour of a British officer, that all possible care shall be taken to secure to you every thing belonging to you, and you surely do not doubt but the most honourable attention will be paid to your person.

The ship of war has orders to give you all the protection in her power.

Permit me also to assure you, that all the officers and troops of the line shall be immediately received into the pay of Great Britain, on the same footing as the troops of Dillon, and others serving in this garrison.

I have the honour to be,

Mr. General,

Your most obedient  
humble servant,

(Signed)

JAMES GRANT.

*Copy of a letter from colonel Whitlock, commander-in-chief in St. Domingo, to Lavaux, commandant at Port de Paix,*

*Jeremie, 9th Feb. 1794.*

SIR,

**I**F I am not misinformed, concerning your present situation, it is such that you will not be surprised at receiving this letter. You cannot but be fully acquainted with the intentions of his Britannic majesty, to use the most vigorous efforts to take possession of the island of St. Domingo, or of that part of it which is not yet subdued by the arms of Spain.

I hourly expect considerable forces from England; the army under my command has lately been considerably reinforced.

I doubt not but you have also been informed, that all the members of that party of the national convention of France, who had sanctioned the measure for sending to St. Domingo civil commissioners, who are looked upon as the cause of the total ruin of the island, have for that crime suffered an ignominious death.

Brissot, the leader of that party, was accused of three capital crimes, the first of which is, that he advised the measure of sending hither civil commissioners.

The unhappy state of France rendering it impracticable for that nation to send succours to this ill-fated country, several of the most respectable proprietors of St. Domingo were forced to apply to England for protection; which was accordingly granted to them.

I now, therefore, in the name of his Britannic majesty, do hereby offer to you the same protection, on condition

that you shall first deliver  
and forts of Port de Paix  
dependencies into the pos-

the British government ;  
eing complied with, the  
nd soldiers serving under  
mand shall enjoy the same  
is have been granted to  
he Mole, leaving it to the  
f his majesty to grant to  
he rank he shall judge you

I farther add, that as a  
or the confidence which I  
of you in the name of the  
ent which I serve, the sum  
ousand crowns (*ecus*) Tour-  
ll be paid to you in person,  
ted in the bank of England,  
to your order, on your de-  
the town of Port de Paix,  
: forts, artillery, ammuni-  
visions, &c. &c. without  
age or devastation having  
mitted on them, into the

the officer whom I will  
to receive them, as also the  
war which may be in the  
t. I shall be at Leogane  
dnesday, where any flag of  
u shall please to send me,  
received and respected.

the honour to send you  
the extract of an English  
which has been sent to all  
ish commanding officers.

the honour to be, sir,  
r very humble and very  
obedient servant,

WHITLOCK.

#### ANSWER OF LAVAUX.

*Lavaux, governor general, per-  
n, of the French Leeward  
, to colonel Whitlock, com-  
mander-in-chief of the British troops.*

*Port de Paix, Feb. 19, 2d year  
of the French republic.*

THE probity, the delicacy, which  
reign in the breast of a French  
republican, must ever have given  
you full assurance, that we would  
respect your flag of truce. French  
generosity does not fluctuate with  
events. As amongst us no person  
is distinguished as a superior, we all  
doing the duty of a soldier, I look-  
ed upon your letter to me as ad-  
dressed to the first soldier of the  
army, and as I conceal nothing  
from my comrades, it was opened  
and read publicly. We are ani-  
mated by one and the same spirit of  
defence. Without enlarging on  
our situation, I can assure you, that  
we have learned to bear all the fa-  
tigue that are incident to warfare,  
and that, when matters come to a  
decision, we shall behave like the  
true soldiers, and would punish them  
if they behaved otherwise.

Impressed with these sentiments,  
all the forces with which we are  
threatened cannot shake our courage.  
Like the three hundred Lacedemo-  
nians who all died at their post,  
after having slain a part of their  
enemies, we will defend our station  
to the last, and sell our lives as  
dearly as we can. If ever we are  
in your power you will take us in  
arms, and then you will treat us as  
prisoners of war.

These our sentiments are inspired  
by an ardent desire of meriting your  
esteem; we shall then be admired  
by our country and praised by you.  
What would you say, what would  
you think, if I proposed to you to  
surrender to me; if you, being much  
inferior in number, I imposed on  
you the hard condition of disho-  
nour? You would answer, *I must  
die*

*die at my post*: this very answer then I make to you. You lay great stress on your information that the unhappy state of France renders it impracticable for her to send us succours; we will wait for them, and use the last arms of despair, and your nation shall learn what a republican is able to perform.

I ask my whole army to cut off my head if I prove a traitor. Permit me now to complain to yourself of the indignity you have offered me in thinking me so vile, so flagitious, so base, as not to resent an offer of 50,000 crowns Tournois. In this you have wronged yourself. I am a general; hitherto I have been worthy to command the army. You have endeavoured to dishonour me in the eyes of my comrades; this is an offence between you and me for which you owe me satisfaction; I demand it in the name of honour, which must exist among all nations: therefore, previous to any general action, I offer you a single combat till either of us falls, leaving to you the choice of arms either on foot or horseback; then, if victorious, I shall have proved myself worthy to command republicans; if I fall gloriously, the republican army will have another leader still more formidable, and every individual in the army will imitate my example.

Your quality of enemy in the name of your nation did not give you a right to offer me a personal insult; as a private person I ask satisfaction for an injury done me by an individual.

I must tell you that the English papers you send me are not conformable to the news we receive from France. Our two nations have often made war with each other,

but always with equal weapons; cease then to attack us by tenders of money. Let us be equally generous, let us contend in honourable hostility, and let us scorn the arts of seduction.

The enemy made prisoner of war with arms in his hands commands respect, as he merits esteem. The universe has its eyes upon us, the universe will say, there still exist men who preferred death to dishonour; we shall serve as example to all military men, and your country itself will testify its approbation. We have always before our eyes the proverb which says, *the traitor pleases us well*, but the traitor is detected.

The commander of the road, impressed with the same sentiments, will surrender the ships only to be swallowed up by the deep. A second flag of truce would be very needless, therefore, do not give yourself the trouble to send one. I invite you to read my letter publicly, as it is written in public.

I greet you in the name of the whole army.

(Signed) ET. LAVAUX.

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*Memorial from lord St. Helen, his Britannic majesty's minister, to their high mightinesses the states general of the United Provinces.*

THE undersigned ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of his Britannic majesty, has the honour to inform your high mightinesses, that he has learned, by letters from the duke of York, commander-in-chief of his majesty's army in the Belgian provinces, that circumstances having obliged the allied troops to abandon Bruges, it

is actually occupied by the enemy, and that, through this accident, the British army has no longer any communication with Ostend; from which circumstance, it has become of the utmost importance, that the British army should receive the considerable reinforcements of troops and stores expected from the ports of England by the river Scheldt, the greatest part of which is already at sea; and in consequence of which the undersigned finds himself obliged to request very seriously of your high mightinesses to permit, and give the necessary orders for the free passage of the vessels conveying troops and other necessaries for the said British army, and for their passage, without any impediment.

The object of this demand being evidently of much importance to the common cause, the undersigned has no doubt of your immediate concurrence; and he farther flatters himself, that your high mightinesses, seeing the extreme necessity of this request, will dispatch the necessary orders with all possible diligence.

(Signed) ST. HELEN.

Done at the Hague, July 29,  
1794.

*In consequence of this memorial, the navigation of the Scheldt was declared free to all English vessels.*

*The free men of La Petite Rivière in St. Domingo, and its dependences, encamped at Marchand, (between Gonaïves and Arribonate) under the orders of general LACAZE, commander of the republicans, to Mr. Brisban, commander of the forces*  
Vol. XXXVI,

*of his Britannic majesty, at St. Marc, Aug. 18, 1794.*

Mr. commander,

**A**BJURING the errors into which the agents of the republic have plunged us; jealous of profiting by the advantages offered us, in your just and beneficent proclamation, dated the 7th instant, we submit ourselves to the arms of his Britannic majesty. We swear fidelity to you, and beseech you to prescribe what measures you think proper to procure us peace, and tend to the preservation of the rest of the unhappy colony of St. Domingo. The frankness of loyalty, which characterizes your nation—your generous proceedings towards those who have put themselves under your protection, are very powerful motives to excite our confidence. Be assured, that our entire submission to your orders, our zeal to co-operate in obtaining the return of order, shall make amends for our past conduct, and never will Great Britain have more faithful subjects. When we receive your answer, we will send you the articles of our capitulation. We are going to communicate our dispositions to the neighbouring parishes, that are still under the republican dominion, and we have every reason to think that they will yield to us, and that, animated by the sentiments which actuate us, they will accept the protection you offer them. We are convinced that you will cause the happiness of the colony, and thereby acquire powerful claims to the public gratitude.

We have the honour, &c.

(Signed) B. CASENEUVE.

CHRIST. MORNER,  
CHESNAU, Secretary.

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To

178 ANNUAL REGISTER, 1794.

*To an application made to lord Grenville by the English consul at Amsterdam, lord St. Helen was directed to send the following answer.*

*Garegio, and other cities, to Piemont, May, 1794.*

*Nague, Oct. 10, 1794.*

Sir,

**L**ORD Grenville having received a letter from you, in which you state, that in consequence of the progress lately made by the enemy on the frontier of this republic, a general consternation had taken place at Amsterdam, which had produced a considerable emigration of the inhabitants of that city, and that it might, therefore, be expedient, that some assistance should be furnished by Great Britain to such other persons as might be disposed to leave that place with their effects; I am directed by his lordship to inform you, that his majesty, far from being disposed to assist or facilitate any such emigration, wishes to check and discourage it as much as possible, considering it as highly prejudicial to the interests of the republic, as well as of the common cause.

I beg leave to recommend it to you to take every proper opportunity of making known these sentiments of his majesty, particularly to those persons whose conduct they may be likely to influence. I am, with great esteem and regard,

Sir,

Your most obedient and most  
humble servant,

(Signed) ST. HELEN.  
H. PYE RICH, esq. Amsterdam.

*Proclamation of the French general,  
André Massena, to the people of*

**T**HE invincible French republicans are at your doors. They know no enemies but the enemies of liberty. They invite you to shake off the yoke of your perfidious tyrant, and you shall be treated as brethren; otherwise, you shall be dealt with as slaves. I expect your immediate answer at my camp.  
MASSENA.

*Equality, liberty, fraternity, or death!*

*Richard and Chodieu, representatives of the people with the army of the North, in order to secure to the inhabitants of the conquered countries their tranquillity, safety, and property, and to take measures to prevent all enterprizes in those countries, which may be hostile to the interests of the French republic, order as follows:*

**A**RTICLE 1. Every inhabitant of a conquered country, absent from his place of abode, is permitted to return within a fortnight from the date of this arret; after that period, those who do not return will be considered as emigrants. This permission, however, is not to extend to those who have been guilty of any crime against the republic, for which they will be pursued and treated as the enemies of the French people. It is not to extend to the inhabitants of the conquered countries, whose effects have been sequestered by laws anterior to this arret. The delay granted to the inhabitants of places actually blockaded, shall be estimated from the day on which the blockade

blockade shall cease; their effects, however, shall continue provisionally sequestered.

2. All the inhabitants of the conquered Belgic provinces, under the special protection of the French republic, are charged not to favour, directly or indirectly, the arms of the combined powers.

3. All those who shall be convicted of correspondence with the enemy, either by act, conspiracy, or discourses, to the injury of the French people, shall be given up to the revolutionary tribunal of France, and dealt with according to law.

4. Every individual, now domiciliated in the conquered countries, who has quitted France in consequence of the laws of the republic, is ordered to depart in twenty-four hours, under pain of being treated as a French emigrant.

5. The military commanders are enjoined to take rigorous measures for the preservation of order and tranquillity in the conquered places, and to prevent any violence to the safety or property of the inhabitants, under any pretext whatsoever. The freedom of worship must be respected.

6. The magistrates of the conquered towns and communes are enjoined, on their responsibility, to comply with the requisitions made by the commissaries of war, for the service of the republic, within the time prescribed. In case of disobedience, they will be treated as enemies to the republic.

7. All magistrates that shall be found favouring, or exciting, by their private or public conduct, or by discourses against the French revolution, any commotions against the republic, shall be given up to

the revolutionary tribunals, and considered as enemies to the French people.

8. The police of the conquered places shall be administered by the military commandants, till it shall be otherwise ordained; they must use the most active vigilance to discover the plots, and to prevent the designs of the enemies of the republic; they must be careful to prevent any public or private assembling of the inhabitants, and shall employ the military force to disperse them.

9. The inhabitants of the conquered countries shall resign their arms into the hands of the military commandants within the space of twenty-four hours after the publication of the present arret. Those convicted of secreting them, shall be given up to the military commission, and punished with death.

10. Assignats shall be received at all the public banks, and in all commercial transactions: those who shall refuse, deny, or forge, and those who shall circulate false ones, are to be given up to the criminal tribunal of the department of Pas de Calais, and punished conformably to the laws of the republic upon that head.

11. To prevent the disaffected from raising the price of merchandise and wares of the country, on account of the introduction of assignats, the maximum established in the city of Lille shall be adopted in all the conquered countries of West Flanders.

12. The imposts and other duties established in the conquered countries, under whatever denomination they may exist, shall continue to be received for the use of the republic.

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13. The

13. The soldiers of the republic shall observe the strictest discipline in the conquered countries, and repute by their conduct the calumnies of their enemies. The commanders of corps and the generals shall cause to be given up all those who commit disorders, the effect of which would be to favour the designs of the enemy.

Done at Lille, 4th Messidor, (22d June) in the second year of the republic, one and indivisible.

(Signed) RICHARD,  
A true copy. S. BOURJER,  
Commissary in chief.

*Decree of the convention, on the 5th of July, 1794.*

THE national convention decree, that all the troops of the combined tyrants, who remain garrisoned in French towns, invaded by the enemy on the frontiers of the north, and who shall not surrender at discretion, within twenty-four hours after being summoned by the generals of the armies of the republic, shall not be admitted to any capitulation, and shall be put to the sword.

*Proclamation circulated at Brussels.*

*French republic, one and indivisible—  
liberty, equality.*

*Ghent, 20th Messidor, (8th July) the 2d year of the French republic.*

RICHARD, the representative of the people, sent to the

army of the north, decrees, as follows:

1. The persons and property of the inhabitants of the conquered countries, are put under the immediate protection of the French soldiers.

2. Every individual belonging to the army who shall be found a quarter of a league from the posts, camps, or cantonments occupied by the French troops, and who cannot justify his conduct by the sanction or leave of absence from his officers, shall be considered as a plunderer, and punished with death.

3. All the generals, captains, and subordinate officers, are made responsible for the rigid execution of this decree.

4. The French soldiers are required, in the name of their country, to denounce to their chiefs all those who may be found aiding, by excesses or acts of depredation, the cause of the enemies of liberty, or by violating the principles upon which the French republic has been instituted.

5. The present decree shall be read at the head of every corps, and their officers shall notify the same to their generals by a certificate from their administrative council. It shall, besides, be printed, stuck up, and publicly read three times every decade, until otherwise ordered.

(Signed) RICHARD.  
And sealed with the seal of the representative of the French people.

Certified according to the original,  
SOUHAM,  
The general of the division.

*Proclamation*

*Proclamation, published in French and Flemish, relative to the circulation of assignats.—Liberty, equality.*

**T**HE representatives of the French people, sent to the armies of the North, the Sambre, and the Meuse, hereby decree :

1. That the assignats of the French republic shall be circulated in Brussels and other conquered countries in the same manner as metal money.

2. All the inhabitants, whether merchants or others, are hereby prohibited from fixing two prices for their commodities, and from refusing or discrediting assignats, under the penalty of being regarded as the enemies of the republic, and sent to take their trials before the revolutionary tribunals of France.

L. B. GUITTON, RICHARD.

*23d Messidor, 11th July; 2d year of the republic, one and indivisible.*

*Department of Guadaloupe.—Liberty, equality.*

*Address to the republicans of the sea and land forces of the republic, now at Guadaloupe, from the commissioner deputed by the national convention to the windward isles.*

Citizens,

**T**HE Romans, reduced to their capitol, emerged to liberty more terrible than before. Free-men find resources in the most pressing extremities. See, brave *sans culottes* and intrepid marines, what has been your situation! few in number, and without generals, you have vanquished armies: you were

reserved to exhibit to the universe a spectacle the most astonishing. Enjoy your triumph with exultation, even your enemies admire your virtue and your courage.

\*\*\*\*\*, Pitt, and their slaves, had sent, at a vast expence, land and sea forces to effect the conquest of the French possessions, an enterprize of no difficulty, because they then contained none but masters and their slaves. One republican battalion, two frigates, three transports, (a contrast how striking!) have defeated the savage Jervis, with six ships, twelve frigates, and eight small sloops of war; and the hypocrite Grey, with twelve battalions and his horde of aristocrats: you have made them bite the dust; great numbers have fallen into our power, while, during a combat of forty days, not a single republican has been made a prisoner.

Your resolution in remaining at your post, notwithstanding the fire of the enemy, in spite of the bombs and red-hot balls which they incessantly discharged upon us for thirty days; your exemplary conduct has even excited their admiration; not a complaint has been raised against you; you have respected property, though you were in a country conquered and taken by assault, and though immense wealth has been exposed to your view. You have thrown no person into mourning; you have caused no tears to flow; no mother has demanded of you her slaughtered son; no wife her butchered husband; no children their murdered father. But, can our barbarous enemies say thus much? You have heard the cries of the wretched, from whom they have, by cruel massacres, torn fathers, husbands, and children.



You have treated your vanquished foes with generosity, even while the ferocious English generals have caused your wounded brethren to be assassinated on the field of battle, you have covered yourselves with glory. Humanity shall gratefully acknowledge, and transmit your names and actions to posterity; your enemies have overwhelmed themselves in infamy, and shall remain an object of horror to future generations; such is the enthusiasm of liberty, which counts not her enemies, and which triumphs over numbers. Yes, citizens, fortune smiles propitious on the daring, and victory rewards courage.

Republicans, let the grandeur of these ideas inflame your valour; "they who have fought for liberty, have ever been successful." Call to your recollection the Swiss and the Americans.

Citizen colonists, who, ever firm in your principles, have been able to resist the perfidious insinuations of our enemies; and you, citizens of colour, who, enjoying the advantages of the French nation, have shared our successes, in combating for your liberty, imitate your brethren the *sans culottes*; they will always shew you the road to victory, and consolidate with you your liberty, and that of your children.

Republicans, the commissioner seizes this opportunity to declare, in the name of the national convention, that you have deserved well of your country; and invites you to persevere in the sentiments which have animated you to the present moment. For himself, he will continue to merit your esteem, by exhibiting to you an example of civism and courage.

At Port de la Liberté, island of

Guadeloupe, heretofore Point Petre, the 1st day of Thermidor, (July 19, 1794,) second year of the French republic, one and indivisible.

(Signed, &c.) VICTOR HUGHES.  
Sealed with the seal of the commission, and signed by the commissioner, and by his secretary.  
VIEL, Secretary to the commissioner.

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*French proclamation to the army of the western Pyrenees and the Spaniards of the frontier, published in the end of July, 1794.*

Brave soldiers,

THE moment of victory has at length arrived, which proves that this army is the worthy sister of those of the north and south. That, by their example, you will also avenge your country, overturn the despots, and sacrifice their satellites; that, like them, after purifying the land of liberty, sullied by the presence of slaves, you will bear the triumphant arms of the republic into the territory of the enemy, and there display the tri-coloured standard of freedom. In penetrating into the enemy's territory, brave soldiers, we need not stimulate your courage—you are always eager to combat and to conquer; but we recommend to your consideration what the French people have proclaimed every where—war to the palace—peace to the cottage—war against tyrants and their satellites—peace to the peaceable citizen—to the humble shed of the indigent—to the abode of the useful labourer, and industrious artisan. This conduct, as it arises from our feelings, is also dictated by our interest.

The

Spanish territory, upon which we enter, must become part of French republic. Let, therefore, devastation, pillage, and injury be far from us—let the inhabitant behold his asylum, and learn, at length, to a people, the avengers of violated rights of human nature, kings and priests have represented them as a people of Amphagi. And you, inhabitants of Spanish fields and towns, ye sowers, industrious artisans, ye the republican legions.—

yourself into our arms, with weapons, without defence, you will find in them protection and safety for yourselves, your families and your property. The French has sworn to exterminate the enemies of tyrants; but the so dreadful to such, will always him, who defenceless, implore his assistance and his aid. He will equally respect us, manners, customs, and

Remain, therefore, in your old dwellings, cultivate your soil, gather in your harvests, work your occupations, and liberty, given in the midst of you, will make you feel the immense difference between the avengers of rights of men, and the slaves once within the verge of death. The French soldier would give you to freedom, not by the use of his arms, but by gaining hearts and illuminating your

*Equality, liberty, fraternity, or death!*

*The general-verifier of assignats to his fellow-citizens.*

Republicans,

THE enemies of our glorious revolution do not cease to attack it by the most vile and most criminal methods. The coalesced despots against it have not blushed to rank themselves among the forgers of assignats.

Crimes cost nothing to tyrants in the war which they wage against a people who combats for the sacred rights of man. These royal robbers (brigands) have established fabrications of false assignats; and in this emulation of turpitude, the English government shews itself zealous of occupying the first rank. The proof of it results from the most exact information, which has been taken on account of this false paper, of which Liege, Flanders, Holland, and Germany, are like so many magazines, destined at length to vomit the poison on the territories of the republic.

But their criminal attempts have been baffled. Long since, measures have been taken which are crowned with success; and still farther to exterminate the false assignats among us, the following ordinance is to be published, and attended to, in all the conquered countries, as well as in France; and that no person may pretend ignorance thereof, it is to be published in the two languages, and stuck up conspicuously as usual.

(Signed) DEPEREZ.

The general-verifier of assignats.

1) PINET, the elder,  
GARRAU, CAVAILLONAC.

from the general-verifier of assignats at Bruges, August 21, 1793.

PROCLAMATION.

1. It is hereby enjoined to all citizens of every rank and description

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tion whatever, who are in possession of assignats, either belonging to them, or to any other person or persons whatever, to bring them within the space of twenty-four hours to the verifiers to be verified, at the Maison de France, in all the different towns now possessed by the French republic; otherwise they shall be treated as suspected persons, and imprisoned, until a peace, in some town in the department of Pas de Calais.

2. Any person or persons knowing of a depôt of false assignats, and not making an immediate declaration of the same, to be ranked as an accomplice, and punished as such.

3. All shipping, merchants, and others, are required daily to bring the assignats they receive, within twenty-four hours after the receipt of them, to be verified, or, in default of so doing, to be treated as suspected.

4. Every person, or persons, who shall be found endeavouring to pass false assignats, are immediately to be denounced by the party, or parties, to whom such assignats are offered, or, those neglecting so to do, shall be brought before the criminal tribunal of the department of Pas de Calais.

Seen, and judged proper to be affixed in the usual manner, in my presence,

LAURENT, general.  
AGEYMAS, commandant  
amovible.

(Signed) BEYTS.

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*Address from the national convention  
to the French people, Oct. 9, 1794.*

**F**RENCHMEN, in the midst of  
your triumphs, your ruin is

meditated. Certain persons would raise the tomb of the bosom of France. To we should betray ourselves most sacred of duties is to you in the perils which you.

Your most dangerous sc those satellites of despotism you are accustomed to var their perfidious emissaries mingling among you, for independence, by imposition calumny.

The heirs of the crimes: spierre, and of all the crimes whom you have overthrown in every sense to mislead public; and, covered with masks, they seek to lead counter-revolution through orders of anarchy.

Such is the character whom ambition pushes ranny. They proclaim themselves; they decorate themselves with sentiments which they They call themselves the voice of the people, and they speak to authority. They talk of rights of the people—only to wrest them from the

Frenchmen, you will find yourselves no longer to be victims of these fallacious insinuations: by experience you will be deceived no more. They pointed out the remedy: on the point of falling into the hands of the wicked—the republic about to perish—you reclaimed “*vive la convention*”—the wicked were confounded, the republic saved.

Remember that so long as the people and the convention are united, the attempts of the enemies of liberty will expire at your feet.

he ocean breaks upon the

ed to your pristine energy,  
no more suffer a few indi-  
impote on your reason,  
will not forget that the  
misfortune of a people is a  
agitation. They know  
who would drive you from  
er of death into the arms  
y.

it the voice of your repre-  
t. You will never lose  
his truth, that the assurance  
is at once in the force of  
e, and in its re-union to  
nment which has merited  
ence.

r side, the convention, con-  
s course, supported by the  
e people, will maintain, by  
; it, that government which  
the republic.

re swear—we will remain  
ost until the consummation  
volution; until that hour  
triumphant republic, giv-  
w to its enemies, shall be  
njoy, in the security of vic-  
se fruits of a constitution,  
s the peace they shall have

all know how to spare error  
ike only at crime: he inex-  
dly to immorality. The im-  
an ought to be rejected by  
s a dangerous element, cor-  
by his nature, and therefore  
eady to rally around con-

representatives will not suf-  
ublic functions to be exer-  
others than the true friends  
ople—they will banish far  
in the perfidious, who talk  
ghts of the people only to  
hem.

After having thus expressed its  
solicitude, manifested its thoughts  
and intentions, the national conven-  
tion states to the French people  
those sacred principles and eternal  
truths the central force of their  
union.

A nation cannot govern itself by  
the flexible decisions of caprice,  
the sport of the passions—it is by  
the authority only of the laws that  
it can do so.

The laws are the securities for  
our rights. This precious security  
is sought by man when he enters  
political associations. This they af-  
ford him by the aid of government,  
which confines the citizen within the  
circle of his duties.

Every thing which would violate  
those rights is a crime against the  
social organization. Individual li-  
berty must have no bounds, except  
where it trenches upon the liberty  
of others. The law must ascertain,  
and mark those boundaries.

Property must be sacred. Far  
from us be those systems dictated by  
immorality and idleness, that erect  
into system the commission of theft,  
and diminish the salutary horror it  
inspires. Let the power of the law  
therefore secure our property, as it  
secures the other rights of the ci-  
tizen.

But who should establish the law?  
The people alone, by the organ of  
those representatives to whom it has  
delegated this power. No parti-  
cular authority—no re-union is the  
people—nor can it act, nor even  
speak in its name.

If any audacious hand should at-  
tempt to seize the right of the peo-  
ple, upon the altar of the country,  
the convention will discover with  
greater eagerness their delegated  
power

power to the usurper, as they owe an account to the people of the attacks made upon its sovereignty.

In their firmness the national convention will not depart from wisdom—they will attend to all remonstrance, but they will not suffer the right to enlighten and admonish, to become a means of oppression and debasement—nor that any voice shall be louder than that of the national representation.

Against the intriguers, and those who yet may regret royalty, they will preserve the most vigorous posture. They will maintain the measures of security, which the public safety demands; but they will never consent to their arbitrary extension, and that suspicion should be a source of calamity.

Frenchmen, consider as your enemies all those who attack, obliquely or directly, the liberty, the equality, the unity, and the indivisibility, of the republic.

Fly those who speak to you of blood and scaffolds incessantly, those exclusive patriots, enriched by the revolution, who dread the operation of justice, and who reckon upon finding their safety in confusion and anarchy.

Esteem and search out those laborious and modest men, those good and pure beings, who fly from public employments, and who practise incessantly, without ostentation, the republican virtues.

Never lose sight of this axiom, that if a rapid and violent movement is necessary to make a revolution, clemency and prudence must terminate it. Unite yourselves about one common centre, the love and respect for the laws.

Behold your brave brethren in

arms, they let you see that sublime obedience in mission and devotion. It is to attend to the voice of leaders; they bless incoherent decrees of the convention, suffer, and cast the misfortunes; if they pass last exclamation is for the

And you, in the bosom of villages, will you suffer yourselves to be agitated by debates? Will you throw in assemblies obstacles which retard the triumphant march of revolution?

O Frenchmen! what will it be for you, what satisfaction your enemies, to see France without, and torn within! No, they shall not that cruel pleasure.—What convention has done in the arm will do in the bosom of the

The warlike virtues protect the hero; the domestic virtues protect the citizen; and they are thus sustained and fortified by a noble attachment to republican principles, which perpetuate a glorious nation that sacred grand character, which is the French people the first universe

Citizens, all the virtues concur in the establishment of the republic. You have exerted, force, for the defence of the bastille and the throne—tendence to support the evils of the republic from a great revolutionary courage to repulse your invaders. The time is as to conquer your enemies with firmness and wisdom. Can succeed to so many

f the republic, beaten so oft  
tempest, touches at length  
the shore. Beware how you  
it once more among the  
s. Permit it to approach the  
resting with a tranquil course  
lient ocean, in the midst of  
misfortunes of a people free,  
and triumphant.

*nation and decree of the na-  
tional convention to all those who  
taken part in the revolt, in the  
instruments of the west, the coasts  
west, and the coasts of Cher-*  
f.

t two years your country has  
been a prey to the horrors of  
war. Those fertile plains,  
appeared designed by na-  
ture to be the abode of happiness,  
became the residence of pro-  
prietors and carnage. The courage  
of your countrymen is turned against  
themselves. The flames devour  
their habitations, and the earth,  
strewn with ruins and with om-  
ens of mourning, refuses even a  
shelter to the survivors. Such  
wreathmen, the wounds which  
have been inflicted on our country  
are vile and imposture. Wicked  
men have abused your inexperience:  
in the name of a righteous  
cause they furnished you with  
dead arms; it was in the name  
of humanity that they devoted to  
thousands of victims; it was  
in the name of virtue that they  
gathered together a band of wretches  
in every corner of France—that  
made it the receptacle of  
vices vomited out of every  
pore. What blood has been sa-  
crificed to the best of dominions!  
O, whom they deluded, why

did you reject the lights that were  
held out to you, to embrace a mis-  
chievous phantom? Why would  
you prefer masters to brothers, and  
the torches of fanaticism to the  
flambeau of reason? May your eyes  
at length be opened, and an end  
put to so many calamities! Weaken-  
ed by repeated losses, disunited and  
fractured, without any other re-  
source than despair, you still may  
have an asylum in the generosity of  
the nation. Yes, your brothers, the  
French people, are still inclined to  
think you more misled than culpa-  
ble; their arms are stretched out to  
you, and the national convention  
pardons you in their name, if you  
lay down your arms, and if repen-  
tance and a sincere attachment urge  
you to fraternize with them. Their  
word is sacred; and, if unfaithful  
delegates have abused their confi-  
dence and your's, justice shall be  
executed on them. Thus the re-  
public, equally terrible towards its  
enemies within, as without, is  
highly gratified by recalling its mis-  
guided children! take advantage of  
its clemency, and hasten to return  
into the bosom of your country.  
The authors of all your misfortunes  
are those who have seduced you.

It is time that the enemies of  
France should cease to be gratified  
by the spectacle of our internal dis-  
fensions; they alone smile at your mis-  
fortunes; they alone profit of them:  
it is necessary to defeat their impi-  
ous plans. Turn against them those  
arms they have supplied you with  
for our destruction. Are the ties of  
nature dissolved; and has the blood  
of the English passed into your  
veins? Would you massacre the  
families of your brother-conquerors  
of Europe, rather than unite your-  
selves to them, and partake of their  
glory?

glory?—No: you are now enlightened by the voice of truth, and already many of you are returned, and find security the price of your confidence. Return all of you, and let the fire-side of each become secure and peaceful: let the lands be cultivated, and let plenty resume its reign! Let us join in avenging ourselves of the common enemy—of that implacable and jealous nation, which has thrown the brand of discord amongst us! Let all our republican energy be directed against those who have violated the rights of the people! Let the utmost vigour animate all throughout our ports; let the ocean be covered with our privateers; and let the war of extermination, with all its attendant horrors, be carried from the banks of the Loire to the banks of the Thames!—

Decreed,

1. That all persons in the departments of the east, the coasts of Brest and of Cherbourg, known under the name of the robbers of La Vendée and of Chouans, who shall lay down their arms in the course of a month after the publication of the present decree, shall not be molested or tried for the acts which they may have committed.

2. The arms shall be deposited in the municipalities and communes that shall be pointed out by the representatives of the people.

3. To superintend the execution of the present decree, the convention appointed the representatives of the people, Menou, Boudin, the official for the departments of the east, and two others for the coasts of Cherbourg, with the same powers as the representatives of the people in session.

*Proclamation to the French to accompany the decree repeal of the law of the 1st*

Frenchmen,

**R**EASON, equity, the law of the republic, rep ago the law of the maxi national convention revol the more the salutary mot dictated this decree shall the more it will have a ri confidence. In taking th it does not mistake the cir which surround it; it so bad faith will endeavor suade, that all the evils v occasioned by the maxi are the effects of its suppr your faithful representa forgot their dangers, and for public utility.

The least enlightened n now, that the law of the annihilated from day to merce and agriculture: that law was enforced, it became impracticable sion in vain assumed: forms; it met with a the shackles: it was constant or it only took away, by violent means, some pre sources, which it was soon

It is then that law wh so disastrous, that condu an exhausted state. Cor which exist no more, perhaps at first; had no vention, in repealing it, chains of industry. It industry freed from her t belongs to regenerated to multiply our wealth means of exchange. T of the republic are entr animity and to liberty, bases of commerce and

any calamities, their  
 ot be as speedily as our  
 gent. Every sudden  
 new order of things,  
 however useful it be,  
 out a shock, and offers  
 ntly some inconveni-  
 npatience of the citi-  
 at this moment to sup-  
 any price, with the  
 y for their consump-  
 cause, added to the  
 of the season, made  
 a momentary rise in  
 A few days more, and  
 he happy effects of a  
 h malevolence will  
 imniate, which was  
 y the welfare of the  
 all fears vanish; the  
 catches day and night.  
 natives expect every  
 : character which dis-  
 : French nation, and  
 shall be secured. Fra-  
 ie no more an empty  
 is; it shall reject alike  
 as of avarice and the  
 which are still more  
 a variety of specula-  
 ting a factitious fa-  
 not compromise five  
 and sacrifices; and  
 liberty will triumph  
 all the passions, even  
 and of the rigour of  
 as he has triumphed  
 rants of Europe.  
 ies bestir themselves  
 and want to miss ad-  
 out they shall be deaf  
 tions of perfidy, and  
 ly at the voice of the  
 ovalty seemed to con-  
 bottom of its grave;  
 as refounded to the

gates of the sanctuary of liberty.  
 But this last cry of royal fanaticism,  
 striking all the republicans with in-  
 dignation, contributes to give them  
 fresh energy. Justice and reason  
 will bring back abundance by de-  
 grees. The most magnanimous na-  
 tion will reap at last the fruit of her  
 virtues; and her representatives  
 will find their reward in beholding  
 her happiness.

*Decree of the convention, and address  
 to the armies.*

ON the 7th Praireal (26th May,  
 1794) a pretended design of  
 assassinating Robespierre was disco-  
 vered and attributed to the English:  
 upon which the national conven-  
 tion of France decreed; *that no  
 English nor Hanoverian prisoners  
 shall be made.*

On the 11th Praireal. Barrere  
 proposed to the convention, that  
 the above decree should be accom-  
 panied by the following address to  
 the armies of the republic, which  
 was agreed to.

England is capable of every out-  
 rage on humanity; and of every  
 crime towards the republic. She  
 attacks the rights of nations, and  
 threatens to annihilate liberty.

How long will you suffer to con-  
 tinue on your frontier, the slaves  
 of \*\*\*\*\* the soldiers of the most  
 atrocious of tyrants?

He formed the congress of Pilnitz,  
 and brought about the scandalous  
 surrender of Toulon. He massacred  
 your brethren at Genoa, and burned  
 our magazines in the maritime  
 towns. He corrupted our cities,  
 and endeavoured to destroy the na-  
 tional representation. He starved  
 your



your plains, and purchased treasons on the frontiers.

When the event of battles shall put in your power either English or Hanoverians, bring to your remembrance the vast tracts of country English slaves have laid waste. Carry your view to La Vendée, Toulon, Lyons, Landrecies, Martinique, and St. Domingo, places still reeking with the blood which the atrocious policy of the English has shed. Do not trust to their artful language, which is an additional crime, worthy of their perfidious character and machiavelian government. Those who boast that they abhor the tyranny of \*\*\*\*\*, say, can they fight for him!

No, no, republican soldiers, you ought therefore, when victory shall put in your power, either Englishmen or Hanoverians, to strike; not one of them ought to return to the traiterous territory of England, or to be brought into France. Let the British slaves perish, and Europe be free.

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*Proclamation of the canton of Berne, in Switzerland, August, 1794.*

**WE**, the Avoyer, the little and great council of the city and republic of Berne, &c. make known by these presents—public fame has sufficiently informed us of the deplorable scenes which have overwhelmed the city of Geneva. That republic, in whose prosperity we have constantly taken an interest, resulting from long and intimate relations as allies, and the habitual connections of neighbourhood, is delivered up to unheard-of calamities, of which it is not possible to foresee the extent, the duration, or

the consequences. At the time that we had reason to hope for the return of peace and tranquillity, the establishment of the new order of things, which the government had solemnly announced to be the same as had the canton of 2000, a band of tumultuous men, armed and overthrew by main force the public liberty and personal safety, violated private houses, and dragged the individuals, and dragged them from their families. These violences were committed even against the ministers of religion, in a manner such as to announce the intended destruction of religion, in a city which was remarked as its great support. Citizens were sacrificed even to the will of the majority of the New victims were pointed out, new attempts were made on persons and property, even in spite of oaths, of forms established, and the laws of the Swiss canton. Geneva awaits in consternation the fate which the sanguinary tyrants have usurped the right of taking from the lives and fortunes of its citizens are preparing for her.

We see with extreme grief the sad destiny of a city whose tranquillity has been at all times the object of our cares, and which, by its proximity, so nearly interests the safety of the state and that of all Switzerland. But the knowledge we have of the criminal participation of individuals of our own canton in these crimes, aggravates still more our grief and indignation. Our paternal affection for the safety and honour of the country not permitting us to remain idle on our territory, these laws, allied with crimes, we, by this present publication, interdict and forbid to enter into our territories; that all those of our subjects

known to have had any part  
strocious scenes, be instant-  
need and seized; reserving  
ves to pronounce the chal-  
which their culpable con-  
a city to long our ally.  
We doubt not, dear and  
citizens, that participating  
me sentiments that animate  
will redouble your activity  
in the execution of this  
rdinance.

---

*tion published by the revolu-  
y committee of Geneva, July  
794.*

*ty, liberty, independence.*

revolutionary citizens!  
revolution of the 28th of  
ember, 1792, was more  
le to the aristocrats than to  
lutionists. The former, al-  
corrigible, and invariably  
ies of liberty, have suffered  
ment of their criminal hopes  
rticidal pretensions. The  
is now arrived, when the  
nists, wearied with living  
men who have not ceased  
ment to be inimical both to  
l the French republic, have  
ced to rise for the comple-  
he work which had nearly  
ered on, and to ensure the  
ng triumph of the princi-  
quality in our country.

utionary citizens, your mo-  
has hitherto merely served  
re you, to embolden the  
ts, and give consistency to  
lpable views. It is time  
people should have justice  
nd with this intention the  
nary committee lays before  
following plan:

1. A revolutionary tribunal, con-  
sisting of twenty-one members, shall  
be formed.

2. The revolutionists, assembled  
in a body at the national lyceum,  
shall elect this tribunal by a single  
process, and according to the rela-  
tive majorities.

3. The electors shall not return  
more than 21 citizens, and not less  
than 11.

4. No one shall refuse his vote on  
penalty of being considered as a sus-  
pected person, and treated as such.

5. Each revolutionary citizen,  
without any exception, shall be en-  
joined to repair armed to-morrow,  
the 21st of July, at eight in the  
morning, to the national lyceum,  
and there to vote, on pain of being  
considered as a suspected person,  
and treated as such.

6. The revolutionary tribunal  
shall try those who are imprisoned,  
as well as those who have escaped  
for the present, and have fled since  
the revolution.

7. It may pronounce sentence of  
death, pecuniary fines, banishment,  
&c.

8. Every sentence of death shall  
be subject to the approval of the  
whole body of the revolutionary ci-  
tizens.

9. The revolutionary tribunal  
shall complete its functions within  
the space of six days, reckoning  
from the moment of its election.

10. A military committee shall be  
created, to consist of seven mem-  
bers, who are to watch over the  
public safety, and to execute the  
sentences of the revolutionary tribu-  
nal. It shall succeed the revolution-  
ary committee, at the expiration  
of its powers.

The members of each circle are  
enjoined to give their suffrages in  
the

the most public manner, as all true revolutionists ought to do.

Before eight in the evening the result of the deliberation will be published, mentioning the number of the suffrages.

(Signed) ALEX. BOUSQUET.

President of the revolutionary committee.

*Preamble of the decree by which the revolutionary committee was established.*

*Liberty, equality, independence.*

#### REVOLUTIONARY TRIBUNAL.

Revolutionary citizens,  
FOR nearly a century, liberty has painfully contended against aristocracy: the people of Geneva now struggle for the restoration of their rights. For nearly a century the country has been harrassed, by the pretensions, constantly renewed, of certain citizens, who persuaded themselves that the people were made for them, and that the republic was their inheritance.

The revolution of 1792 had apparently the effect of terminating for ever the reign of the aristocracy you have too long endured.

But, revolutionary citizens, those among you who fancied that the above revolution had done every thing to establish in this republic the reign of equality, were strangely abused!—Those who conceived that the constitution, latterly accepted, would secure to the people all the advantages of liberty, were much mistaken! you invited all the Genevese to the enjoyment of the rights of citizenship; but the enemies of equality continued the same, with

all their pretensions and prejudices. In accepting the constitution you extinguished aristocracy of the laws; but aristocracy of names, of rich manners, lost no part of its activity.

The entire mass of the people and their adherents remain in the posture of an enemy, who has just humbled, but who has just found a favourable opportunity his revenge, and recover his authority.

With an utter detestable principles of the constitution had accepted it, because in them, as well as the citizen general, with its shield; and under shelter of the severe it had adopted against itself of authority, and of the formalities to which it subjected course of justice, they manoeuvre secretly with sure.

Their hostile disposition however, not equivocal.—in reality seen them renounce pretensions, and abjure errors? have you observed solution of that scandalous which was formed to combat? have you seen them the excellent opportunities them by our civic festivals ternize with us? in short, seen one of them even abandon the pomp of aristocracy unite sincerely with us as simple standard of liberty? you have seen the criminal with which some of the to take the civic oath, what repugnance others to pronounce it. You have seen their counter-revolutionary notions and prophecies; and ago than the last year,

these penetrated into Mont  
 ou saw them come out from  
 reats, fly to the walls, and  
 llect in groups, with the  
 intention to profit by the  
 ances, and recover their  
 ndency. You have heard  
 h for a counter-revolution in  
 which could not fail to  
 out one in this republic;  
 reis their wishes for the suc-  
 he confederate powers, the  
 of la Vendée, and the re-  
 Lyons. You must recollect  
 risions, bravadoes, and de-  
 ions of joy, at the news of  
 arriages occasionally sustain-  
 e French republican armies.  
 re heard them boast of ren-  
 ur revolution abortive, by  
 angement of the finances;  
 have seen them concur to  
 is aim, by rejecting the first  
 an edict on public contri-  
 manifesting at the same  
 ilar views relative to that  
 as to have been presented  
 vereign council on the 19th  
 one month.  
 ay, perhaps, have been ig-  
 hat their emissaries in Swit-  
 have made the strongest ef-  
 deter our allies from ac-  
 lging our constitutional re-  
 and that some of them,  
 ances are not as yet known,  
 asures a few weeks ago to  
 ite in a counter-revolution-  
 with the French emigrants,  
 to let a tendency than to  
 a new Vendée in the de-  
 its which border on our ter-  
 to provoke hostilities be-  
 he French republic and the  
 e body; and to make our  
 e centre of union for the  
 its, and a point of support  
 e liberticidal measures.

XXXVI.

Their incorrigible attachment to  
 aristocracy, their counter-revolu-  
 tionary wishes, their plans, and  
 their arrangements, were not un-  
 known to the French; and this is  
 what served to prejudice the latter  
 so strongly against our republic.  
 They could not conceive but that  
 with us the revolution in favour of  
 liberty would terminate in giving to  
 the aristocracy an intire freedom to  
 intrigue with impunity; and they  
 conceived that they ought to mis-  
 trust a people who boasted of having  
 bestowed a triumph on the princi-  
 ples of liberty and equality, and  
 who had at the same time allowed  
 a tranquil residence among them to  
 a multitude of aristocrats who did  
 not even take the precaution to dis-  
 semble their aversion for liberty and  
 equality, and their joy at the tri-  
 umphs of the enemies of the French  
 republic.

Remark also, that their number  
 and their union gave them a power-  
 ful influence in the assemblies of the  
 sovereign council. Their suffrages,  
 united to those of so many pre-  
 tended patriots, of so many whose  
 lukewarm and indifferent disposi-  
 tions made them unworthy of that  
 title, might with facility have en-  
 abled them to subvert the laws most  
 favourable to the people, and the  
 institutions most essential to their  
 happiness.

Revolutionary citizens, it is time  
 that this contention should termi-  
 nate. It is time that the people  
 should, without obstacle or imped-  
 iment, set about the organization of  
 their happiness. They are wearied  
 with having to watch unceasingly  
 the enemies by whom they are sur-  
 rounded, and with waiting their  
 time in disconcerting their plots.  
 The compass of our walls is too

O

LAWSON

narrow to contain two classes of people so opposite in their principles and manners. There will be no peace among us until there shall be but one party in the republic—that of equality, liberty, independence, and fraternity: until the enemies of the people shall be forever prevented from revolting against them.

The experience of what has passed ought to instruct you. How has it been contrived, that at various times the momentary successes of the friends of liberty were soon followed by great miscarriages?—that the transitory checks of aristocracy were the fore-runners of the most signal successes on their side? It is because the friends of liberty were so simple as to think that the enacting of laws was sufficient for their security. What is it that has propped the criminal audacity with which aristocracy has unceasingly renewed its pretensions and its enterprizes?—Impunity, and the clemency of the people, which has encouraged their enemies to defy, to combat, and to make a sport of them. You must have perceived, revolutionary citizens, that aristocracy needed a lesson which it should never cease to remember; that it should be forever sickened from a repetition of its criminal projects. It is for the accomplishment of this aim that you have established a revolutionary tribunal, charged to make an example, as well of the chief aristocrats who wish to found their supremacy on the degradation of their fellow-citizens, as of the subaltern aristocrats who have degraded their qualities of man and citizen, by becoming the servile tools of the upper aristocracy.

By this terrible measure we must

begin; but it will not be sufficient to complete the revolution. There are still greater additional plans to be adopted to consolidate its success, to purify the air of our country of every aristocratic infection, and to obtain for the country a satisfaction for all the damages and wrongs it has sustained from its perverse children. It is to be our task to accomplish a revolution of principles and manners, to regenerate the public mind, and to found, without any delay, institutions calculated to ensure the prosperity of the people, to form true citizens, and to bestow happiness on all. The revolutionary tribunal, engaged in the trial of prisoners, cannot efficaciously attend to these objects. It is, notwithstanding, urgent to provide for them; and this tribunal ought therefore to be so organized, as to facilitate its labours, and to procure the means of reaching its high destination with celerity and regularity. We, in consequence, offer for your consideration and discussion the following plan:

I. There shall be added to the 21 members of the revolutionary tribunal, 11 other members to be named by the revolutionary clubs.

II. These 32 citizens, in conjunction, shall instantly chuse 11 of their own body to form a revolutionary committee.

III. The remaining 21 members shall compose the revolutionary tribunal, properly so called, to be altogether engaged in the trials.

IV. The revolutionary committee shall be charged—

1. To regulate the mode and maximum of the confiscations and indemnities towards the republic.

2. To

adopt all the measures calculated to ensure the success of the revolution, as well as those which are necessary for the public safety.

To form the plans of such establishments as will concur to the happiness of the people. To superintend all the objects of administration, purely revolutionary.

And, to prepare before the revolution such extraordinary circumstances may require.

The powers of the committee shall continue for one month after the functions of the revolutionary tribunal shall have ceased.

In respect to whatever belongs to revolutionary government, the constituted authorities shall continue to exercise their functions, each of them conforming to the customary re-

BOUSQUET, President.  
VOULAIRE, Secretary.

on published in *August*,  
1794.

y, liberty, independence.

ITIONARY TRIBUNAL.

tionary citizens  
tribunal you esta'blished, to  
justice to the people on  
nies, has at length termi-  
labours; it has now to  
an essential duty, that  
ing to you an account of  
ions.

and in so arduous a task, the  
of the tribunal have had  
is no rule whatever, no  
law, no organization:

and notwithstanding, when they entered on their functions, they found on the books of the gaoler more than 400 prisoners; they accordingly began by establishing the offences which were to be submitted to their judgement, and these they divided into the seven following classes:

1. The resolution for the guarantee, and of consequence, for the entry of foreign troops.

2. The armaments against the patriots, both in the city and territory.

3. The machinations against the establishment of equality and liberty.

4. The machinations against the independence of the republic.

5. The manœuvres known under the title of stock-jobbing, by which the public credit has been injured, several families ruined, and the state embroiled with the French republic.

6. The manœuvres practised on our neighbours and allies, the Swiss, to engage them to break the alliance. And,

7. The manœuvres set on foot to corrupt the public morals.

The accused have all of them been examined by the revolutionary tribunal, as well by public and private interrogations, as by precepts taken. The following is the total amount of the sentences pronounced, the detailed list of which, with the names, will be printed and published at the end of this report:

Thirty-seven sentenced to death, twenty-six of whom are in a state of outlawry.

Ninety-four sentenced to perpetual banishment, twenty-eight of whom have not appeared before the tribunal.

Four sentenced to exile of a longer or shorter duration.

Two hundred and sixty-four sentenced to domestic confinement for a longer or shorter period.

Ten sentenced to perpetual imprisonment in the *Maison de Force*.

Seven sentenced to imprisonment in the same house of detention for different terms.

Three bailiffs, or common sergeants, have been deprived of their posts.

Eighty-nine have been dismissed. This makes a total of 508 individuals.

Thus are the people at length avenged; and thus is the struggle, which lasted for a century between the oppressors and the oppressed, terminated. Independence has suffered no outrage; liberty and equality triumph; and national justice has for ever taken up her abode in the republic.

In the midst of the immense labours with which it has been charged, the tribunal has not been able to pay an attention to all those who, having conducted themselves in a way contrary to liberty and equality, were perhaps deserving of punishment. For this purpose, it would have been necessary to protract the existence of the tribunal a third time: but every citizen must be satisfied, that the lesson which has been given, as terrible as it is just, ought to be sufficient. If, however, such should be the result of the immediate events, that the aristocracy, now so completely subjugated, should again dare to raise its head: that those who have not been tried should presume to avail themselves of that clemency, by employing any manœuvres whatever, recollect, revolutionary citi-

zens, that in such a case remains an authority capable of pressing these attempts. The revolutionary committee has the immediate power of punishing as will appear by two *clan* resolution by which it is co They are as follow :

Art. 4. Section 2.—To measures calculated to the success of the revolution, as all those relative to secrecy.

Section 5.—To propose revolutionary societies everywhere which circumstances for.

Let those tremble, then, form the culpable projecting the progress of the nation in any manner whatever of thus preventing the attainment of the aim which every good citizen ought to have in view, that the Genevese at length a brethren.

It becomes the tribunal of the revolutionists, that, having established by them, it has a single instant lost sight of the immediate power of its agents. That conformable principle it has considered duty to attend to all the requests made to it in the name of the revolutionary mass; and that the operations and sentence of the tribunal, against which no has been made, are considered the tacit approbation of the revolutionists. The tribunal has neglected to provide for the executing the sentences passed: and to the end doubt should remain on the declares that it has charged the revolutionary committee to carry sentences into execution

at

or reservation, to be in observing all the infractions those against whom they pronounced may attempt, apply the penalty annexed to attempts. It has at the same time enjoined the revolution committee to invest with the powers the ordinary tribunals, and the revolutionists shall endeavour to break up the said society.

Revolutionary citizens, now that the decree of the revolution is passed; the vengeance of the people exercised, the ideas of justice ought to be directed to the securing of the prosperity of the nation. To attain this end, every citizen ought to use his best efforts to convert the revolution to the advantage of the people. For this purpose you have a revolutionary authority to which this is intrusted: its principal duty is to determine on the measures to be made by the executive power, and of course on the contributions which the country is to exact from every proprietor. It is to make a distribution of the sums which result from this measure, by applying them to public establishments, agricultural rewards, &c. This plan demands the concurrence of all the

citizens who are well informed on these heads: and the country ought to put them in a state of confidence. Be confident, revolutionary citizens, in the issue of the decree. Confine yourselves to the customary vigilance of every citizen to observe; to your civil duties; return to your occupations and avocations; and to yourselves, that next to

the love of the country, the love of industry is your chief duty. Recollect that tyrants employ two principal means to enslave nations—idleness and corruption. Men who aim at being independent always become so; and there can be no republic where debauched and corrupted men are to be found. The country requires that in this revolution all the virtues should be displayed, and morality, both public and private, prevail in all the actions of the citizens. It demands a complete regeneration; and be confident of it, revolutionary citizens, you will in vain have brought about a revolution to crush aristocracy, and all its vices; you will in vain have repressed the abuses of riches, if you neglect to proclaim justice, probity, and virtue, not by words, but by deeds and good examples; you will otherwise, sooner or later, witness the return of corrupters and corrupted. The members of the tribunal return into the class of simple citizens: in that quality they hasten back with earnestness to their fire-sides, and unite themselves in every particular to the revolutionary citizens to defend the equality, the liberty, and the independence of the republic.

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*Patent for the opening of a loan in a coin of inferior money, to the treasury of his Prussian majesty, published by his government.*

WE, Frederick William, by the grace of God, &c. It having been submissively proposed and represented to us, that the present considerable expences in small money, which are occasioned by the emergencies



emergencies of the war, are creating a pernicious increase of that sort of money in the country, which, in becoming inconvenient to the public, might produce an interruption of the commerce of the interior; and, therefore, in order to prevent the disadvantageous consequences of this circulation of the enormous quantity of the small money, and at the same time to procure means to proprietors of considerable quantities of that class of money, to dispose of it without difficulty or disadvantage, we, with our usual paternal care, have determined to open a loan, to be accepted from our excise-officers in all provinces, in small money, at four per cent. interest per annum; the whole to be under the direction of our minister of state, count Struensee, and the bills to the bearer will consist of the sums of 25, 50, 100, to 1000 rix dollars.

Given at Potsdam, November 18, 1794.

(Signed)

FREDERICK WILLIAM, Rex.

*Letter from the duke of Brunswick to the king of Prussia.*

THE motives, sire, which make me desire my recal from the army are founded upon the unhappy experience, that the want of connection, the distrust, the egotism, the spirit of cabal, have disconcerted the measures adopted during the two last campaigns, and still disconcert the measures taken by the combined armies. Oppressed by the misfortune of being involved, by the errors of others, in the unfortunate situation wherein I find myself,

I feel very sensibly the judges of military chance, without success, without raising the siege of the Landau will make an history of this unfortunate I have the misfortune complicated in it. They fall upon me, and they be confounded with Notwithstanding all would not have given inclination of laying jefty's feet my desire ing a career which h principal study of my li one has lost one's trou bour, and efforts; whi of the campaign are lo is no hope that a thi may offer a more favo what part remains to the man the most attai most zealous for, your terefts and your cause avoiding farther disa same reasons now divid which have hitherto di the movements of the suffer from it, as they done; their motions w ed and embarrassed, as of re-establishing the P politically necessary, v perhaps, the source o misfortunes for next c consequences of which be calculated. It is no I object to; it is not wish to avoid; but it which I fear in my situ the faults of other ge fall upon me, and w neither act according ciples nor according pects. Your majesty remember what I had t represent to you the day

ilder: I exposed all my em-  
 ents, my troubles, and my  
 nes; I exerted all my ef-  
 prevent any inconveniency:  
 lately the event has proved  
 efficiency thereof; it is there-  
 y the intimate persuasion I  
 the impossibility I am in to  
 hat is right, which dictates  
 the measure of requesting  
 jesty to appoint a successor  
 as soon as possible. This  
 , however afflicting to me,  
 rtheless a consequence of  
 rowful reflections I have  
 on my situation. Prudence  
 I should retire, and honour  
 it.—When a great nation,  
 t of France, is conducted by  
 or of punishments, and by  
 sm, an unanimous sentiment,  
 e same principle, ought to  
 in the measure of the co-  
 powers. But when, instead  
 each army acts separately  
 ne of its own accord, with-  
 fixed plan, without unani-  
 without principles, the  
 ences are such as we have  
 : Dunkirk, at raising the  
 e of Maubeuge, at the storm-  
 yons, at the destruction of  
 and at the raising of the  
 e of Landau. Heaven pre-  
 ur majesty from great mis-  
 ! but every thing is to be  
 if confidence, harmony, uni-  
 of sentiments, of principles,  
 ctions, do not take place of  
 osite sentiments, which have  
 e source of all misfortunes  
 years past. My best wishes  
 attend your majesty, and  
 ry will be my happiness.  
 nheim, Jan. 6, 1794.

*The duke of Brunswick to the prince  
 royal of Prussia.*

*Mentz, Jan. 12.*

**T**HE concern which your royal  
 highness has been pleased to  
 testify on account of my retreat from  
 the army, inspires me with the most  
 heart-felt gratitude. Nothing but  
 a conjuncture of circumstances, as  
 disastrous as uncommon, could have  
 prevailed on me to adopt a mea-  
 sure which is so afflicting for my-  
 self.

I have been highly flattered by  
 the opportunities I have now and  
 then found to approach your royal  
 highness, and to admire in you those  
 talents which cannot fail to place  
 you among the great men of our  
 age. Europe stands truly in need  
 of them at a time when near  
 400,000 combatants, and 80 line  
 of battle ships, supported by an in-  
 testine war, have in vain endeavoured  
 to crush that confederacy of  
 crimes which is tyrannizing over  
 France.

I am eminently happy to find  
 that my zeal in serving a good cause  
 has not escaped your royal highness's  
 notice. Very unfortunately, indeed,  
 the movements of the army have  
 been often checked at the very time  
 when the greatest energy and exer-  
 tion was required.

If, after the surrender of Mentz,  
 Houchard had been attacked, forced  
 back, and defeated, the reinforco-  
 ments which strengthened the army  
 of the North would not have reach-  
 ed it; and of course the check near  
 Maubeuge would have been avoid-  
 ed. Saar Louis, ill provided with  
 provisions, and destitute of all pro-  
 tection from bombs, would, in all  
 probability,

probability, have been reduced within a fortnight. Alsace might then have been turned by the Saar. The possession of the Lauter would have afforded more solid advantages; and if, by all possible means, the junction of the armies of the Rhine and the Moselle had been prevented, and the point of Bouquenon gained, Strasburgh would have been threatened, and Landau very likely subdued.

I beg your royal highness's pardon for expressing my regrets. Complaints are useless, I know; but sometimes they afford a momentary relief: permit me only to add, that if you have any influence over my successor, I would wish you to prevail on him to employ all his credit to prevent the frittering of the army into too numerous detachments; the consequence of which is, that being every where too weak to act on an offensive plan, our troops are obliged to confine themselves to defensive measures with the enemy we have to combat, which is a fault productive of the most pernicious consequences.

It is with the sincerest regret I leave an army which has inspired me with the highest esteem, admiration, and attachment.

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*Letter written by the king of Prussia to the elector of Mentz.*

*Berlin, Jan. 31.*

THE extraordinary urgency of the present circumstances induces me to write this letter to your highness, in full assurance of your highness's perfect knowledge of the situation of Germany, our country. The dangerous crisis in which this

country is thrown by a w example, with a formidable and destructive enemy, threatens the six frontiers enter them with fire: such a crisis is too well your excellence, not to necessity of concurring with every state, and patriotic zeal, in the measures to ward off the

Among all the means the empire can employ none which appears to be efficacious against an enemy numbers diminish not, and pose a fanatic fury in bat sources of tactics, and artillery; nothing, I find insufficient than the government of the inhabitants of which has been proposed, so dangerous, singularly delicate in itself, inadmissible, because it ways accord with the the empire by my treaty their retreat must infallibly consequence.

As it is impossible for to continue a war so far distant frontiers of my estates, is so expensive, I have, so since, frankly opened my head to the principal part take part in the war, and entered on negotiations which cannot yet be term

It is for this reason I myself obliged to demand empire to charge itself with visioning of my army.

In reality, the necessary on this subject have been made at the diet; but you will consider that it is inevitable its decision; so that thing which remains to be

ix frontier circles, who have  
ed of defence, to assemble  
tely, for the purpose of  
ig the said provisions pro-  
y, until the diet has made  
sum.

insequence, I beg of your  
s, in the most pressing man-  
it your highness, in virtue of  
ality of arch-chancellor and  
of the circle, would im-  
ly convoke the said six

speedy convocation of the  
es, and their furnishing my  
ith provisions, is the only  
of saving Germany at this  
riss. Without this, it will  
ssible for me to make my  
naintain the field any longer  
the enemy. I shall not fail,  
with regret, to order them  
to my states, for their own  
, and to abandon the empire  
and to its fate.

in the hands, therefore, of  
ghness, that I put the safety  
empire; and, confident of  
isdrom and patriotism, I ex-  
u will employ the means  
he laws of the empire give  
i such a manner that my  
directed to the good of the  
, may be fulfilled; and that,  
troops being supplied with  
ns, I may be able to assure  
pire of the most efficacious  
on and defence.

---

*tion of the king of Prussia to  
iet of Ratibon, made in the  
ning of February, 1794.*

: electoral minister of Bran-  
mburg notifies to the diet,  
sembled, that the king his

master, perceiving the indispensable  
necessity of continuing the war a-  
gainst the common enemy, is not  
adverse to the increase of his army  
on the Rhine to 80,000 fighting  
men; but as the hostilities on the  
part of the French are rather direct-  
ed against the empire, than against  
his majesty's own territories, nothing  
more can be required of him than  
his simple contingent. Being wil-  
ling, however, to forego all these  
considerations, the king is ready to  
fulfil his engagements, provided the  
following demands are previously  
complied with:

1. That each of the princes and  
states of the empire shall furnish im-  
mediately, and without delay, the  
contingents of men prescribed.

2. That the empire shall provide  
for the subsistence of the Prussian  
troops, by reserving for them  
20,000 rations of bread, and 24,000  
rations of hay and corn daily.

If the Germanic body should re-  
fuse to acquiesce in the just demands  
of his majesty, so far from sending any  
future force to the succour of the em-  
pire, he will feel himself under the  
necessity of recalling his troops on  
the Rhine, and leave no more than  
the simple contingent prescribed by  
the terms of alliance between the  
states of Germany.

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*Memorial of M. de Dohm, the Prussian  
minister, to the circles of the Lower  
Rhine and Westphalia, dated at  
Cologne, the 12th of February, 1794.*

THE war without example,  
which his majesty the king  
has maintained during two cam-  
paigns, against a furious nation,  
not upon the frontiers of his own  
dominions,

dominions, but in countries very distant, and already almost entirely exhausted, in the midst of the greatest scarcity of provisions, of difficulties of every species, without sparing the greatest sacrifices, and under the necessity of carrying out of his own states enormous sums in specie;—such a war must necessarily have undermined the strength of Prussia in a proportion much greater than that of the powers who are situated nearer to France. His majesty, for this reason, finds himself absolutely incapable of co-operating, with his own resources alone, in a third campaign, with the same activity that he hitherto has done; he is, on the contrary, under the necessity of withdrawing, in a few weeks, his troops from the frontiers of the German empire, which he has till now so well protected and defended, and of ordering them to retire to his own dominions, if some method or other is not found to provide for their pay and support. The king has, some months since, made a free overture on this subject to the coalesced powers, from which there have resulted negotiations, of which the issue will, no doubt, be satisfactory; but of which the result cannot be so immediate as the necessity of commencing a new campaign. In the uncertainty in which his majesty is thus placed, whether he will take a farther part in the war, and in the impossibility which arises from that circumstance, of making the necessary dispositions for the future support of the Prussian troops, he has commanded this state of things to be laid before the diet of the empire, and proposed at the same time, that the empire, in a body, should charge itself from the date of the 1st of February, with

the pay of the army destined against the enemy: that decision should be taken subject, and that the republic the quantum on the circle be decreed. The urgent present conjuncture so strongly aids and supports this project that it is not to be doubted the empire in general will acknowledge the injustice of expecting Prussian majesty will allow to continue, with his own force to the great prejudice of nations, those sacrifices which hitherto made with so much interestedness and patriotism that, on the contrary, after Prussians have perished in defence of the empire, and in person of his majesty, and the princes of his family have exposed to such multiplicity for the same object, it no duty of the states of the empire to concur seriously, by all the means in their power, after the wish of his majesty, to avert the danger with which they themselves are threatened. Although he is convinced that these united truths will make a due impression on the diet, and that the decision of that body will be conformable to his expectations; yet, on the nature of the deliberations of the diet, that decision will require more time than the urgent danger permits; since if the empire is to continue to defend and support the empire in the campaign which is about to be opened, they must charge itself with the support of the army. In this state of things, it is only expedient that remain the six anterior circles which are most exposed to danger,

the most need of protection, those of Franconia, Bavaria, the electoral circle of the Rhine, that of the Lower and of Westphalia, should upon themselves, provisionally, on the date of the 1st of February, under the reserve of the final decision of the diet, and at full completion, the support of the Prussian army which is against the enemy. The provision to be delivered to it will amount daily 41,966 rations, 154 portions, with the new wood, straw, carriages, &c. after the decision of the diet shall have taken place, they receive from the other circles indemnification in money, proportionate to their advances.— This measure, which circumstances render so indispensably necessary, may be as soon as possible brought into execution, the king has ordered his serene highness the arch-chancellor of the empire, to execute without delay, in an assembly at Francfort, the above-mentioned circles, with the reserve of what is due in such cases to his majesty, as chief of the diet, for the collection and part of the provisions, that may be taken in concert with the Russian commissary, deputy to the assembly of the circles, the de Herdenberg, without delay, and without observing the formalities useful in other cases, but destructive, to determine the manner, and the time of bringing them. The undersigned is commanded at the same time to give this information to the circles of the Lower Rhine and Westphalia, and to request of them to de-

liberate immediately upon an object so important and so urgent, and to send to Francfort a deputation which may co-operate towards it. The reasons, which make the greatest celerity necessary, are too evident to require any farther illustration; the tearing asunder all the bands of society; the subversion of all constitutions, political and ecclesiastical; the annihilation of all property, and the destruction of every species of happiness and prosperity, among all classes of men; such would be the melancholy fate of Germany, if our country were to be conquered by a nation which breathes only murder and pillage: and this conquest would be the almost inevitable consequence of the retreat of the Prussian army, to which his majesty would, by different reasons, be infallibly compelled, though with regret, if the anterior circles did not resolve without delay, the provincial maintenance which is demanded of them, and did not immediately make the necessary dispositions to that effect. His majesty, full of confidence in his co-estates of this circle, assures himself that, penetrated by the urgency of circumstances, they will conduct and accelerate this negotiation with all the zeal which is inspired by the defence of their own existence, as well as that of all Germany. At the same time that the undersigned has the honour to recommend, with the greatest confidence, this affair to the patriotism of the two high co-directors, he must request that this proposition, made on the part of the king of Prussia, may be immediately communicated to the whole circle, and that the assembly of the circle, at present separated, may be called together,

together, to take the affair into consideration, and to send a deputation to the assembly of Franconia, for which the letter of convocation of the elector of Mentz will soon be issued, and of which the opening will very probably be fixed for a very early period. The undersigned ventures to hope, from the sentiments of enlightened patriotism of the two high co-directors, that they will co-operate with all their efforts, for the attainment of so important an object; and it is in this hope, that he will expect their declaration to be communicated to his court. Донж.

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*Declaration of the king of Prussia against a general armament of the inhabitants of the empire, made in February, 1794.*

I. **W**HEN the proposition for a general armament of the subjects of the empire was made, at the assembly of the diet, the king of Prussia represented such essential difficulties against this measure, that he could not have expected that the proposition would have been carried to a conclusion.

II. For this reason, his majesty finds himself under the necessity of laying them again once more before the six nearest circles, with this observation, viz. "That if the said circles cannot determine with themselves to withdraw the said conclusion, and render it of none effect, he will be forced, however contrary to his inclination, to withdraw his troops, as he cannot expose them to the danger which must necessarily result from this measure.

III. The reasons that his Prussian

majesty opposes to a general armament of the inhabitants of the empire, are the following, viz.

1. By employing the peasants against the enemy, agriculture will want hands.

2. That there are not arms sufficient to give to such a mass of people.

3. That it is impossible, in so short a time, to teach the manual exercise to the inhabitants.

4. It has been found, by the experience of the two last campaigns, that the soldiers opposed to the French must be perfectly exercised to make head against them.

5. Lastly, independent of the above reasons, it is infinitely dangerous, at a time like the present, when the French are watching every advantage to insinuate their principles, to assemble such a mass of men, whose ideas upon forms of government must be various, and among whom consequently dissensions might arise, disastrous in their consequences both to the armies, and to the constitution of the empire.

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*Declaration of his Prussian majesty, delivered to the states of the Germanic circles, assembled at Frankfurt, in February, 1794.*

**H**IS majesty the king of Prussia could not but hear with the highest displeasure, that designs were imputed to him, tending to secularize bishoprics and chapters, to suppress them, and to appropriate to himself certain cities of the empire, in order to indemnify himself for the immense sums which he has expended for near two years, to carry on the war against the French, and to defend against them the Germanic

empire and his illustrious *Letter from the king of Prussia, to the prince of Saxe Coburg.*

jesty, confident that his pure, might pass in such rumours, and counsel with the conviction, would find no belief on the well-disposed states: but to give the most satisfaction, and to confound violent, who invent simipurposely, and perhaps distrust, the undersigned formally to declare, that majesty makes war upon, he has never any view of the Germanic empire and the maintenance of the; that it never was his design to make conquests; and that if conquests from France, the empire its share; that he never the least idea of indemnifying himself at the expense of, whose constitution has been sacred to him, and for interence he has already any sacrifices, as is general.

undersigned finally declares, majesty will never believe nations in future, and will ready to secure and guarantee the Germanic empire its constitution, and to its particular, both spiritual and their possessions and a word, the inviolability of the whole Germanic empire, and those six circles which exposed to danger at the will co-operate as much as constitution and patriotism require.

**BARON HOCHSTETTER.**

**I** AM eager to inform you, that in consequence of the negotiations which have hitherto been carried on, it is my intention to give orders to my field-marshal Mollendorff to leave behind a corps of 20,000 men, under the command of lieutenant-general Kalkreuth, to withdraw with the rest of my army from the environs of Mentz, and to march towards Cologne. I request you, for that purpose, to take the necessary measures, that the retreat of the most considerable part of my troops do not turn out advantageous to the enemy, but that the fortresses of Mentz, and the empire in general, remain covered against hostile invasion. It being in other respects necessary to make arrangements to procure to the troops who put themselves on their march the necessary provisions on the road to Cologne, their departure will not follow so rapidly; and those troops shall not file off at once, but by divisions—you will, therefore, have time sufficient to make the necessary disposition. I hope, at the same time, that you will have the goodness to take such measures, that when field-marshal Mollendorff shall have finished his preparations, and when, by virtue of the orders received, he shall have informed you of the days on which the troops shall depart, the execution of this resolution do not suffer any obstacle.

(Signed) **WILLIAM FREDERICK.**  
*Potsdam, March 11, 1791.*

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*Declaration of the king of Prussia to the German empire, on his accession from*



*from the present continental confederacy.*

THE period being arrived, in which his Prussian majesty is forced to discontinue taking that active part in the present war, which hitherto has been the effect of his generosity, and pure patriotism; on account, and in consideration of what is owing by his majesty, to the preservation of his own estates, and to the welfare of his subjects, his majesty thinks it particularly his duty to lay before their highnesses the co-estates of the German empire, the real causes and true motives by which he was induced to take such a resolution.

At the time when the French nation, in the unfortunate delusion of imaginary liberty, had not only dissolved every tie of civic order amongst themselves, but also meditated the subversion of the repose and welfare of other nations, by the introduction of their anarchic horrors, and in fact, had already fallen in a hostile manner on such territories of his imperial majesty, and of the German empire, as were nearest to them, his majesty thought proper to unite his just arms with those of his imperial majesty, and afterwards with those of the whole German empire, and those of his other allies, in order to set bounds to the destructive enterprizes of a delirious nation, and to restore peace and happiness to those as guiltless as highly endangered states. This object was ever the guide of the arms of his majesty down to this present moment, and more impressive on his mind, in proportion as the madness of the French augmented, and the danger of all Germany became more imminent. The

efforts of his majesty to set a boundary against this mighty torrent of ill-fortune on the German territories, were, it is true, at first but proportioned to the danger, but soon exceeded the utmost of his ability. The war was not a war with a civilized nation, and well-disciplined armies, but a war with a delirious and never-diminishing swarm of men, with a highly populous nation, provided with every resource for war to back them; a set of men who did not fight merely for victory, but who fought by fire, sword, and the poison of their pernicious doctrines, to subvert the whole social edifice of Germany.

To oppose this almost unconquerable enemy, the king, on his part, brought into the field 70,000 men, and those his choicest troops; with these has his majesty combated, even until this third campaign, under every imaginable obstacle, far from the Prussian dominions, amidst already exhausted lands, excess of dearness of the necessaries of life, and almost insupportable expence.

Besides these unparalleled efforts, his majesty has made to the common cause every possible sacrifice which the national strength of Prussia would permit; nor has he hesitated to expose even his sacred person, and the princes of his family, to every danger by which the repose and safety of Germany could be conquered from the enemy. For this object alone has so much Prussian blood been spilt—for this, such immense treasures drained from his dominions. Such a war must necessarily have more exhausted his resources than those of such powers whose dominions lay more contiguous to the scene of hostility; and thus

erty fell into an absolute of taking any longer part from his own out utterly ruining his ions, and entirely ex- property of his sub-

sty, however, still re- ly impressed with a pa- of being able still to ed protection, and that force, to the German d to be enabled to do tered into a negotiation infederate powers, pro- in arrangements to them, d points of which were, payment of a subsidy to uation that the subsid- e greatest part of the y should be provided for re in general; and that, al plan should be con- this effect, that the six cles of the empire, who sposed to danger, and l immediate benefit from , should be charged pro- with the furnishing of the it was also declared to f the empire, and the ve-mentioned, that in frank and free proposals acceded to by the em- majesty would be com- withdraw the greatest part ps, and to leave the em- ate.

states have made declara- ble to the pressing ci- in which they, and the pire, were placed; in his electoral highness of ll of exalted and patriotic towards the empire, with every requisition re- the subsistence of the ops which depended up-

on him, and summoned an imme- diate congress of the six circles. His majesty entertained a just ex- pectation, that similar good conse- quences would every where have flowed from his patriotic intentions, and his hard earned merits in his former defence of the whole em- pire. Every retrospect seemed to confirm these hopes; on one side, the past afforded the admonishing picture of the dreadful torrent of an all-subverting enemy; on the other, the noble and heroic stand of the Prussian army, and the immense sacrifices of the blood of his war- riors, and the treasures of his do- minions, made by the magnanimity of his Prussian majesty. Even then, that army was standing on the banks of the Rhine, the bulwark of the whole empire, and to which the enemy did not dare to penetrate; but the subsistence of that army, undertaken by the whole empire, was the sole condition under which it could any longer be effective, and which the physical impossibility of Prussia alone bearing the burden, did absolutely oblige Prussia to insist upon. Was it acceded to, then the future afforded the consolatory prospect of his majesty acting with that known alacrity—that well proved fidelity, in the defence of the empire, and the protection of its constitution, to the utmost of his power? But every impartial ob- server might have easily anticipated the consequences of the refusal of the required subsistence, and the return of the Prussian troops into his majesty's own states. Then might the over-powerful and deli- rious enemy ravage, uncontrolled, throughout the empire, and with plundering and murderous hands, unbridled and unlimited, bear down the

the Germans, their husbandry, all law, order, and property, subvert with anarchic abominations, the constitutions of more imperial states, annihilate princes and nobles, erase the temples of religion, and drive from the hearts of Germans their natural love of virtue and order, by the aids of the seductive allurements of licentiousness, and the precepts of an unfeeling immorality.

All these, and similar observations, so simple and so obvious as they were, did, nevertheless, not succeed in bringing the arrangement for the subsistence of the army to a just conclusion. This proposal was, besides this, sufficiently connected with another arrangement, which his majesty had designed to offer the confederate powers, but which it did not seem good to his imperial majesty to comply with, and which also the other states did not approve.

Moreover, this proposal gave rise to an exception, which, after so many and meritorious actions, such unparalleled sacrifices which his majesty had already made, he, in truth, had no reason to expect, and on which his majesty, not without much sorrow, finds it his duty to make some remarks.

The summoning of the six circles, by the elector of Mentz, has been represented as irregular, though in fact it is strictly constitutional. Measures there were proposed precisely contradictory to the negotiations for the subsistence, and the universal arming of the peasants was resolved on, though it is plain, that such a measure is as inefficient as dangerous, and completely adverse to the object proposed—inefficient against an enemy who presses forward in a mass with an insanity of fury, approved tactics, and a

numerous artillery—dangerous cause, when the peasant is and brought away from his mode of life, the enemy may become his most dangerous fi and finally adverse to the object posed, because such an arrangement wholly incompatible with the ations and subsistence of discipline. These reasons, flowed from the most sincere vision of his majesty, have represented in the most colours; and the most false scandalous motives have been buted to him for his dissent measure; and, in order to the arrangement of the subjects of extending his dominion of secularizing ecclesiastical rics, and of oppressing the have been rumoured to have by him in contemplation; which his majesty's known wisdom, and acknowledged virtue form the best contradiction.

After what is past, every the subsistence being access being now vanished, his does now renounce the same also every resolution of the and of the circles relative to—his majesty has therefore the resolution no longer to give protection to the German but to order his army (extending to different treaties) to return to his own dominion.

At the same time that his finds himself compelled to withdraw a portion of his troops from the defence of those states, for which he has already combated with glory, he expresses the most wishes, that those consequences has above alluded to may not place, but that the exertions

majesty, and of the empire, actually insure to both a full y, and a general and hope. To his majesty refusal consolation, and per-glory, of having, on his ide such sacrifices to the and safety of the emperor, esent awful crisis, as cer-w states in Europe, or of the Germanic body, without much hesitation, lived upon.

March 13, 1794.

*Mr. the Prussian ambassador, lic of the German empire, 7th of April, 1794, de in the name of the sove-ts master,*

His Prussian majesty, in sequence of the repeated the states of the empire, negotiations which are ward between him and the Great Britain, has at last o continue his troops in ent position for the pro- the empire, and this only sidential expectation, that s will speedily proceed to ons upon the measures for ; to his majesty the means ining those troops, for the r the protection of the em- insl a powerful enemy.

*Mr. of the Prussian minister, Hochstetter, to the circles of der Rhine, dated April 5th, respecting the Prussian con-*

*over to the claim made by nte de Lechrbach, in the XXXVI.*

name of his majesty the emperor, as chief of the Germanic corps, the court of Berlin has resolved to declare, that the king would never refuse doing his duty as a member of the empire; but that in the case in which he now is effectively called on, he will conduct himself after the example of the other electors and illustrious co-estates, proportionably to his obligations, according to the Germanic constitution and the ancient usage.

*To the above declaration the baron Hochstetter verbally added,*

1. The greater part of the army, under command of field-marshal Mollendorff, will defer their march into the Prussian dominions, and remain in the places of the Lower Rhine, until farther orders.

2. This delay of the return of the Prussian troops to his majesty's dominions, however, is eventual, and will certainly cease as soon as the hopes of his majesty vanish with respect to the subsidies which he claims from the six anterior circles.

3. His majesty wishes that the states of the six anterior circles might assemble, and deliberate provisionally upon the question, whether measures were to be taken for the purpose of providing for, and maintaining, the army of his Prussian majesty, for the protection of the empire.

4. There is no time to be lost; if his majesty once should give decisive orders for the army to return to his dominions, no remonstrances upon that subject would any longer be listened to.

5. His majesty has to add, to the demands already specified in his declaration to the directors of the treasury

treasury of the empire, the just claim of 1,800,000 rix-dollars, the expenses for the siege of the fortrefs of Mentz.

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*Proclamation published by the emperor, at Brussels, April 17, 1794.*

**E**UROPE has, during five years, witnessed the calamitous state of the wretched kingdom of France; the evils of which, increasing daily, do not as yet hold out a prospect of their termination. The impious faction which tyrannizes over that kingdom, to maintain its monstrous system, has at once attacked, under the specious pretext of reform, religion, the constitution of the state, and all the bases of social order, which this faction has hastened to destroy, substituting in its place a pretended equality, absolutely chimerical.

Resolved invariably to maintain the religion and the constitution which have for ages constituted the happiness of the Belgic provinces, we are desirous, by a rigid law, to support the public wishes, so strongly and generally pronounced by the horror the whole country has displayed at the French revolutionary systems.

The undermentioned articles follow the preamble in the usual form:

1. All persons, whether foreigners or inhabitants, who shall, by conspiracies or plots, attempt to introduce or propagate, in this country, the above system, shall be considered as guilty of high treason, and punished with death.

2. All those who by words or writing shall favour the propagation

of such a system, shall be by imprisonment.

3. The associations, under the titles of clubs and societies, as well as every similar assemblage of men, of whatever denomination may be, bound to inform the five fellows of the object of their meeting, and the names of those who compose it, for the purpose of inserting in writing a consent from five confidential persons, which, however, be merely provisional, under penalty of disobedience to be punished by a fine of one hundred florins. This clause to extend to all cities, towns, and villages of the Imperial Netherlands.

4. Those who shall be convicted of crimes against such as are the above-named crimes, shall have a recompense proportioned to the magnitude of the discoveries they shall make. For the crimes mentioned in the first article, this recompense shall not be less than 1000 crowns.

5. Informing accomplices shall have the same recompense and forgiveness, unless they shall have been the chief and abettors.

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*Address to the inhabitants of the Netherlands.*

The emperor and king, **R**EVEREND fathers in Christ, dear and liege lords, dear and well-beloved: by this dispatch, of the 50th of March, we announced to you the measures which induced us to have recourse to your zeal; the motives which our commissioners have since discussed with you, concern yourselves as

concern us.—Since that perilous of the enemy, which agitated itself on Belgium, and your danger more pressing becomes more necessary to all the means in your power, check the operation of that all the force which it is to collect and combine.

armies have suffered, and need of a large number of ; and although we have seen, much satisfaction as gratifying sacrifices which you have a wish to make, in order to our subjects to enter into engagements, we cannot from you that, as this has been hitherto unproductive unavailing, our army will be no longer in a condition to, against an enemy who such efforts to invade these es, that resistance and those measures which have preserved them.

ould be superfluous to recal recollection, that hitherto military states have furnished or part of those who have d you, and undoubtedly our provinces, so flourishing, so is, and so interested in the of the war, which, unhappily, attended with their annihilation total ruin, will not be rd in furnishing men to assist the defence of those pro-

at the present moment, while ind is not yet elapsed, that refs ourselves to you for an more important even than stained in our dispatch of the pril; we demand for our rom all the provinces, a levy and we are persuaded that, ded with the necessity of sa-

tisfying so just a demand, you will only pause on the mode of carrying it into execution. We do not hesitate to propose to you, that which is most conformable to reason, to justice, and to the general interests and exigencies of the moment, viz. An equitable assessment on all the districts, each of which shall be directed to furnish one man in every hundred, as far as regards its general population, and five men in every hundred capable of bearing arms.

It is to this demand that we immediately expect your consent, and your most efficacious concurrence, leaving, however, to your choice the best means of satisfying it, at the same time informing you, that this extraordinary levy is so necessary, and so pressing, that if in the execution of it you stand in need of our sovereign authority, we are disposed to grant it to you in the most extensive manner.

You have, it is true, offered several times to raise some new corps, but we have considered that it would take too much time to organize them, and to train them to the military exercise and evolutions; while, on the other hand, men mingled among soldiers will immediately render us that service which we expect from them.

You cannot dissemble—your future existence depends perhaps on the speedy execution of such an increase of force—you see your enemies multiply at all points of your frontiers, while our armies moulder away by our victories, and by those glorious contests which they are forced so frequently to maintain.—Besides, the efforts that you will make in this respect, cannot be a grievous burden on a

country so populous, and on a nation formerly recognized as brave and warlike.

Given at our head-quarters, at Tournay, 26th May, 1794.

To our reverend fathers, &c.

(Signed) FRANCIS.

—These are the watch will organize you ; and and your courage will ne our hopes.

*Exhortation of the prince  
bourg.*

*The last paper issued by the Austrian government, exhorting the people of the Austrian Netherlands to rise in a mass, was dated Brussels, June 23, 1794, and concludes thus :*

THE emperor's armies are still intire: victory has often crowned their glorious efforts; but they are wearied by continual battles; and, perhaps, the inactivity of the Belgians may diminish their ardour, when they see that it is not felt by the nation they are defending. A rapid march into the enemy's territory presented prospects more brilliant; but glory was sacrificed to your safety. Powerful re-inforcements are expected; but the danger, though momentary, is urgent; you have no time to lose. The general arming, to which we invite Belgium, implies neither a regular incorporating with the army, nor taking up arms for any length of time, nor even a difficult war; for disciplined and courageous armies support you; and the august brother of our master, the accustomed organ of his sentiments in your favour, will guide your efforts, and march at your head. Merely to arm, is at once to destroy the audacity and the hopes of the enemy.

Religion, constitution, property, the sovereign who wears you all in his heart, who came among you without guards, who trusted himself to your love, who esteems you

German brothers and  
OUR valourous arm  
quitted the ferti  
which they have sustain  
severe combats, during  
campaigns, for the pre  
your property, the rep  
lives, the security of  
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and to save those pro  
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at the expence of t  
which has flowed for  
five years, the glory of  
by the generous sacrif  
lives and of their me  
they sacrificed those c  
which attach men of dis  
not less than yourself  
homes, and to their co  
while they voluntarily  
all the domestic happin  
a right to expect.

The inexhaustible re  
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ties, with the bands o  
ty; its innumerable co  
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and who, by lavishing  
purchase the fleeting sh  
imaginary liberty; the  
a blinded people, who  
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any more than to the ps

good prince; the secret which we hardly know  
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ious representatives, men  
his very people see, now  
und abhor, the authors of  
unded and unceasing mi-  
these causes have forced  
to retreat to your fron-

here that they are now  
weakened, but not van-  
fatigued by an unequal  
at not humbled by dis-  
ent, nor subdued by des-  
is there that they form,  
e, an advanced wall of  
r the Germanic liberty;  
a rampart for your reli-  
laws, and your families.  
e is the line of separation  
he total loss and the pro-  
between the overthrow  
maintenance of all these;  
misery and happiness.—  
German brothers and  
In you will depend the  
possible for your deliver-  
e or die for your defence.  
a German prince, full of  
not less for the safety of  
ry, than the preservation  
arriors, I call upon you.  
us subsistence, bring us  
from your magazines.—  
t in forwarding to us these  
recours, you secure at the  
your approaching harvest.  
with us your savings.—To  
at we want, employ the  
of your churches. Give  
sils and vases of silver to  
ror, for the pay of your  
. You will receive re-  
the payment in due form,  
will be paid interest for  
niary aids you have thus  
. Replace the resources

of Belgium, which have been cut  
off from us, and now flow for our  
enemies. Nurse and relieve, with  
a solicitude full of charity, our sick  
and wounded.

Rise, courageous inhabitants of  
the fair countries of the Rhine and  
the Moselle! Arm yourselves, ye  
valourous men! Line your rivers  
and your defiles! Accompany our  
convoys! Watch over our maga-  
zines! Rise by thousands, and fight  
with us for your altars, for your  
habitations, for your emperor, for  
your liberty! We will not lead you  
beyond the rivers of your country!  
We will not depopulate your pro-  
vinces; but you will secure the  
positions at our backs, and you will  
guard your own confines. Assu-  
redly, German citizens, we are not  
deceived with respect to you; we  
have reposed our confidence in the  
good sense of Germans; we trust  
to the hearts and the blood of the  
German nation. For three years  
your emperor has borne the heavy  
burden, and distant nations have  
fought for your defence. You your-  
selves must see, that your turn to  
take arms is now come. Then I,  
as commander-in-chief of a faithful,  
approved, and courageous army,  
promise, in the name of my troops—  
To spare you, we will observe a  
rigorous discipline; for your hap-  
piness, we will shed the last drop  
of our blood; as we have fought  
for you, we will die for you; and  
never shall the free, the happy Ger-  
many, bow down the head beneath  
the steel of the guillotine.—Never  
shall her peaceful habitations ex-  
change their generous morals, their  
tranquil simplicity, their guardian  
laws of property, their consoling  
religion, for the licentiousness, the  
calumniating spirit, the legalized



system of spoil, the incredulity imposed by force, of the French.

But if, on the other hand, you should be so unfortunate, like those inhabitants of the Belgic provinces, who now groan in the bosom of calamity, deprived of their property, of their liberty, of their altars, as to suffer yourselves to be misled by secret seducers, we shall find ourselves obliged to pass the Rhine, to leave you a prey to your enemies, and to withdraw from you, without ceremony, whatever the enemy might find among you for their subsistence.

Done at our head-quarters, at Fouron-le-Compte, July 30, 1794.

(Signed) The PRINCE OF CO-  
BOURG, Field-  
marshal.

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*Note delivered, by the Austrian envoy at the diet of Ratisbon, on the part of the emperor, to demand the sense of the Germanic states, respecting the necessity of arming all the inhabitants on the frontiers of Germany, and the furnishing of a triple contingent on the part of the said states.*

**A**LL Europe knows the manifold and just grounds which have compelled the Germanic empire, united under its supreme chief, to declare a general war, for the maintenance of the most binding covenants and the most sacred treaties; for the preservation of social order, from a wild, destructive, and most anarchic tyranny, falsely called freedom; for the defence of an acknowledged religion from pestilential atheism; for the support of the constitution of the empire against

an arbitrary, horrible, & revolutionary power; up the Imperial honours, the Imperial privilege of protection and future the Imperial privilege of frontiers, and for obtainable and entire satisfaction the common enemy of order, against the most turbulent of all the benefactors of social happiness, and the despots and violators of sacred rights of mankind.

Equally well known ferent splendid victories first day of the opening campaign, which were upon blow by the able bravery of the Ge on the Rhine, the Ruhr the Mayne, the Moselle were happily followed verance of the united I invaded in the most L ner, and the emancipation other German districts ant countries, from t false French liberty; th Condé, the re-capture and important fortresses the taking of Valenciennes, &c.

But this campaign, for battles, sieges, and could not bring back th a more equitable and sense of reason, princi tion, towards the Germ offended to the highes That faction, hostile to race, which styles itself al convention of France daily her power by the most terrible measureless arbitrary confiscation the plundering of the the rich, having already property of the clergy

men, and by the most desperate of a general requisition of all fighting men, supported most terrific instrument, the

violent decrees, compelling people to rise in a mass, have additional force and strength in numerous hostile armies now in the field, so that they succeeded after renovated, daily, and silent attacks, notwithstanding the steadiest countenance and constant resistance, on the part of German warriors, to re-take their superiority a part of the empire; a loss which, in all probability, would not have ensued, if contingents of the empire had been properly sent.

A general requisition of all the men effected a great supplement and changed entirely the mode of making war, increased the resources and difficulties of this co-war, and seems in some degree to necessitate the rising in arms of the inhabitants of the provinces of the Netherlands, and Austria, Brisgau, and other provinces in order to procure safety to the property of the loyal subjects of the empire, against the depredations branded with the wildest cruelty, occasioned by an enemy who, to despair, by the misery reigning in their own country, emboldened by their recent successes.

signed) COLLOREDO.  
January, 1794.

*Copy of an Imperial decree of requisition, dated Vienna, the 11th June, 1794, and presented to*

*the dieture, in the diet of Raab.*

SINCE the extraordinary manner in which the French seem determined to carry on this war, namely, by violence and force, to oblige all the men of their nation, able to carry arms, to march against the combined armies, by which means they increase their hostile forces to extraordinary numbers; and since the danger to which the German empire is exposed from the invasions, which such innumerable hordes are induced to make, from motives of hunger and desire of plunder, measures are required more than ever to strengthen the military forces of the empire: it is therefore advisable, that the army of the empire should be reinforced by a regular and well-equipped army, procured by the means of subsidies.

His Imperial majesty, therefore, proposes to the empire to enter into a treaty with his Prussian majesty, in consideration of reasonable subsidies, to furnish a certain specified corps of his troops for the service of the general cause. His Prussian majesty, from his character of a generous and distinguished member of the Germanic empire, will undoubtedly oppose no obstacle to such a treaty, particularly as there exists already a corps of such brave troops (over and above the number of Prussian troops serving as contingents in the army of the empire) on the very spot where they might be serviceable to the general cause, and ready for action in a very short time. These subsidies ought to be offered in ready money, and his Imperial majesty

to be authorized to enter into a negotiation with the king of Prussia for that purpose, in the name of the empire.

His Imperial majesty, for the reason above stated, requests that the contingent troops, still due from several of the states of the empire, should be sent into the field against the most cruel of all enemies, as soon as possible.

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*Substance of a decree of the Imperial court, dated Vienna, 13th August, 1794, and presented soon afterwards to the diet at Ratibon.*

UNFORTUNATELY, since the month of last January, the necessity of increasing the forces of the empire is become most urgent.

The war, on the part of the enemy, from the violent measures taken by the ruling party in France, and from the formidable superiority of numbers of their armies, having taken the appearance of the most obstinate offensive war, renders even the defensive operation of the combined powers not only painful and difficult, but requires an extraordinary exertion, combination, and union of power, to resist the destructive enterprizes of enthusiastic hordes, encouraged by various and alarming successes. Which exertion and extraordinary efforts, on our side, are the more pressing, and require the speedier to be put into execution, as there is no time to be lost, lest the evil should rise to a degree, which would render the united forces of the empire insufficient to stop its progress.

The country being in danger, ought to sound the alarm bell

throughout the German empire.—The measure of a quintuple contingent cannot but be an afflicting effort for the paternal heart of your Imperial sovereign. His majesty, however, hopes that such a measure, considering the present urgent circumstances, and the population of the German empire, will not be looked upon as extravagant. The emperor thinks it almost unnecessary farther to declare, that, on account of the sacrifices made, during the three last obstinate campaigns, in men and money, his majesty, without the co-operation of the states of the empire, is totally incapable by himself to continue the protection of the empire, his domestic resources being entirely exhausted, by having already strained all the political nerves of his hereditary dominions, for the defence and protection of the empire.

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*Memorial from the Imperial minister, count Schlick, to the assembly of the circle of the Upper Rhine, presented on the 16th of August, 1794.*

THE undersigned Imperial minister is expressly charged to submit, instantly, to the illustrious diet of the circle of the Upper Rhine, the following most important observations:

His Imperial majesty has not failed to make, to the most powerful individual members of the empire, all the representations, admonitions, and demands which were to be expected from his sincere love for his country, and from his active care for the general welfare of the empire. Every thing which the Imperial

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measures; unless we  
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and provinces of the  
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circles, proportioned to the danger,  
were proposed, because these pro-  
vinces were most exposed to the  
devastation of the enemy; because  
the resolutions of the whole empire  
would require time, and the distant  
states, by means of their complicated  
forms, would save themselves as  
long as possible from any active co-  
operation. Although this proposal  
was generally admitted to be proper  
as well as constitutional, yet, through  
certain formalities, it has failed of  
its effect.

The house of Austria was flatter-  
ed, that after the election of the em-  
peror, grand and energetic measures  
would be adopted by the whole em-  
pire; but in the mean time, from  
the above prudent precautions be-  
ing neglected, those provinces were  
left totally defenceless, when it was  
found necessary to remove the body  
of Imperial troops commanded by  
count d'Erback; the consequence  
was, that Montz fell into the hands  
of the enemy, a misfortune of which  
the magnitude may be estimated,  
when we consider that almost the  
whole of a second campaign was  
spent in attempts to retake it.

On the declaration of war several  
of the states represented the extreme  
urgency of public affairs, and re-  
solved, that without losing a single  
moment in preparation, an Imperial  
army should be regularly constituted.  
In order to carry this resolution into  
effect, his Imperial majesty permit-  
ted his contingent to join the allied  
powers. But the want of money  
equalling this accession to their force,  
it was agreed, that the states of the  
empire which could not raise and  
equip soldiers, should furnish their  
contingents in specie, according to  
a very moderate computation.

The

The Imperial court, with the strictest honour and punctuality and much to its prejudice, has replaced those contingents. The circles would have found it inconvenient and oppressive, if the mode of furnishing their respective contingents had been adopted which is prescribed by the decree of 1681. Some states have renewed their application for a diminution of their quota in the matricular registers of the empire; others have urged their inability; and some of the most active states have withheld their contingents, under the most frivolous of all pretexts, that an Imperial army had not been formed.

After the victories of the allied army in the circle of Burgundy, victories, purchased by torrents of blood and a profusion of treasure, the king of Prussia, at the commencement of the present campaign, threatened to withdraw his troops, assigning, as a reason, that he had not a subsidy for their support. In this interval of inactivity the enemy procured reinforcements, and became exceedingly numerous and formidable. Under these circumstances the only alternative was to insist upon the inhabitants of the circles to rise in a mass, and in order to obviate every difficulty, to expedite the organization of the army in a constitutional manner.

Thus his Imperial majesty has uniformly and invariably acted as became his dignity, and the paternal care which he has always evinced for his subjects. But the arming of the inhabitants on the frontiers was a measure which proved abortive. Some of the states had not sufficient confidence in their subjects, and others dreaded the expence.

The Imperial army incomplete at this moment, of the empire are already, and the enemy is every where. The state or some say, cannot, and that is the only which they evade the of the empire.

This then is the sum the Imperial and royal much desired of the empire it has expected in full of the public spirit and their country; this is the pressing instances where imperial majesty has generated by his own example world knows how much has done for the defence, and for the common the first breaking out of sent to the field a new well-provided army; in all secondary views, by giving any other engagements those which were judged of general utility. The empire being decreed own detriment, relieve from the performance of contingents; at the first blow which affected the majesty sent speedily to the army of the reformed own hereditary states, tained it at his own and thus he employed force of his house to sustain his body.

The Imperial troops singly, and without arms covered the circle of thus have hindered the penetrating as far as by ascending the Hills. They have conducted valiantly in those quarters.

share even in the re-taking of Metz. Notwithstanding the granted immunities of his majesty has given in Flanders, and in the of Brisgaw, the first useful of arming the inhabitants; the first proposition of organizing a separate army of the empire immediately furnished an auxiliary contingent of 37,000. This conduct merits confidence the more, in that the other who take hold of every pre-emptive refusal of their contingents, if it had been in the place of the Imperial court, and possessed of such a position, acknowledged by the emperor and the empire, and maintained upon every occasion would have regarded the offer of such a succour, under the name of a contingent, as an invasion of their rights, as menaces to the Germanic body. In putting on foot such numbers, the great expence of arming them with the current of the empire, the events of which have succeeded each other with such rapidity and changes, have required immense resources which it was necessary to send to the hereditary states into the provinces; and, to supply this, the emperor has sacrificed, with an unparalleled generosity, his own resources, the voluntary subsidies of his faithful subjects, and his individualities. These sacrifices ought to be regarded as equally great and difficult. His Imperial majesty, besides his numerous contingent, has drawn up a considerable force from Philippsbourg, for the defence of the empire. He has employed, for the protec-

tion of the Germanic body, 20,000 men, as stipulated in the treaty with his Prussian majesty, notwithstanding the important services which those troops might have rendered in defending his own possessions in the Low Countries. He still undertakes, however, to supply them with bread and forage.

Another sacrifice, of no less importance, and of greater prejudice to his majesty's hereditary states, is, the Imperial court has not applied to the court of Great Britain, its faithful ally, to oblige the 62,000 Prussians, subsidized by the maritime powers, to march into the Low Countries. According to the express terms of the treaty, these troops were at the disposal of these powers, and to act in support of the common cause. They would have been employed to the greatest advantage in the Low Countries, and by co-operating with the allied armies, might have averted the calamities which have taken place.

These extraordinary efforts; these grievous and irreparable sacrifices which have not been seconded with energy and alacrity, can only protract for a short period the last melancholy blow, which the empire has too much reason to apprehend, from the conquest of the provinces on the banks of the Rhine, and on the other side that river. However, as his majesty's states are in fact drained of their men and money, by the favourable, as well as by the adverse occurrences of this destructive war, the extreme remedy must now be resorted to, in order to prevent the annihilation of our troops, should we be inclined still to parry off the mortal blow, which threatens the subversion of the constitution and government of Germany.

The

The enemy, availing themselves of the perplexed state of public affairs, increase their exertions in all quarters, and seem determined to prevent the defection of the armies, depressed by a series of fatigue and defeats. Their progress has been so rapid, and their army so formidable, that the Imperial and royal court will be unavoidably obliged to withdraw its troops, and to station them within its own frontiers, if the empire does not think proper to oppose to the irruption of the French an adequate force, and to co-operate with his majesty at this awful and momentous crisis. His majesty's solitary efforts would be fruitless, if he were to attempt to cover the frontiers from Basle to Luxembourg; and it cannot be denied, that an army, exhausted by fatigue, without opportunity of recruiting itself, receiving assistance from no one, and at a distance from home, ought to make an effort to reach their own country, where they would be better furnished with necessaries, and supported by the faithful inhabitants of the Imperial and royal states. It would appear at least equitable to hazard his last effort in defence of his own dominions, when we have before our eyes the melancholy truth, that, with the most upright and sympathetic intentions, it is impossible to protect his friends and neighbours.

The spiritual and temporal communities of the superior and lower classes are still possessed of treasures which remain untouched, but which might be beneficially applied. The people of property of every description have a credit, which they ought to lend to raise great sums of money, to complete that, which the house of Austria, after such an im-

menſe influx of money into the empire, only drawn from its hereditary dominions, is not to afford by itself.

It is only by such money, that the standing army can be supplied with what is necessary for their protection; the fortresses can be put in a proper state of defence, and the masses, who are to hold the frontiers, will be supported.

The undersigned minister plenipotentiary is charged by his emperor and king most solemnly, in his Imperial majesty's name, that, if the Imperial court is abandoned at this decision, it will not be able to save itself; but it will console itself with the idea of having done all that possibly can be done for it, and that the Imperial court is obliged to make it respond to God and to posterity, in the misfortunes that will thereby crush the provinces of the Imperial empire, and for which may then spread all over Europe, by the violation of principles of anarchy. The Imperial court will make those who, by negligence, or even by mistaken views, shall have neglected to exert themselves for the general preservation of the empire, responsible.

(Signed)

COUNT VOX

Done at Frankfort,  
Aug. 12, 1794.

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*The emperor issued on the 28th of October, directors of the circle*

*containing an exhortation to  
losing effect.*

**THAT** vigorous measures should be taken to recruit the army of the empire the number of troops of which consisted hitherto, which effected in the speediest possible, that the reinforcements could arrive at the army on 1st February next.

That all the states of the empire have already troops upon established footing, should in pressing and dangerous times be immediately to join the imperial army for the defence of the empire.

That his Imperial majesty expects that no state will shew, from any partial interest, or from other considerations, any backwardness contributing to the general welfare of the empire. His majesty never has manifested any suspicions respecting this point, but unfortunately experience had not been so kind to him, that from the time the number of the army had been decided to be of triple the number of the former establishment, that the emperor has not yet been able to accomplish this day.

His Imperial majesty, however, has placed his confidence in those who are invested with the functions of the circles, hoping they will take the most vigorous measures to enforce the recruiting of the army of the empire.

The circles of the empire having decided, early in November, the following circular letter from the emperor, relative to the real percentage of their contingents for the army of the empire.

Count Schlick, the emperor's minister with the circle of Franconia, also presented a memorial to the assembly of that circle, in substance the same with that presented to the circle of the Upper Rhine, on the 16th of August; and containing complaints of the enormous extraction of specie which has been made from the hereditary states of Austria for the countries of the empire, and of the scarcity of money which necessarily results from this, even for the pay of the Imperial army: because, the circles not having provided either for the subsistence of that army, or the regulation of the price of necessaries, those necessaries either fail entirely, or cannot be procured for the troops under an enormous price. These circumstances necessitate the proposition which is the object of this memorial, made in the name of the Imperial court to the circle of Franconia.

"To put the subsistence to be furnished by the country into speedy requisition, according to the existing necessity.—To accept in return an indemnity, regulated according to the medium price for the last ten years; the payment to be made in notes, instead of money, which it is absolutely impossible to furnish at the present moment."

The circle of Franconia immediately commenced its deliberations upon this proposition; but, at the same time, testified its desire to see an end to this ruinous and bloody war; in which respect, it is seconded by the other circles of the empire, particularly that of the Upper Rhine; which, on the 14th of November, sent the strongest and most pressing representations to the emperor and to the king of Prussia,



fia, to obtain their effectual concurrence to a pacification.

*The note delivered by the Imperial minister, count de Schlick, to the states of the Upper Rhine, on the 16th of August, 1794, in which the emperor claims a speedy supply of money and men against France, was also delivered to the circles of Franconia and Suabia in the end of September, where the Prussian minister seconded it with all his power, and presented the following note.*

**H**IS Prussian majesty secondes the request of his Imperial majesty, since both courts, after having indefatigably continued the war, and made immense sacrifices, have a right to require of the other states, that they do oppose with all their might the danger which increases every day, and to furnish without delay every thing that Germanic good sense and spirit deem requisite.

Meanwhile, his majesty the king of Prussia cannot but signify, that the Imperial court laid a false construction on the treaty for a subsidy between Prussia and England; who, though she pledged herself to pay the subsidy, has no right to dispose at her own pleasure of the Prussian army, which is forthwith to remain to defend Germany in that quarter where his Prussian majesty will deem it most expedient, or wherever the allied powers have agreed, or will agree, with Prussia to let it act.

*Conclusion of the circle of Franconia, addressed to their majesties the em-*

*peror and the king of the purpose of obtaining or at least a speedy truce in November, 1794.*

**C**ONSIDERING the dangerous turn which war against France has taken, several events which follow one another; considering the present danger which is immediately approaching, with rapid frontiers of the circle of Franconia considering farther, no fictive apprehensions; the Imperial majesty has reitreated, that it might the august house of Austria find itself so much weakened, be under the necessity to its own frontiers, incapable any longer to resist the incursions of the Germans, and that his majesty Prussia has likewise rendered considerable number of his troops from the theatre of war to its own dominions; satisfied that, according to the circumstances, the remainder may be withdrawn; and, concerning internal concerns of the empire, to render the repose and tranquility re-establishment at least necessary at this period; the general circle of a repeated proposition of a most serene highness the Duke of Saxe-Cobourg-Saalfeld, Duke of Meiningen, as a venerable person, on the part of Henrich, has unanimously

It is understood, that there can be no doubt, that there is by no design to encroach upon the important operations of the empire upon the important qu-

ry, under the dangerous  
ices which have occurred,  
itself, not to lose sight of  
any order which ought to  
be agreeable to the consid-  
eration with relation to the  
peace.

whereas, it cannot be un-  
suspicious to any single  
of the empire, and less still to  
the national union of a whole  
whose union has for its ori-  
ginal end, the public  
safety of the most urgent

and when its deliverance  
is at stake, to  
submit to the supreme chief  
of the empire, as likewise to the  
co-states and the respective  
in order most humbly to  
his majesty, by a represen-  
tation as well of the in-  
terests of this circle, as of  
the danger constantly in-  
flicted from without, to take such  
prompt and efficacious measures;  
his majesty shall judge proper;  
which, by means of a pre-  
sente, the cessation of hostili-  
ties an ever desirable peace  
as much as possible, ob-

erwards to interest in the  
inner his Prussian majesty,  
the co-state of the empire,  
especially this circle, to co-  
operate to this end by an active  
, and to favour the desired  
particularly to solicit him,  
in all respect and urgency, not  
to draw his brave troops, at  
least as it concerns the consti-  
tution of the political  
of the empire and the circle,  
the defence of the Germanic  
at the most critical and  
dangerous moment, but to

continue generously to employ them  
with their whole force, wherever  
they shall be wanted.

1. Farther to expedite, with all  
possible dispatch, this proposition to  
his Imperial majesty, by means of  
an edict, and to transmit a copy  
thereof without delay, besides a  
memorial for the information of his  
excellency count Von Schlick, privy  
counsellor and minister of his Im-  
perial majesty; and to transmit to  
the Prussian minister, resident here,  
the letter of solicitation to his Prus-  
sian majesty, accompanied by a  
copy, with a request to expedite  
the said letter as soon as possible.

2. To commence a sincere and  
frank correspondence, on this im-  
portant business, with the circles of  
the empire, namely, the electorates  
of the Rhine, Upper Saxony, Ba-  
varia, Silesia, and the Upper Rhine,  
by communicating to them this pre-  
sent resolution of the circle, as like-  
wise the above-mentioned letters of  
solicitation to their Imperial and  
Prussian majesties.

3. Finally, not to be dissuaded  
by the measures taken by these pre-  
sents, for pursuing most eagerly the  
conclusions of the empire, and the  
lawful re-establishment of its poli-  
tical state; and from continuing,  
without delay, the preparations of  
defence, in order to remain always  
faithful to all duties, which ought  
to be more and more acknowledged  
in a situation of affairs like the pre-  
sent, for the sake of self-preservation,  
as likewise for the general and  
local relations of the state.

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*The following is the answer of the  
king of Prussia to the representa-  
tions of the circle of the Upper  
Rhine.*

*Rhine, in favour of peace, made on the 14th of November, 1794, and in substance the same with the conclusion of the circle of Franconia.*

*laxing requisition of count enberg, the Prussian minister, was circulated.*

**W**E are much affected by the present dangerous crisis that involves the German empire, and with the warmest degree of sympathy we are fully convinced, that peace only is the most certain means of saving it from the effects of an unhappy issue of a just war of defence. Nothing, therefore, can be more important, or more agreeable, to us than an energetic contribution of every exertion in our power, for the obtaining of so desirable an object as speedily as possible; and, previous to this, a suspension of arms. We shall willingly seize every occasion that may contribute towards a happy issue of affairs, hoping that the representation submitted to us, and sent to the emperor, by the laudable assembly of the circle, will not fail of its object.—In the mean while, our whole army shall remain upon the Rhine and the Mayne, to cover and defend the contiguous parts of the empire, and the right shore of that river.

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*After the above proceedings, the twenty thousand Prussians, who were on their march to the frontiers of Poland, received orders from Berlin, to return to their former situation on the banks of the Rhine; on account of that event, and in order to prepare the necessary provisions for them in the places through which they were to march, the fol-*

**W**HEREAS the motives induced his Prussian majesty to order a corps of 20,000 men, his army, destined for the defence of the German empire, to march into Southern Prussia, have at been removed by the happy circumstances which happened in those countries: his majesty, besides convinced, that, in order to procure the accomplishment of his anxious wishes of several states of the empire to obtain speedy peace, his majesty thought it indispensably necessary to oppose the enemy the most vigorous preparations of war, and to prevent their farther progress. His majesty, therefore, has come to a resolution to order this corps of his troops to return to their former position on the Rhine for the purpose of securing the German frontiers against dangers with which they were threatened.

The undersigned minister to his Prussian majesty, not due time to make formal requisitions, in order to procure passage for those troops through different places on their route which might in a great measure oppose their salutary march, requests, that by this, his undersigned requisition, these troops should be permitted to pass through the different towns on their road towards their destination, also to find quarters every where, and to be supplied with provisions and other articles of necessaries according to the regulations e-

former march to join  
my on the Rhine.  
Francfort on the Mayne,  
ber 21, 1794.

HARDENBERG,  
er of state to his Prussian  
esty, and his directing  
ster of both the duke-  
s in Franconia.

coasts, or to any part of the king-  
dom where they may be required.

*Letter from the committee of public  
safety, of the national convention,  
to the republic of Venice.*

*Paris, 1st Sansculottide,  
2d year of the republic.*

*document was published at  
n August, 1794, relative  
sent circumstances of the  
sitying that since all Italy,  
the king's dominions, is  
l with an invasion, his  
ating the preservation of  
lic religion, the lives and  
of his subjects, the tran-  
sity the state, and the glory  
ny, most at heart, has re-  
l ordained as follows :*

universities in the king-  
m of Naples shall imme-  
ish 16,000 men capable  
arms, from 20 to 45  
ge, to serve during the

he barons, bishops, &c.  
ited to exert their utmost  
and influence to form 60  
of auxiliaries. These  
are to consist of 300  
for the purpose of  
owards the pontifical es-  
are afterwards to enjoy  
antages.

ity squadrons of horse,  
each, are to be formed  
sinces, consisting of vo-  
und to serve during the

other corps enlisted in  
hold themselves in  
to march towards the  
XXVI.

WE appointed, as envoy from  
the French republic to you,  
the citizen Lallemand.—The evi-  
dence which we have received of  
the good conduct of this republican,  
in the functions that have been en-  
trusted to him, have persuaded us  
that he will discharge, to our satis-  
faction and yours, the duties which  
our instructions and the evident in-  
terest of the two nations have im-  
posed upon him.

He is ordered to make known to  
the republic and the government  
of Venice, that the political princi-  
ples of the French people are those  
of justice and equality between the  
two nations; which can alone  
guarantee the safety, liberty, and  
respective independence, of the  
two people.

We invite the senate to attach  
the credit to the declarations of  
citizen Lallemand, in the name of  
the French republic, and to believe  
that he is particularly recommended  
to maintain the friendship that ex-  
ists, and ought ever to exist, be-  
tween the two republics.

(Signed) THURIOT.  
COCHON.  
CARNOT.  
PRIEUR.  
ESCHASSEREAUX.  
THREILHARD.  
DELMAS.

Q

*Answer*

## 226 ANNUAL REGISTER, 1794.

*Anfwer of the senate of Venice to the above address, sent to citizen Lallemand, Nov. 24, 1794.*

THE senate receives, with real satisfaction, and as a testimony of the continuation of the friendly correspondence which has hitherto subsisted between the French nation and that of Venice, the note which you transmitted on the 13th instant, to make known the character of envoy to us, with which you are invested.

The senate has been extremely pleased with the contents of the credentials and the instructions which you have to cultivate a good correspondence between the two nations, as well as the assurances of the continuation of the personal dispositions, which you have evinced for several years at Naples and Messina, in favour of our republic; dispositions of which, we hope, you will continue to give us farther proofs, during the duration of the ministry which is entrusted to you.

The senate, invariable and constant in the maxims of an exact neutrality, avail themselves with eagerness of this opportunity for assuring you, that they will continue to observe it with the same care. You will consequently be persuaded, that you will enjoy, conformably to the ministerial character with which you are invested, the suitable privileges as well as the protection which the laws accord to foreigners and natives who reside in our states, maintain a peaceable conduct, and conform to our usages. Fully relying on the just reputation you enjoy, we flatter ourselves, you will transmit to your government this expression of our sentiments, and

at the same time adding, the pleasure we experienced in this opportunity of renewing our sincere wish to preserve ancient friendship and good standing. Highly sensible flattering assurances contain your note, we feel much satisfaction in rendering justice to the conduct of monsieur Jacob, his residence as chargé d'affaires, and for the care he has taken further the cause of amity and harmony between the two nations. We have therefore sent to Jacob the customary present, a particular mark of our great consideration, and affection.

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*Address of the stadtholder to the States.*

High and mighty lords,

WHEN, in the beginning of last year, this state was expectedly attacked by the French and the enemy had, in a short time, nearly approached the last frontier of the province of Holland, I thought it incumbent on me, in consequence of the duties entrusted to my care, to lay my views before your highnesses, as also the grounds of confidence in the salvation of the country. This I proposed to the assembly of your high might on the 28th February, 1793, and, in that moment of dangerous and inexpressible happiness of seeing the spirit of the nation roused, and how the inhabitants, heart and hand, and how effectually our allies co-operated: it has pleased the Supreme Being to

eful issue, by driving the  
om our territory, and by  
ering arms of the states;  
friends and allies, remo-  
icat of war into the ene-  
country. We now see,  
high and mighty lords,  
ful revolution in the state  
attended with the loss  
eater part of our advan-  
enemy having penetrated  
need near our frontiers;  
ad of our carrying on the  
sively, they have forced us  
our own defence.  
nder such circumstances,  
choves all those who more  
ar a share in conducting  
airs to step forward, with  
lfiguified sentiments, and  
take the lead of the good  
ts, and by such means ce-  
nutual confidence, with-  
h the country cannot be

his view, I once more ap-  
ore you in this assembly,  
re to your high mighti-  
m the bottom of my heart,  
n ready and firmly deter-  
pported by the wise and  
measures of your high  
tes, and the lords of the  
: provinces, to sacrifice  
n defence of our country;  
to assure you, that I do  
ans despair of saving the  
re, with additional courage  
tude; under the goodness  
lence, employ the ready  
tual means in our power;  
ly to declare to your high  
les, that I hold the least  
f such necessary exertions,  
y indication of desponden-  
ear, as inevitably tending  
the irretrievable loss of our

I will, no more than last year,  
conceal the real danger: the true  
knowledge of this danger being re-  
quisite to call in aid every possible  
means of resistance. Still were we  
to consult the history of our repub-  
lic, we should find circumstances of  
peril, compared to which, the pre-  
sent appears to vanish.

Our brave ancestors fought and  
obtained their liberty and independ-  
ence in the midst of such difficul-  
ties, as human foresight could not  
reasonably hope to surmount; not-  
withstanding which, did they con-  
stantly spurn at all the insidious o-  
vertures offered them; they thought  
themselves more secure in manfully  
facing the dangers of war, than  
suffering themselves to be deceived  
by a treacherous peace. While  
king Philip and his adherents con-  
tinued to be considered as ene-  
mies, our forefathers had to defend  
themselves only against open hos-  
tilities; but had the enemy in ap-  
pearance become friends and bro-  
thers, the weapons of deceit, se-  
duction, and corruption, would have  
proved far more alarming than a  
state of open warfare. Are we to  
suppose the present situation worse  
than that in 1672, when not only  
single towns, but three provinces  
of the union were in possession of  
the enemy? Or that of 1747, when  
all Dutch Flanders and the strong  
frontier of Bergen-op-Zoom were  
lost? Or lastly, than that of 1793,  
the recent events of which are too  
well known? If neither our an-  
cestors nor ourselves, during those  
perils, shewed symptoms of des-  
pondency, how disgraceful would  
it be in us, under our present cir-  
cumstances, did we enter on the  
defence of the state without ener-  
gy and determined courage! Were

we to compare the means of defence actually in the power of the republic, with those in former wars, we are most assuredly no less in a state prepared to repel the attacks of the enemy, than we were in the above-mentioned periods. The greater part of our frontiers is covered, and continues to be improved; we have an army on foot, who have signalized themselves by their bravery during the two last campaigns, and who will act, if possible, more bravely when fighting for their all. The cheerfulness, joined to the courage of our seamen, hath shewn itself in the year 1793.— Neither is the republic without allies, who, as far as their own situation may admit, will strengthen her: but it is of infinitely more weight than to depend on human efforts, to consider that the God of heaven and earth, having so often brought about our deliverance, when the prospect seemed most dreary, we have at this time good grounds to hope, under him, for the achievement of honourable and glorious deeds.

If there are in the republic such unnatural and degenerate Dutchmen, who wish for the approach of the enemy, because they may imagine it will procure them the means of gratifying their private vindictive spirit; who, with such views, endeavour to intimidate their fellow-citizens against their taking up arms in the common cause, let us consider them as internal foes, and watch their criminal intentions with no less vigilance than we do those of our enemy.

The pacific system which this republic, as a commercial state, hath ever adopted, I hold to be most to

her advantage; but God forbid we should wish for peace at the expence of our security and independence: if we must lose the inestimable blessings, through the superior force of an enemy, it will be an event sincerely to be lamented; but should we make a voluntary surrender of the same, should we become an object of contempt to all nations.

That this state hath given France no cause for war is notorious to the world. That people among themselves persecute Christian worship, overthrow the ancient throne of their kings, and arbitrarily dispose of the freedom, lives and property of their fellow-countrymen. Our state saw all this with inexpressible grief, it is true, but never had the most distant wish of declaring war against the opinions of this deluded people. In spite of our moderation, have we been suddenly and most unjustly attacked; this attack having been preceded by a decree of the national convention, whereby it appears, that the reason of this destructive war, is to put all countries and nations on a footing of equality with the miseries of France; namely, to destroy the religious worship of our forefathers, the fundamental laws of the state, and to work a total subversion of our true freedom. These, high and mighty lords, are the objects for which we should enter into a treaty of capitulation, in case the war is to terminate agreeable to the enemy's views; however, these very objects must never be made the subject of treaties, but for their better security and preservation. With regard to myself, I know no medium between a vigorous resistance

fillanimous submission; and not for a single moment the choice of your high might that of the states of the province and of all the well-disposed country. Let every individual whatever be his religious or principles (provided he is no to his country and to his interest) rally round the standard of the common cause country: let every one with- in the circle contribute towards her on to the utmost of his : let the necessary supplies be furnished: and I have hopes, I say, I trust with confidence, we shall be able to defend our- selves, under Providence, pro- tect our honour, and promote the utility of the Netherlands. I, high and mighty lords, the duty I owe to the whole to a people among whom I am born and educated, for whose defence a great number of efforts sacrificed their lives, whose welfare I am ready to shed the last drop of blood, and for both my sons have given of their not being unworthy the they bear: I with them requiring more than the co-operation of my fellow-citizens, and the of my house will be their li- berty, independence, and perma- nence.

WILLIAM, PRINCE OF ORANGE.

at, July 14, 1794.

*from the register of the states  
at. Monday, July 14.—Frat  
tio.*

The deputies of the several  
provinces having deliberated

upon the address and propositions of his highness the prince Stadtholder, fully accord with him in the noble sentiments therein manifested; de- claring, at the same time, that they have no doubt of the co-operation of the different provinces at so cri- tical a period as the present, and of their determination to use all their efforts in aid and support of his highness, by the sacrifice of their lives and properties in the defence and support of their country.

Their high mightinesses have far- ther assured M. Van Schuylenberg, their president, that they will take the more essential points recom- mended by his highness into imme- diate consideration, in order to rid the state of the difficulties it now labours under, flatter themselves, that the means of defence adopted will prevent the enemy from pe- netrating any farther; and that, un- der the Divine blessing, their ef- forts will be crowned with a happy issue, and the honour and prospe- rity of the Netherlands be finally supported: all vain and premature apprehensions be suppressed, which can only tend to prejudice the country; and that such as wish for the arrival of the enemy, with their adherents, may be disarmed; the most observant attention, it being particularly necessary, should be paid to these internal enemies of their country, much more danger- ous than those without, open and declared.

It is farther thought proper to have it understood, that the pro- positions of his highness should be printed with all speed, and co- pies sent to the respective provinces, as well as to Dort, and the states of Drenthe.



*rocklamation by the states of Holland and West Friesland, July, 1794.*

**T**HE states of Holland and West Friesland, &c. make known, Whereas the circumstances of the war, so unjustly declared by the French government against the republic, have again taken such a turn, that the frontiers of the state are exposed a second time to the violence of the enemy's invasion, which can be no otherwise resisted than by employing the most vigorous means: to this effect, animated by the sentiments which his most serene highness the prince Stadtholder expressed in his address to the states-general, the 14th of last month, we have firmly resolved to sacrifice our properties and lives in the defence of the state, particularly of this province, and in protecting every thing that is dear to us in this country. We have judged it necessary and our duty to inform the good citizens of these our serious intentions and views, and at the same time to declare, that we are very far from despairing of the safety of the state, together with all its prerogatives, religious and civil, in case that the means which Divine Goodness has given and preserved to us are employed with that cordiality, concord, and true patriotism, which have at all times characterized the free-born Belgic nation. It is with this view that we exhort every citizen, who is not totally degenerated from the virtues of his ancestors, to renounce at this time, when the country is in danger, all party spirit, and to unite heart and mind for the preservation of their own interests, and to remember that every one in his own sphere is obliged to co-operate, since there is not a single person

who would not lose the state, his own property, and his unrestrained assistance; but above one think that this comes greater in possessions, or other this country, so favorable.

That amongst the may and ought to with vigour, we situation and the the country, strengthen and by inundation of which our enemy often driven from likewise the arguments abundant stores of army of the state is encouraged as it is glory it has acquired campaigns. But nevertheless, that in every thing into the ble situation it is considerable sums are these wants we have to provide in time, solving upon differing a tax after like circumstances in three proportions of all other well-intended have already paid, be our necessities, to an proportion a month time. Nevertheless of supply hitherto greatly short of the this expensive war, at the present moment safety or the fall of depends upon the price of coin.

In the mean time we learn, that many who have the power

have declared themselves ready to succour the country efficaciously with all their power, at this conjuncture, if a general call be made to this effect, and if a loan be opened on such conditions as agree best with the present value of the interest of money.

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*Declaratory answer of the states of Overijssel to the exhortatory address of their high mightinesses of Holland, respecting the present alarming crisis.*

High and mighty lords,

**WE** have thankfully received the two addresses of your high mightinesses, written at the Hague, the 14th and 20th of last month; the first of which earnestly recommended a proposition made that day by his highness the Stadtholder to the assembly of your high mightinesses; and the other tended to communicate to us the resolution of the lords the states of Holland and West Friesland, taken upon the said proposition, and remitted to the Assembly of your high mightinesses.

We thank your high mightinesses for the communication addressed to; and we beg leave to testify to his highness our warmest obligation and sincere gratitude; that, far from despairing at this critical moment for the safety of our dear country, which is precious to all, there is no want, on the contrary, of that laudable emulation, which not only serves to manifest cordially, proper and patriotic sentiments, but also to arouse effectually the courage and union of the high allies, in order, as the danger is renewed and increased, our efforts and vigour may be re-

doubled, to resist courageously the evil which threatens us, and, with the aid of divine Providence, to defeat effectually this dangerous combination.

We rejoice that the lords the states of Holland and West Friesland, also the lords the states of Guelder, Utrecht, and Drenthe, by whom the resolutions have been communicated to us, have cheerfully conformed to these generous sentiments.

We make no difficulty in sincerely and frankly confessing, before your high mightinesses, and before the whole republic, that in the extremity of danger in a country, we know no situation more alarming, than when the inhabitants lose courage, or relax from their exertions; that foreseeing the actual danger, we are, however, far from considering the difficulty as insurmountable; and that, in conformity with the wishes of his highness, we entertain no doubt but we shall be able, with the aid of divine Providence, to defeat the audacious efforts of an artful enemy.

The experience of former deliverances, the resources which still remain to us, the courage and the cordiality of the allies, the wisdom of his highness the Stadtholder, the bravery of his sons, and of your troops, and, above all, the succour of the God of the Low Countries, whose beneficence we have so often witnessed, are ample foundations on which we are able to build a certain hope of preservation and security.

As to us, there shall not be wanting every exertion which can contribute to this salutary end, that we may defend our religious and political liberties against a dangerous,

Q 4

a power.

a powerful; and an artful enemy, repress the evil intentions of certain individuals of this country, and transmit our constitution unimpaired to posterity.

We are,  
High and mighty lords, &c.

(Signed) M. TYDEMAN.  
*De Zwolle, Aug. 8, 1794.*

*Proclamation of the magistrates of Amsterdam.*

THE magistrates of the city of Amsterdam having perceived that some evil-minded persons thought proper to spread different false reports, and to trouble the minds of the ignorant and timid inhabitants, from which it might easily result, that they would be persuaded to sign petitions or addresses to the regency of this city, with a view of presenting them to the burgo-masters, and which requests would have no other tendency than to incommode the lawful regency in its free deliberations on the present circumstances of affairs, and to make them lose entirely the confidence of the good burghers of this city:

The said magistrates therefore exhort, before-hand, every one to be circumspect and prudent, and not to suffer himself to be misled by alarming speeches, nor to be persuaded into actions, of which they cannot sufficiently foresee the consequences; and farther, to prevent troubles, they warn and command every body, by these presents, not to join in making addresses calculated to interfere in the administration of public affairs, under pain that those who shall be found to transgress, in this particular, shall be

dealt with according to the rigour of the law.

*Resolved, October 18,*

*Address from the prince distributed in the province of land and Guelderland, in of October, 1794:*

To the brave inhabitants of Guelderland and Ho  
MY illustrious father  
powered me to every good citizen for to  
ance in the defence of the  
and to contend for the pr  
of their religion and their  
I therefore call upon all  
inhabitants of Guelderlan  
land to unite and stand  
defence of their houses  
their lives and properties  
are arms, powder, and  
them with a good heart  
them with a strong hand  
man of you, unless he ch  
go out of his province; b  
of you, in your respective  
prevent the enemy from  
any farther. Brave and  
countrymen! let us fight  
all for our dear country.  
citizens, and peasants!  
unanimously assemble unde  
banner: I will fight with  
the salvation of the cou  
may God give us the vict

*Petition of the citizens of A  
of the anti-stadtholderian  
the magistrates of that ci  
livering which the substa  
imprisoned*

THE undersigned bur  
inhabitants of Amste

ith dutiful submission, that  
itherto had the greatest con-  
n the wisdom and candour  
great mightinesses, the noble  
asters and council of that  
t they should take all ne-  
cessaries for the protection  
fare of the inhabitants of  
; and as hitherto the un-  
d have not yet undertaken  
e step to shew any distrust  
tent against the conduct of  
at mightinesses, they hope  
have any occasion to assume  
ep.

Underfigned, however, think  
es well informed, that the  
of your deliberations has  
en considerably encroached,  
udden and unexpected ap-  
; in this town, of his serene  
the hereditary prince of  
and his royal highness the  
York, the arrival of whom  
ther object than to induce  
at mightinesses to give your  
to resolutions, the execu-  
which cannot fail being  
etrimonial and injurious to  
est of the inhabitants of this  
nd of those of the whole

ut farther venturing upon  
res, relative to the objects  
rival of the above two high-  
es, we think it necessary to  
t we have been informed  
great mightinesses, on their  
having taken into consider-  
e propositions made; that  
approach of the French  
the town, that the latter  
put in the most complete  
of defence, and that your  
ightinesses had come to a  
n to submit the town to all  
inconveniencies of a siege: that  
wise have consented to submit

the grand inundation all around this  
city, by opening all the surrounding  
fluices, and by breaking different  
sea dykes.

And that farther your great might-  
inesses had also resolved to admit a  
great number of English troops into  
the heart of this city.

Underfigned think it their duty  
to declare that they shall in no man-  
ner consent to the above-mentioned  
measures; and that in case the above  
great personages, by their presence,  
should force your great mightinesses  
to such resolutions, we must assert  
that all the inhabitants of this town  
are averse to such measures, as be-  
ing injurious to the general interest  
of this town and the whole coun-  
try.

Underfigned expect a categorical  
answer from your great mightinesses  
upon the following questions:

1. What was the object of the  
arrival of the above high personages  
in this town?

2. Whether your mightinesses  
have consented to expose the town  
to a formal siege, to garrison it with  
foreign troops, and to transform its  
interior civic government into a mi-  
litary government?

Underfigned farther declare pub-  
licly, that they are discontented  
with such resolutions, and they are  
determined to resist and oppose  
themselves against all military de-  
fence of whatever name, and under  
whatever form it might be adopted.

That the underfigned, particular-  
ly, are determined to resist and op-  
pose themselves against the quarter-  
ing, in the town, of the English  
troops, whose bad conduct has not  
been improved by repeated orders  
and severities from their chief com-  
mander. The underfigned will  
look upon the approach of those  
troops

troops as a signal given by your great mightinesses for a civil insurrection; the fatal consequences of which your great mightinesses will have alone to answer for.

In order to prevent such dreadful consequences the undersigned think it their duty, in the present critical urgency, once more submissively to apply to your great mightinesses to entreat you never to consent to the adoption of such measures, to expose this town to a military defence, or to suffer such undisciplined and pillaging troops to be quartered within its walls.

The wisest measures your great mightinesses can adopt, are only to have confidence in the patriotism and good will of the inhabitants, to direct their steps according to the course of the natural exigencies of the circumstances, and not by an audacious attempt of forming a military defence of the town, to precipitate its inhabitants into unavoidable misery and ruin, and you yourselves only will be answerable.

(Signed, &c. &c. &c.)

*Amsterdam, Oct. 14, 1794.*

EXTRACTS FROM THE MADRID GAZETTE, dated Sept. 2, 1794.

*With a view to the important object of providing for the great and extraordinary expenses of the war, with the least possible burthen to the people, His majesty has been pleased to expedite the following decrees:*

First. **T**HE various events of war, having, since the commencement of this second campaign, occasioned great expenses and losses, which could not be foreseen when

the calculation of the necessaries to conduct it were made; and it having become necessary to seek new means to the interest, and the support of the capital which will be required to provide with the same as heretofore, for the subsistence and maintenance of the army and fleet, my paternal feeling permit me to burthen a poorer part of my subjects, and account of their greater contribution in a larger proportion to the exigencies of the state at the same time, with impositions and fatigues, experienced by persons for the defence of the country. I have thought justice required, that the more opulent, and those who receive more immediate benefit from the government—should contribute with their property towards the defence of the country. Upon this principle, by the unanimous opinion of the council of state, among other things I have resolved, that, from the first of the ensuing month of September, a deduction shall be made from the respective pay-offices, for salaries, pensions, grants, or assignments, enjoyed by those employed in my royal service in what department (be it military alone excepted,) in Spain or in the Indies, of 10 per cent. on their gross amount; if it exceeds 800 ducados (1000*l.*) per ann. and that this deduction be also deducted from the military pay of those enjoying the rank of *mariscal* (generally, who are not officers, observing that the deduction I grant to the other parts of my army and navy, not for the present campaign, extends merely according to rank, &c.

ons, salaries, or other grants, have in any other, even be of a military nature; and int of all such deductions to no longer than two years : termination of this war, paid from the respective of- to my chief treasury; and r, my counsellors of state epresented to me, with the ent and patriotic zeal, that ction in their salaries might er cent. since, convinced of ce and necessity of the war, re ready to make, not only sacrifice, but to extend it their lives and fortunes.— thought expedient to accept al and generous offer; and equence, the deduction of cent. shall be made from the every individual counsellor upon the same terms, and e same restrictions and d- the deduction of four per re-mentioned from the sa- all other placemen and pen-

id. With the advice of his &c. His most Catholic ma- jrees—"That no minister, or persons of any class or con- hatsoever, shall receive more e salary or stipend, although ay possess various employ- nder the government; their uring the existence of the rec, is left to their option." decrees are six in number, 1 August last, all tending to- providing an adequate fund the aid of new taxes on the or the continuance of the he clergy (with leave of his the pope) are assessed seven of rials annually; a crea- paper money to the amount 30,000 of dollars was to take

place on the 15th of September, and the appropriation of a redeeming fund of two millions of dollars annually was to be applied in discharge of interest and principal of both the present and preceding issues of *billets reules*.

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*Address to the Spaniards, published early in October, 1794.*

Bravo Spaniards,

AT a time when I only wish to declare to you certain truths, which may serve to quiet your minds, and when I only require of you to hear me, my unremitting attention to the concerns of the public entitles me to your attention; and your own interest in the public tranquillity assures me I shall obtain it.

I am well aware that venal and infected writers will employ themselves in describing the events of this war, in terms of desperation, and that slanderers and audacious people will represent the force of the enemy as irresistible. I know also that traitors to God, the king, and to the public, will neglect no means of spreading their detestable principles, and represent them to you as practicable ones. I know also that there will not want many corrupt spies, who will represent, (as things easy to be obtained) difficulties which are insuperable; but at the same time I am fully convinced of your loyalty, and the king is convinced of it too, and he relies on it as a defence against the impetuous torrent of their madness.

Do you know the real state of our forces? They are sufficient not only

only to repel, but to annihilate entirely the enemy as soon as all the reinforcements for the army are concentrated, which are now marching with the greatest dispatch, and are inspired with more ardour to meet the enemy than to remain inactive.

Spaniards, there are only 20,000 men, weak and undisciplined troops, who can maintain the war against us on the detestable frontiers of the French at Navarre and Biscay; nor can there possibly be more, owing to the present condition of their country. The allied armies occupy particularly their attention, and in proportion as the French armies appear to increase, their effective force really decreases. The tyrants who govern France, only obtain a forced obedience from the army; the ravages of death and the guillotine are the means by which they obtain it; but, at the same time, there are resources to spread amongst them terror and desperation. The French already are convinced, that there exist no longer amongst them the sacred rights of property, and that justice has disappeared, and that under the pretext of the good of mankind, they perceive they are only crushing them. Unfortunately, several of our unhappy countrymen are already in that situation. The enemy have not left one single inhabitant in possession of his freedom in all the places where they have penetrated; nor is that to be wondered at: such a licentiousness is the certain consequence of their shameful veracity; but understand this, and you will be convinced of the insufficiency of their arms.

Can you possibly imagine that 20,000 men can overturn our ocean-

try, if we resolve to extirpate the enemy? Read our histories, then you will find an answer to that question in the illustrious deeds of valour performed by our glorious ancestors, who defended all ages their country, in situations more critical than the present. Their present invincibility is not surprising, considering the numbers of the country; but it no longer promises themselves farther progress, as the measure of our country now before them necessarily stops them; besides, they may rely on the activity of the French, who will not suffer them to remain in possession of the soil of our country which they have usurped, any longer than it is convenient; but as soon as they shall resolve to destroy them, they will accomplish their destruction. Dissipate, therefore, all the resources which may even have affected them; but at the same time make a great effort to preserve your country. The cause of God and his holy law commands you to do so. Neither ought you to expect that your fields will produce an increase of God and his holy law; God will assist, and he will be for you. Implore sincerely his assistance, to obtain which I have already ordered public prayer to be made.

But, notwithstanding all this, do not despair, nor believe in the last extremity; we do not mean to oppose the public will. The king will crush the head of his Catholicism. The Almighty will stretch his sword of vengeance against the idolaters of his holy name. Sovereign relies on the lo-

Sp

which he endeavours to  
e by diminishing, as far  
onsistent with his royal  
the expences of his court  
hold, to prevent the ne-  
aving on more taxes.

nduct of their majesties,  
ernal assiduity, and the  
emitting attention to the  
f all public business, and  
y in the strict administra-  
lice, merit a very extra-  
ecompenſe on your part.  
itate his indefatigable vi-  
et us follow his illustrious  
in endeavouring to pro-  
public welfare, and let  
perform his respective  
which means we shall re-  
eſta bliſh the public hap-

upright intentions of their  
e propitious to your tran-  
and there will not be a  
jeſt who will not reap the  
enefits.

rom you, my dear coun-  
o conſider well what I  
ſaid, and I hope you find  
ſions equally ſincere, in-  
and true. My only ob-  
pr ſerve your tranquillity,  
cite your indignation a-  
roop of banditti that at-  
diſturb you: if I ſucceed  
ou will ſee in a few days  
of my diſpoſitions. Co-  
ith me, and you will very  
cure the recompence of  
ues.

ligion will contribute to  
us triumph, God will pro-  
holy law, and I will not  
voke his aſſiſtance.

ALCUDIA.

Madrid.

*Decree of the diet of the German em-  
pire, paſſed on the 14th of October,  
1794, with only one negative voice  
in the college of princes, namely,  
that of Suediſh Pomerania.*

THAT the warmeſt and moſt  
merited thanks be preſented  
to his majeſty the emperor, as well  
for the ſacrifices which he has not  
ceaſed to make, with magnanimous  
conſtancy, of his own reſources for  
ſaving Germany, as for the pater-  
nal ſolicitude with which he has  
conſtantly watched over the wel-  
fare of the empire, of which the  
tenor of the Aulic decree (of the  
13th of Auguſt laſt) furniſhes the  
moſt convincing proof: and that in  
conſequence of the laſt decree of  
the empire, on the 5th of May, by  
which the neceſſity was already ac-  
knowledged of the augmentation of  
the forces; and it was determined  
to effect, agreeable to legal forms,  
the augmentation of the contingents  
of the empire to the quintuple, as  
his Imperial majeſty had propoſed,  
from the eſſential motives of the  
danger and urgent neceſſity in which  
Germany was placed; that the ſaid  
augmentation to the quintuple, ab-  
ſolutely conformable to the conſti-  
tution of the empire, ſhall be exe-  
cuted in the ſame manner that it  
was agreed by the reſolution of the  
23d November, 1792, to carry into  
effect the triple augmentation by all  
the ſtates of the empire; that all  
efforts ſhould be united as ſoon as  
poſſible to that effect, in ſuch a  
manner, that every ſtate which  
cannot allege a legal exemption,  
may contribute towards it by the  
employment of all their forces, &c.  
&c.

*Convention*



*Convention for the common defence of the liberty and safety of the Danish and Swedish commerce and navigation, between the king of Denmark and the king of Sweden, concluded at Copenhagen, March 27, 1794.*

**H**IS majesty the king of Denmark and Norway, and his majesty the king of Sweden, having considered how much it imports the subjects of these realms to enjoy, in safety and tranquillity, the advantages attached to a perfect neutrality, and founded on acknowledged treaties, impressed with a deep sense of their duties to their subjects, and unable to dissemble the inevitable embarrassments of their situation in a war which rages in the greater part of Europe, have agreed and do agree to unite their measures and their interests in this respect, and to give to their nations, after the example of their predecessors, all the protection which they have a right to expect from their paternal care; desiring, moreover, to draw closer the bonds of the amity which so happily subsists between them, have nominated to this effect—his Danish majesty, his minister of state and foreign affairs, the sieur André Pierre count de Bernstorff, knight of the order of the Elephant, &c.—and his majesty the king of Sweden, the sieur Eric Magnus, baron Stael de Holstein, chamberlain to her majesty, the queen dowager of Sweden, and knight of the order of the sword, who, after having exchanged their full powers, have agreed on the following articles:

1. Their majesties declare solemnly, that they will maintain the most perfect neutrality in the course

of the present war; avoid as far as on them depends, whatever embroil them with the powers, friends and allies; and to mark, as they have concluded, in circumstances some difficult, all the attention, and all the amicable deference, consistent with their own dignity.

2. They declare, moreover they claim no advantage which not clearly and unexceptionably founded on their respective treaties with the powers at war.

3. They engage also reciprocally, and before all Europe, that they will not claim, in cases not specified in their treaties, any advantage which is not founded on universal law of nations, but acknowledged and respected by the powers, and by all the reigns of Europe, and from which they can as little suppose that of them will depart, as they are capable of departing from it themselves.

4. Founding on a basis of the claim and the maintenance of their indisputable rights, they give to the innocent navigation of their subjects, which is established within the rule of, and conformable to the subsisting treaties, no extension to such as depart from the rule, all the protection which it deserves against those who, contrary to their obligation and their hopes, would curtail the legal exercise of sacred rights, the enjoyment of which cannot be denied to neutral and dependent nations.

5. For attaining the proposed object, their majesties engage reciprocally to equip, as soon as season will permit, each a squadron

of the line, with a number of frigates, to be them with all neces-

squadrons shall unite or shall be judged best for interest, which shall be on both sides, with the so happily subsists between.

inction whatsoever shall between the interests and the two nations, except present subsisting treaties nations may require.— In all cases of defence, others, without any exception, Danish ships shall defend ships and flag, as their own nation, and the other part.

order of command, in is agreed to adopt the articles 6, and 7, in on of the 12th of July,

German states, both of and Sweden, are reciprocally excepted from this

Baltic being always to be as a sea shut and into the armed ships of others at war, is declared the contracting parties, solved to maintain in it self tranquillity.

er majesties engage to it communication of this to all the powers at war, most solemn assurances cere desire to preserve the most perfect harmony cement, rather than by this measure, which to secure rights maintained by those powers in all cases where they

were neutral and at peace, without Denmark and Sweden having ever dreamt of interrupting them.

12. But if the unfortunate case should occur, that any power, in contempt of treaties and the universal law of nations, will not respect the basis of society and the general happiness, and shall molest the innocent navigation of the subjects of their Danish and Swedish majesties, then will they, after having exhausted all possible means of conciliation, and made the most pressing joint remonstrances, to obtain the satisfaction and indemnity due to them, make use of reprisals, at the latest, four months after the refusal of their claim, wherever that shall be thought fitting, the Baltic always excepted; and will answer entirely the one for the other, and support one another equally, if either nation shall be attacked or injured on account of this convention.

13. This convention shall subsist in its whole tenor during the present war, unless it should be agreed upon, for the common interest, to make any useful or necessary change or addition to it.

14. The ratification shall take place fifteen days after this convention shall have been signed and exchanged. In testimony of which, we, the undersigned, by virtue of our full powers, have signed the present convention, and affixed to it the seal of our arms.

*Done at Copenhagen, this 27th of March, 1794.*

(Signed)

A. P. V. BERNSTORF,  
ERIC MAGNUS STALL,  
DE HÖLSTEIN.

*The*

*The king of Denmark's edict for the trade of Denmark and Norway during the war.*

**WE**, Christian the seventh, by the grace of God, king of Denmark and Norway, &c. &c. make known by these presents, That as we, for the safety and security of our subjects, have made known and published by our former orders and proclamations of the 22d and 25th of February, 1793, as soon as the war broke out between the Belligerent naval powers, that all the vessels or ships of our subjects, sailing from any harbour in our dominions, and bound to the north or western seas, should be provided with such sea-passes and ship's documents as by the treaties had been stipulated between us and the Belligerent powers; having also, in our said orders and public proclamations, stated in what manner persons should be qualified to obtain such papers and documents, we do farther order and demand, on purpose to prevent all deviation which might or could in time happen contrary to our pleasure, as not being mentioned in the stipulated treaties between Belligerent powers and us, as follows, viz.

1. We order and command all our comptrollers and officers in our several custom-houses at our sea-ports, that they shall not permit or allow any vessel or ship, belonging to any of our subjects, to clear out for any foreign sea-port, without being duly provided with the afore-said passes and documents, that our orders and commands concerning this matter may be more strictly observed and followed.

2. Should any vessel, bound to a neutral harbour, take in such goods

or merchandize as, is consigned to any belligerent powers, war-traband, and as such the treaties between us and us; also, mention former orders and proclamations of the 22d and 25th of February do farther order and demand besides the oath which and freighter of the vessel ordered to make on such before the appointed authorities, the ships such goods, with each of such vessels, should make a special declaration to the invoice-lading (besides his usual clearance at the custom-house) which shall contain specifications of the goods together with their quantity; and this declaration signed by the person who cargo, by the captain, by the comptroller of the port where the vessel enters out, who is directly to submit to our commissary customs, that the contents of such goods may be proved, if not lost by the vessel on her arrival at the port.

This alteration must be in the following manner: who ships such goods should get a certificate from the consul, or if not being any there, from the trade, or any other authority at such place, that the goods have arrived there and delivered agreeable to his former orders; and such certificate is to be sent from thence, directed to the commissioner of the custom-house.

the vessel arrived at her  
 such a certificate should  
 be presented, within a propor-  
 tionate to the length of the  
 royal college of commerce  
 to demand an explanation  
 of the person who shipped  
 who is to make a declara-  
 tion, whether he has re-  
 ceived intelligence concerning

such person or persons not  
 known, by certificate, that  
 were landed in a neutral  
 such a vessel not been lost  
 he shall forfeit twenty  
 thousand for each commercial last  
 to our royal college of  
 and the captain liable  
 punished by law.

at our royal residence,  
 Copenhagen, the 28th of  
 March, 1794.

d) CHRISTIAN, R.

(signed)

AMELMAN SEHESTEDT,  
 and DERNATH.

August 6, 1794. *Last*  
*Russian chargé des affaires*  
*a note on the part of his*  
*the chancellor, of the fol-*  
*lowing port.*

the empress of Russia has  
 thought proper to fit out a fleet  
 of five sail of the line, and  
 a considerable number of frigates,  
 on the east and north seas,  
 to pose (in conjunction with  
 her maritime forces) of pre-  
 venting the sending of any provi-  
 sion to France; she  
 therefore, requests the  
 Russian government not to permit his  
 XXVI.

ships of war to take any Swedish  
 merchantmen laden with any such  
 commodities, under their convoy.  
 Her Imperial majesty has farther  
 ordered all merchant ships, which  
 her squadron may meet in those seas,  
 to be searched, to see if their car-  
 goes consist of any such goods; all  
 which is done for this reason, name-  
 ly, that no neutrality can take place  
 with respect to a government con-  
 sisting only of rebels.

[A similar declaration has been made  
 on the part of the Russian court to  
 that of Denmark; besides which,  
 the English ministers have delivered  
 similar declarations to the Swedish  
 and Danish courts.]

In January, 1794, the divan having  
 declared, to the ministers of the  
 allied powers, that the Porte would  
 remain inviolably attached to its  
 neutrality, the Russian ambassador  
 replied,

THAT the empress, determined  
 to take an active part in a  
 cause common to all foreigners,  
 would never suffer a power capable  
 of molesting her frontiers, to pro-  
 fess neutrality; that her majesty  
 consequently expected that the  
 Porte would immediately lay an em-  
 bargo on all French vessels in its  
 ports, and declare war against the  
 rebels of France, and that he (the  
 ambassador) had the strictest orders  
 from his sovereign, to consider a re-  
 fusal on the part of the divan as a  
 declaration of war.

In June, 1794, the Russian minister,  
 at the Porte, M. de Kallitzky,  
 made to the Reis Effendi several  
 proposals.

*propositions, of which the following are the principal :*

1. **A** Positive declaration that the Porte would not interfere in the actual affairs of Poland.

2. That it should oblige all the French frigates and armed vessels to quit the coasts of the Archipelago; and free all the ports of that sea, over which the navy of France had of late exercised a kind of dominion.

3. That no alterations should be made in the customs and duties.

4. That a free passage should be allowed to Russian frigates through the canal of Constantinople.

5. That the princes of Moldavia and Wallachia, being Greeks, and ill-treated by the Ottoman ministers, should be considered under the immediate protection of her Imperial majesty.

*To these the Reis Effendi replied.*

1. On this proposition he could give no answer on the moment, as it belonged to the Sultan himself to decide upon points which concerned the interest of his empire.

2. That the Porte would not consent to offer any violence to the French frigates in question.

3. That the Porte, as well as every other free and independent state, would make whatever regulations it thought fit in the duties, without suffering the interference of any foreign power.

4. That the free navigation of the canal of Constantinople would be a violation of the treaties and conventions already subsisting between the two courts.

5. That the princes of Moldavia and Wallachia, though Greeks, being tributary to the Porte, could

demand no other treatment, but what was conformable to those usages and customs which the Ottoman court had ever observed to all its dependencies.

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*Note presented by the British ambassador to the divan of Constantinople in the Autumn, 1794.*

**T**HERE exists between the Belligerent powers and the nations, mutual duties, regulated by treaties, or in default of these, by the law of nations.

The neutral nations are bound to an exact impartiality towards the parties at war; they ought to assist none of them.

They ought, consequently, not to permit in their country, the fitting out, or arming, of men of war, or privateers, in favour of one Belligerent power against another.

Their harbours ought neither to be the refuge of privateers, which, if at all received, ought to be allowed to enter them only in cases of the most urgent necessity; and they have a right to make them put to sea again as soon as they have undergone the most indispensable repairs. The armed ships have no right to bring up and carry their prizes into those ports; and the Belligerent powers ought, on their part, to abstain from all hostilities among the neutral nations; they ought to respect their territories.

But the above duties being perfectly reciprocal, it cannot be required from one party to make sacrifices for the sake of conformity, if, on the other, those duties are disowned and neglected; if these principles are applied to the present juncture, it is supposed that a

*nation,*

ich has violated all that  
nong men, has the same  
ther nations? that the  
ocrats, instead of being  
pirates by the Turks,  
e admitted on an equal  
h the ancient and sincere  
he country?

Ottoman officers who  
in certain provinces do  
e themselves to a parti-  
our of the French, diffi-  
interpreted; they even  
e the beginning of the  
s, to have lost sight of all  
tions of neutrality ac-  
d by civilized nations.  
, the sailors of the con-  
re seen to commit open  
gainst the British officers  
s, without the aggressors  
en given up, or even  
ster.

ame harbour of Smyrna,  
been at different times  
ng and sitting out as pri-  
inst the English, without  
t interruption on the part  
gilitates. Prizes taken  
nch cruizers were seen to  
brought thither publicly  
at obstacle.

Iron of frigates and armed  
at same nation remained  
bour as frequently, and as  
thought proper; it block-  
it were, the harbour of  
nd interrupted the com-  
nations for near two

self-same position, and in  
ce marked out by the rules  
ity, the French armed  
prizes, and even in fight  
Turkish fortresses they  
and plundered neutral  
even those of the subjects

of the Sublime Porte. What is the  
consequence to be drawn from these  
facts? It is natural to suppose,  
that what is lawful for one party,  
must also be lawful for the other.  
A British officer of the royal navy  
acted in consequence; he attacked  
and captured one of the enemy's  
frigates in a bay called Turkish,  
having, however, previously made  
himself sure that there was neither  
a Turkish fort or flag in it, in order  
to avoid every thing that might be  
deemed an insult to the jurisdiction  
of the Sublime Porte; and having  
afterwards resolved to indemnify the  
inhabitants of the coast for the da-  
mage he might have done them, if  
they had actually been sufferers, he  
offered freely to me to promulgate  
his name.

If the French democrats were  
susceptible of those feelings which  
influence other men, that occurrence  
would have brought them to their  
senses; and seeing that an abuse,  
subsequent to the indulgence which  
they enjoyed on the part of the  
Turkish commandants, might be  
followed by disagreeable conse-  
quences; and, finally, even com-  
promise the Sublime Porte herself,  
they would have taken the resolu-  
tion to forbear from committing  
their unlawful depredations, and  
to conform themselves forthwith to  
the rules prescribed by the law of  
nations.

But the result was quite different;  
the French having obtained exclu-  
sive immunities and privileges from  
the Turkish government, talk of  
avenging themselves on those who  
durst imitate their example; they  
have the audacity to threaten the  
peaceful inhabitants of Smyrna with  
pillage and death; they provided

arms, collected combustibles, and held conventicles to concert the execution of their plans.

The conduct which the Sublime Porte should observe in this respect, is plain and evident; the partiality, or rather, the too great weakness of the governors who command her provinces, has been the origin of this evil; let that weakness cease; let the French be obliged to observe the articles of neutrality, or else, find no more the indecent protection which they hitherto enjoyed in the harbours and roads of the Turkish empire. Let the Porte maintain good order in her territories, by a respectable armed force, and I dare to answer, that no excess, no irregularity, will be committed by the officers of his Britannic majesty.

(Signed) ROBERT LISTON.

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*Message from general Washington, to congress, with report annexed.*

Gentlemen of the senate, and of the house of representatives,

THE secretary of state having reported to me, upon the several complaints which have been lodged in his office, against the vexations and spoliations on our commerce, since the commencement of the European war, I transmit to you a copy of his statement, together with the documents upon which it is founded.

GEO. WASHINGTON.

*Philadelphia, March 2, 1794,*

Sir,

On my succession to the department of state, I found a large volume of complaints, which the no-

tification had collected, against our trade, various in their kind and degree. I reason to presume, as the ship proved, that every day would create the catalogue, I have to digest the mass, until time have been allowed for exhibiting the diversified forms in which commerce has hourly suffered. Every information is at length obtained, which may be expected.

When we examine the complaints, which have been transmitted from different parts of the world, we find the British, the French, the Spaniards, and the Dutch, all with attacks upon our commerce.

It is urged against the British,

1. That their privateers intercept the American vessels, throw out of their course by forcing upon groundless suspicion, ports, other than those to which they were destined; detain even after the hope of a regular sification is abandoned; by negligence, while they hold possession, expose the cargo to damage, and the vessels to destruction, and maltreat their crew.

2. That British ships of war forcibly seized mariners, belong to American vessels, and in defiance, under the protection of a Portuguese fort.

3. That, by British regulations and practice, our corn and provisions are driven from the ports of France, and restricted to the ports of the British, or those of our friends.

4. That our vessels are not permitted to go from the British islands without giving security (which is not attainable with difficulty and expense).

di

of the cargo in some other  
or a neutral port.

it without the imputation  
traband trade, as defined  
of nations, our vessels  
ired for carrying on a com-  
intercourse with the French  
lies, although it is tolerat-  
laws of the French repub-  
that, for this extraordinary  
no other excuse is alleged,  
by some edict of a king of  
this intercourse was prohi-  
and,

at the conduct of the ad-  
n the British islands is im-  
e for an excess of rigour,  
parture from strict judicial  
and the expenses of an ap-  
England, too heavy to be  
red, under all the circum-  
of discouragement.

ft the French it is urged,  
at their privateers harass  
s no less than those of the

at two of their ships of  
e committed enormities on  
ls.

at their courts of admir-  
ilty of equal oppression.

at, besides these points of  
n which are common to  
nch and British, the for-  
e French) have infringed  
ty between the United  
nd them, by subjecting to  
and condemnation our ves-  
ing with their enemies in  
dize, which that treaty de-  
ot to be contraband, and  
circumstances not forbidden  
aw of nations.

at a very detrimental em-  
as been laid upon a large  
of American vessels in the  
ports; and,

6. That a contract with the  
French government, for coin, has  
been discharged in depreciated  
assignats.

Against the Spaniards the out-  
rages of privateers are urged.

And against the Dutch, one con-  
demnation in the admiralty is in-  
flicted to be unwarrantable.

Under this complication of mis-  
chief, which persecutes our com-  
merce, I beg leave, sir, to submit  
to your consideration, whether re-  
presentations, as far as facts may  
justify, ought not to be immediately  
pressed upon the foreign govern-  
ments, in those of the proceeding  
cases for which they are respon-  
sible.

Among these I class; 1. The vi-  
olence perpetrated by public ships  
of war. 2. Prohibitions, or regula-  
tions, inconsistent with the law of  
nations. 3. The improper conduct  
of courts. 4. Infractions of treaty.  
5. The imposition of embargoes;  
and, 6. The breach of public con-  
tracts. How far a government is  
liable to redress the rapine of pri-  
vateers, depends upon the peculia-  
rities of the case. It is incumbent  
upon it, however, to keep its courts  
freely open, and to secure an im-  
partial hearing to the injured appli-  
cants. If the rules prescribed to  
privateers be too loose, and oppor-  
tunities of plunder or ill-treatment  
be provoked from that cause, or  
from the prospect of impunity, it is  
impossible to be too strenuous in re-  
monstrating against this formidable  
evil.

Thus, sir, I have reduced to ge-  
neral heads the particular com-  
plaints, without making any inquiry  
into the facts beyond the allegations  
of the parties interested.

R 3

I will



I will only add, that your message seems to promise the congress some statement upon those subjects.

EDM. RANDOLPH.  
*The president of the United States.*

*The following written message was received from the president of the United States, by Mr. Dandridge, his secretary.*

*United States, 16th April, 1794.*

Gentlemen of the senate,  
**T**HE communications which I have made you during your present session, from the dispatches of our minister in London, contain a serious aspect of our affairs with Great Britain. But as peace ought to be pursued with unremitting zeal, before the last resource, which has so often been the scourge of nations, and cannot fail to check the advanced prosperity of the United States, is contemplated, I have thought proper to nominate, and do hereby nominate John Jay, as an envoy extraordinary of the United States to his Britannic majesty.

My confidence in our minister plenipotentiary in London continues undiminished: but a mission like this, while it corresponds with the solemnity of the occasion, will announce to the world a solicitude for a friendly adjustment of our complaints, and a reluctance to hostility. Going immediately from the United States, such an envoy will carry with him a full knowledge of the existing temper and sensibility of our country; and will thus be taught to vindicate our rights with firmness, and to cultivate peace with sincerity.

G. WASHINGTON.

*April*  
The house of representatives agreed to the following Resolutions. Ayes 56. Noes 30.

Whereas, the injuries which have been suffered, and by the United States committed, on their neutral rights and commercial interests, as a consequence of the failure to execute the treaty of peace with Great Britain, for the interest of the United States, that the course between the United States and Great Britain should not be carried on at present altogether on a basis of non-interference.

Resolved, That the 1st day of November next, be a day of national fast, for the consideration of the commercial interests of the United States, and the rights of the citizens of the United States, in any other nation, respecting articles of commerce, and the manufacture of Great Britain, Ireland, shall be a day of national fast.

*April*  
In the senate, the resolution was founded on the resolution was rejected by the senate, the vice-president each side being 10.

*April*  
In the house of representatives, the communication was read by the committee of printed matters.

Resolved unanimously, That the letter of the committee of the House of Representatives, addressed to the committee of the Senate, and that the cause the same be referred to the committee of the House of Representatives, for the consideration of their

fectionate manner in  
ve addressed the con-  
nited States, with an  
ssurance that the re-  
of the people of the  
have much interest in  
and prosperity of the  
lic.

*1 Mr. Jay, the Ameri-  
plenipotentiary at the  
t, to lord Grenville.*

signed envoy of the  
States of America has  
representing to the  
rd Grenville, his Bri-  
's secretary of state for  
it of foreign affairs:

considerable number  
vessels have been ir-  
ured, and as impro-  
ned, by certain of his  
ers and judges.

rious instances, these  
condemnations were  
, and the captured  
such unfavourable cir-  
is that, for want of the  
ired, and other obsta-  
als were made in some  
claims in others.

signed presumes that  
ill appear from the do-  
ch he has had the ho-  
itting to his lordship's  
; and that it will not  
necessary at present to  
these cases, and their  
tail the circumstances,  
imate some from

and extensive injuries  
under colour of his  
ority and commissions,  
o a numerous class of  
erchants, the United

States can for reparation have re-  
course only to the justice, authority,  
and interposition of his majesty. That  
the vessels and property taken and  
condemned have been chiefly sold,  
and the proceeds divided among a  
number of persons, of whom some  
are dead, some unable to make re-  
tribution, and others, from frequent  
removals, and their particular cir-  
cumstances, not easily reached by  
civil process.

That as for these losses and inju-  
ries, adequate compensation, by  
means of judicial proceedings, has  
become impracticable; and consid-  
ering the causes which combined  
to produce them, the United States  
confide in his majesty's justice and  
magnanimity, to cause such com-  
pensation to be made to these inno-  
cent sufferers, as may be consistent  
with equity: and the undersigned  
flatters himself, that such principles  
may without difficulty be adopted,  
as will serve as rules whereby to as-  
certain the cases and the amount  
of compensation.

So grievous are the expences and  
delays attending litigated suits, to  
persons whose fortunes have been  
so materially affected; and so great  
is the distance of Great Britain from  
America, that the undersigned thinks  
he ought to express his anxiety, that  
a mode of proceeding as summary  
and little expensive may be devised,  
as circumstances and the peculiar  
hardship of these cases may appear  
to permit and require.

And as (at least in some of these  
cases) it may be expedient and ne-  
cessary, as well as just, that the sen-  
tences of the courts of vice-admi-  
ralty should be revised and corrected  
by the court of appeals here, the  
undersigned hopes it will appear  
reasonable to his majesty, to order

that the captured in question (who have not already so done) be re-admitted to enter both their appeals and their claims.

The undersigned also finds it to be his duty to represent, that the irregularities before-mentioned extended not only to the capture and condemnations of American vessels and property, and to unusual personal severities, but even to the imprisonment of American citizens, to serve on board of armed vessels. He forbears to dwell on the injuries done to these unfortunate individuals, or on the emotions which they must naturally excite, either in the breasts of the nation to whom they belong, or to the just and humane of every country. His reliance on the justice and benevolence of his majesty, leads him to indulge a pleasing expectation, that orders will be given, that Americans, so circumstanced, be immediately liberated, and that persons honoured with his majesty's commissions, do in future abstain from similar violences.

It is with cordial satisfaction that the undersigned reflects on the impressions which such equitable and conciliatory measures would make on the minds of the United States, and how naturally they would inspire and cherish these sentiments and dispositions, which never fail to preserve, as well as to produce, respect, esteem, and friendship.

(Signed)

JOHN JAY.

London, July 30, 1794.

*Answer to the above memorial.*

**T**HE undersigned secretary of state has had the honour to lay

before the king the memorial which he has received from an envoy extraordinary and plenipotentiary from the States of America, respecting alleged irregularity of the and condemnation of several American vessels, and also respecting circumstances of personal by which those proceedings stated to have been accompanied some particular instances.

The undersigned is authorized to assure Mr. Jay, that it is his wish, that the most complete impartial justice should be done to all the citizens of America, who in fact have been injured by the proceedings above-mentioned. His experience shews, that a trade extending over the four quarters of the globe, must unavoidably be productive of some inconvenience to the commerce of neutral nations, and that no care can prevent irregularities in the course of proceedings, which are universally recognized as resulting from rights incident to all Belligerent powers. But the king will be desirous that these inconveniences and irregularities should be as much limited as the nature of the case will admit, and that the opportunity should be given to prefer their complaints and obtain redress and compensation where they are due.

In Mr. Jay's note, mention is made of several cases where parties have hitherto omitted to prefer their claims, and of others where no appeals have been made against the sentences of condemnation pronounced in the first instance.

As to the cases of the first kind, lord Grenville apprehends that the regular course of law is

imants; and that by pre-appeals to the commissioners causes here, against the sentence of the courts below, the whole of those cases may be brought and the most complete obtained.

cases of second description, edings might be difficult, lapse of the time usually or preferring appeals.—But by being anxious that no y or local circumstances, ose to which Mr. Jay re- is note, should impede the substantial justice, has been refer it to the proper of- onsider of a mode of en- he time for receiving the in those cases, in order to claimants to bring their ts before the regular court l for that purpose.

nderfigned has no doubt is manner a very consider- of the injuries alleged to suffered by the Americans, the complaints are well be redressed in the usual judicial proceeding, at a l expence to the parties, out any other interposition jesty's government than is ted; until the result and these proceedings shall be o definitive judgement can l respecting the nature and those cases (if any such shall be found to exist,) where t have been practicable to bstantial redress in this but he does not hesitate to ehand, that if cases shall found to exist, to such an properly to call for the ion of government, where, he fault of the parties com- they shall be unable, from

whatever circumstances, to procure such redress in the ordinary course of law, as the justice of their cases may intitle them to expect, his majesty will be anxious that justice should at all events be done, and will readily enter into the discussion of the measures to be adopted, and the principles to be established for that purpose.

With respect to all acts of personal severity and violence, as the king must entirely disapprove every such transaction, so his majesty's courts are always open for the punishment of offences of this nature; and for giving redress to the sufferers in every case where the fact can be established by satisfactory proof; nor does it appear that any case of that nature can exist, where there would be the smallest difficulty of obtaining, in that mode, substantial and exemplary justice.

On the subject of the impress, lord Grenville has only to assure Mr. Jay, that if, in any instance, American seamen have been impressed into the king's service, it has been contrary to the king's desire; though such cases may have occasionally arisen from the difficulty of discriminating between British and American seamen, especially, when there so often exists an interest and intention to deceive:—whenever any representation has been made to lord Grenville on the subject, he has never failed to receive his majesty's commands for putting it in a proper course, in order that the facts might be inquired into, and ascertained; and to the intent that the persons in question might be released, if the facts appeared to be satisfactorily established.

With respect to the desire expressed by Mr. Jay, that new orders might

might be given, with a view to prevent, as far as it is possible, the giving any just ground of complaint on this head, lord Grenville has no reason to doubt that his majesty's intentions respecting this point are already sufficiently understood by his majesty's officers employed on that service: but he has, nevertheless, obtained his majesty's permission to assure Mr. Jay, that, instructions to the effect desired, will be renewed in consequence of his application.

The undersigned avails himself with pleasure of this opportunity to renew to Mr. Jay his assurances of his sincere esteem and consideration.

(Signed) GRENVILLE.

*Downing-street, Aug. 1, 1794.*

*A talk from the White Lieutenant of Oakfuskee, Mad Dog of Tuckabatchies, and Alexander Cernell, who are authorized by the Creek nation to send the same to William Panton, merchant, in Pensacola.*

Mr. William Panton,

WE are going to give you a talk, which we do by desire of our chiefs and people of our land, and as it is a talk which concerns peace and happiness, as a nation we must desire that you open your ears and attend thereto.

Our land hath for several years been in great confusion and distress, occasioned by bad talks sent into it, and bad people who have crept into it and imposed upon us: this nation now plainly see that ruin awaits them if matters continue in their present state, and therefore are fully determined to establish a firm and

lasting peace with all native people. In order that we meet with any interruption accomplishing so desirable an end, this talk is sent to you, that you do not on any account interfere in our national concerns heretofore you have done, great detriment and injury to ourselves and friends.

We are well acquainted with the talks you send into our land, the mischief they have made our foolish young people, are resolved to have no more dealings; our whole nation is that you take by the hand of our land who have trouble and disgrace upon your talks have prevented being done, and satisfaction to our nation by our neighbours for the murders and robberies committed upon them: this, Mr. Panton, you had no business with repeat all the bad advice our people have had from you since the English left this country: take up too much time at it but we must say that had you taken the advice given by Governor O'Neal, of Pensacola, and others whom we mention when it is necessary, our country would now be engaged in a bloody and ruinous war, with all the Americans, and our neighbouring nations' people. Some of our people are mad enough to take these bad talks and blood was spilt in consequence but the wise ones among us stop thereto. But yet we forget such wicked bad advice culled for our destruction.

Now, Mr. Panton, our advice to you is to mind your trade, and meddle with our public con-

we been too long blinded  
tion; our eyes are now  
d we plainly discover your  
not for our good. Once  
tell you that our nation is  
ed not to be longer slaves  
ilks, and they are the best  
f their own business, and  
uct it as they think best for  
a good.

this warning, would you or  
r person or persons meddle  
tional affairs, so as to pre-  
establisning peace, we shall  
all such as enemies to our  
d look to them for all the  
nces that may follow.

are public agents in our  
rom Spain and the United  
o them alone we will listen,  
t not be interrupted by any  
ks; this is the opinion and  
our nation, as well as your

WHITE LIEUT. of Oakfuskee,  
LAD DOG of Tuckabatchie,  
ANDER CORNELL, of ditto.

ril, 1794.

*is copy of a reply made by lord  
ester, in a deputation from  
tribes of Indians, at a coun-  
ld at the castle of St. Lewis,  
city of Quebec, on the 10th  
f February, 1794.*

LY of his excellency lord  
orchester, to the Indians of  
en villages of Lower Cana-  
deputies from all the nations  
ere at the general council,  
Miami, in the year 1793,  
the Chawanous, Miamis, and

Children—I have well consider-  
ed your words, and am now prepa-  
red to reply.

Children—You have informed me,  
that you are deputed by the seven  
villages of Lower Canada, and by  
all the nations of the upper country,  
which sent deputies to the general  
council, held at the Miamis, ex-  
cept the Chawanous, Miamis, and  
Loups.

Children—You remind me of  
what passed at the council fire, held  
at Quebec, just before my last de-  
parture for England, when I pro-  
mised to represent their situation  
and wishes to the king, their fa-  
ther, and expressed my hope that  
all the grievances they complained  
of, on the part of the United States,  
would soon be done away by a just  
and lasting peace.

Children—I remember all very  
well: I remember that they point-  
ed out to me the line of separation  
which they wished for between them  
and the United States, and with  
which they would be satisfied and  
make peace.

Children—I was in expectation  
of hearing from the people of the  
United States what was required by  
them; I hoped I should have been  
able to bring you together, and make  
you friends.

Children—I have waited long,  
and listened with great attention,  
but I have not heard one word from  
them.

Children—I flattered myself with  
the hope, that the line proposed in  
the year eighty-three, to separate us  
from the United States, which was  
immediately broken by themselves  
as soon as the peace was signed,  
would have been minded, or a new  
one drawn in an amicable man-  
ner;

ner; here also I have been disappointed.

Children—Since my return, I find no appearance of a line remains; and from the manner in which the people of the States push on, and act, and talk on this side, and from what I learn of their conduct towards the sea, I shall not be surprised, if we are at war with them in the course of the present year; and if we are, a line must be drawn by the warriors.

Children—You ask for a passport to go to New York; a passport is useless in peace; it appears, therefore, that you expect we shall be at war with the States before your return. You shall have a passport, that whether peace or war, you shall be well received by the king's warriors.

Children—They have destroyed their right of pre-emption, therefore, all their approaches towards us since that time, and all the purchases made by them, I consider as an infringement on the king's rights, and when a line is drawn between us, be it peace or war, they must lose all their improvement of houses on our side of it. The people must all be gone, who do not obtain leave to become the king's subjects. What belongs to the Indians will, of course, be confirmed and secured to them.

Children—What farther can I say to you? You are our witnesses, that on our part, we have acted in the most peaceable manner, and borne the language of the United States with patience, and I believe our patience is almost exhausted.

of Quebec, on the 10th of February, in the year of our Lord, 1794.

(Signed) DORCHESTER.

By his excellency's command,

(Signed)

HERMAN WISSIUS RYLAND,  
Secretary.

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*The following is a copy of a message from general Washington to Congress.*

May 21, 1794.

Gentlemen of the senate, and of the house of representatives,

I Lay before you certain information, whereby it would appear, that some encroachment was about to be made on our territory, by an officer and party of British troops. Proceeding upon a supposition of the authenticity of this information, although of a private nature, I have caused the representation to be made to the British minister, a copy of which accompanies this message.

It cannot be necessary to comment upon the very serious nature of such an encroachment, nor to urge that this new state of things suggests the propriety of placing the United States in a posture of effectual preparation for an event, which, notwithstanding the endeavours making to avert it, may, by circumstances beyond our controul, be forced upon us.

G. WASHINGTON.

Given under my hand, at the castle of St. Lewis, in the city

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*Proclamation published by authority, at New York, by the president of the*

*ted States of America, Sept.*  
94.

TREAS, from a hope that  
ie combination against the  
on and laws of the United  
ertain of the western  
of Pennsylvania, would  
me and reflection, I thought  
it, in the first instance, ra-  
take measures for calling  
militia than immediately  
ly them; but the moment  
ome, when the overtures  
eness, with no other con-  
an a submission to law,  
n only partially accepted;  
ry form of conciliation, not  
ent with the being of go-  
t, has been adopted with-  
; when the well-disposed  
counties are unable by  
uence and example to re-  
e wicked from their fury,  
compelled to associate in  
n defence; when the prof-  
nity has been perversely  
reted into an apprehen-  
t the citizens will march  
istance: when the oppor-  
examining the serious cons-  
s of a treasonable opposi-  
been employed in propa-  
principles of anarchy, en-  
ng through emissaries to a-  
he friends of order from its  
and inviting enemies to  
te similar acts of insurrec-  
hen it is manifest, that vio-  
ould be continued to be  
d upon every attempt to en-  
ie law: when, therefore,  
ient is set at defiance, the  
eing whether a small por-  
he United States shall die  
whole union, and at the  
of those who desire peace,  
a desperate ambition. Now  
7.

therefore, I, George Washington,  
resident of the United States, in  
obedience to that high and irre-  
futable duty, consigned to me by  
the constitution, "to take care that  
the laws be faithfully executed;"  
deploring that the American name  
should be sullied by the outrages of  
citizens on their own government;  
commiserating such as remain obsti-  
nate from delusion; but resolved, in  
perfect reliance on that gracious  
Providence which so signally dis-  
plays its goodness towards this coun-  
try, to reduce the refractory to a  
due subordination to the law; do  
hereby declare and make known,  
that, with a satisfaction that can be  
equalled only by the merits of the  
militia summoned into service from  
the states of New Jersey, Pennsyl-  
vania, Maryland, and Virginia, I  
have received intelligence of their  
patriotic alacrity, in obeying the  
call of the present, though painful,  
yet commanding necessity; that a  
force, which according to every rea-  
sonable expectation is adequate to  
the exigency, is already in motion  
to the scene of disaffection; that  
those who have confided, or shall  
confide, in the protection of govern-  
ment, shall meet full succour under  
the standard, and from the arms, of  
the United States; that those, who  
have offended against the laws, and  
have since entitled themselves to in-  
demnity, will be treated with the  
most liberal good faith, if they shall  
not have forfeited their claim by  
any subsequent conduct, and that  
instructions are given accordingly.  
And I do moreover exhort all indi-  
viduals, officers, and bodies of men,  
to contemplate with abhorrence  
the measures leading directly or in-  
directly to those crimes which pro-  
duce this resort to military coer-  
cion;



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cion; to check, in their respective spheres, the efforts of misguided or designing men, to substitute their misrepresentation in the place of truth; and their discontents in the place of stable government; and to call to mind, that, as the people of the United States have been permitted under the Divine favour in perfect freedom, after solemn deliberation, and, in an enlightened age, to elect their own government, so will their gratitude for this inestimable blessing be best distinguished by firm exertions, to maintain the constitution and the laws. And, lastly, I again warn all persons whomsoever and wheresoever, not to abet, aid, or comfort, the insurgents aforesaid, as

they will answer the contrary at their peril; and I do also require all officers and other citizens, according to their several duties, as far as may be in their power, to bring under the cognizance of the law, all offenders in the premises. In testimony whereof, I have caused the seal of the United States of America to be affixed to these presents, and signed the same with my hand.

Done at the city of Philadelphia, the 25th day of September, 1794; of the independence of the United States of America, the 19th.

GEO. WASHINGTON.

By the president,

EDM. RANDOLPH.

CHARACTERS.

## C H A R A C T E R S.

es of Dr. Paul Hifferran,  
the *European Magazine*.

S author may be well reckoned amongst the extraordinary of modern literature; not excelled his contemporaries in genius or learning: he derived his character from his eccentricity, and to this he was fairly led from the peculiarity of his habits, his studies, and his tastes.

Paul Hifferran was born in the county of Dublin, in the year 1740, and received his early education at a grammar school in that city. From this, at a proper age, he was removed to a seminary in Dublin, where the classics were taught in good repute, and where he was educated for the priesthood of a Popish priest, his father being of the Roman Catholic persuasion.

After the better finishing his education in this line, he was afterwards sent to a college in the south of Ireland, where he became acquainted with several students, some of whom were afterwards much respected in the Republic of Letters, particularly the celebrated Burke and Marmontel. The first of these, he used to observe, gave him at that time no promise of his future greatness, being very modest and simple in his manners, and more

fond of retirement and contemplation, than either study or conversation.

Of Marmontel, he used to speak in great praise. He was studious, inquisitive, and lively, was the very soul of his class for conviviality, good humour, and wit; and scarce a day passed without his producing a sonnet, an epigram, or a bon mot, which gained him great applause, and prophesied his future reputation.

He remained at this college, and at Paris, for near seventeen years, which, though it gave him an opportunity of speaking and writing the French language with fluency and purity, accounts in some respect for his having so bad a style as an English writer, he having left his own country at so early an age, that he insensibly imbibed the French idioms in preference to those of his own.

Most of the English and Irish students at this college, being educated for the profession of physic, our author followed the same track; and, though contrary to the design of his parents, who intended him for a Romish priest, he took out his Bachelor's degree of physic, and soon after returned to Dublin, in order to practise his profession.

Why he did not fulfil his resolution, on his arrival in Dublin, can be readily accounted for by any person

person who knew his natural turn, which was that of an unconquerable love of indolence and dissipation. The regularities of any profession were circles too confined for him, and the day that was passing over him, was generally to decide what he should do. With this temper, instead of cultivating his profession, he sought the receptacles and convivialities of his countrymen; and as he was a good scholar, abounded in anecdote, and might, at that time, have imported some of the agreeable manners of the French, he found a ready chair at several respectable tables in Dublin.

About this time a doctor Lucas, a man who afterwards was much celebrated for his opposition to the government of Ireland, started up, and by those bold measures that propose quick and sudden reformation of abuses, gained so much of the popular attachment, that the citizens of Dublin returned him as one of their members in parliament. Another party opposed these measures, and Hiffeman being considered as a young man of good education and lively parts, he undertook to write against Lucas in a periodical paper, which was called "The Tickler."

It is seldom that the merit of this species of writing outlives its original purpose. We have seen many of those papers, which, however, the doctor (as Hiffeman was usually called) might pride himself on, possessed little else than personal abuse, or contradictions of oppositional statements. Now and then, indeed, some of the doctor's whim appears, but it was of that kind as must induce his best friends to

transfer the laugh more to the man than to his writings.

"The Tickler," however, as a party paper, made its way for some time, and procured at least this advantage to the author (which he unfortunately prized too highly through life), of living constantly at private and public tables. An author by profession at that time of day in Ireland was no common sight, and gained many admirers. Those who had their great opponent in politics periodically abused, felt a gratification in the company of their champion; amongst these he numbered many of the aldermen of Dublin, and Hiffeman was a man very well qualified to sit at an alderman's table.

If our author had the satisfaction of being well-known and cared for by his friends, he had at the same time the misfortune of being equally known and hated by his enemies; and what was worse, his enemies by far outnumbered his friends; in short, he became a marked man, and as he was one that gave an improper licence to his tongue, as well as his pen, he met with several insults in coffee-houses and public places. The doctor parried this for some time, but as Lucas's reputation carried all before it, and as he was universally esteemed a man of good intentions, Hiffeman suffered additionally by comparison; so that being chased out of all public places, and, as he used to tell himself, "in some danger of his life," he, by the advice of his friends, directed his course to London, there to try his fate as an author, "in this general home of the necessitous."

What year he came to London we cannot exactly ascertain, but

in some circumstances, he the years 1753 and 1754. and the next year, he published numbers of a pamphlet called "The Tuner," in which with more humour than he used afterwards, he ridiculed then new plays of "Phil-" "Boadicea," "Constantin-Virginia," &c. His first effort was in translations from Greek and Latin authors; but a good scholar in both languages wanted that familiarity with them, which rendered his style pedantic. He was not altogether too in his engagements; that after repeated trials, he found not to answer the end he brought with him; and he was, through being obliged to strike into a course of authorship. Whilst he pursued his studies at Paris, he translated, as well as whilst in Ireland, he amused himself in writing several things on various subjects for the entertainment of his friends, and partly, with a view to keep up a sort to their tables in which they were delighted. These, with others on more general subjects, he resolved to publish; and accordingly, early in the year 1755, he sent them to the world under the title of "Miscellanies in Prose and Verse," by Paul Hiffeman,

the miscellanies are dedicated to the late lord Tyravley, and contain essays on Taste, Ethics, the Character of Polonius, The Effects of Immoderate Drinking, The Art of Cock-fighting, A Short History of the Life and Writings of Cicero, The Last Day, &c. &c. XXXVI.

poems on occasional subjects. In this *melange* of odd subjects, there are some foreign anecdotes and remarks, which distinguish the scholar and man of observation. In his "Character of Polonius," he particularly rescues that statesman from the imputation of a fool and a driveler, and supports his claim to wisdom and sagacity, both from his advice to his son and daughter, as well as from the following character which the king gives of him to Laertes:

"The blood is not more native to the heart,  
The hand more instrumental to the month,  
Than to the throne of Denmark is thy father."

The opposite character of Polonius, however, has been adopted by all the performers we have ever seen play this part, except one; we mean Munden's late performance of it at Covent-Garden Theatre, where, indeed, the whole of the representation of Hamlet is got up very creditably to the taste of the manager. Munden shews Polonius free from all those blemishes of buffoonery with which our best actors, who have gone before him, have loaded him: he is in his hands, though somewhat of a formalist, and attached to the modes of a court, a wife, a prudent, and upright statesman; and this the audience felt on the first night, to be so much the real draught of the character, that, notwithstanding all their former prejudices, they gave it their universal applause.

His "Theory on the Art of Acting," is only to be remembered for its eccentricity. In describing the mechanical manner of the players generally,

generally dying in the last act, he draws a caricature scene of a man being run through the body with a spit by his landlady, on his incapacity of paying his reckoning; and that our readers may have an opinion of the vulgar extravagancy which our author has run into on this occasion, we shall present them with the concluding lines :

“ —Uph !” —

“ Here a general contraction of the body, which as nothing violent can last long, is to be succeeded by a gradual evolution of the members, and the two following lines are to be uttered in the farewell, endearing, melancholy tone :

“ Farewel, ye cauliflowers on the proud  
tōps  
Of brimming tankards, I never more shall  
see—(a pause)  
Hard—Hard fate !”

is to be spoken in a canine and snappish mode, like “ Darkneſs, Darkneſs,” in Richard the Third.

“ —O ſure it was not ſo much  
To mean to build a ſconce.” —  
Mournful reflection !

“ But the heavens are juſt !”

Here he is to look wiſhfully and repentantly towards heaven, then a flammer, “ I—I—I.” —

As half of the laſt I—(O has reigned long enough for the other vowels to take their turn) is pronounced, he is to have the rattles in his throat, which are to be accompanied by the wiſh abrupt, the half ſcrew, two kicks, and the flop ſupine, equivalent to the ſailors phraſe (“ Good-night, Nicholas !”) when they are going to the bottom.”

What profit the publication of theſe miſcellanies might bring is uncertain ; if he depended entirely on the public ſale, we ſuppoſe very little ; but He had the art of getting off his advances by perſonal application other modes of addreſs not creditable either to learning or ſincerity.

The line of authorſhip he up after the publication of miſcellanies was, any mode preſented itſelf to gain a temporary exiſtence ; ſometimes by writing a pamphlet, and privately ſelling it amongſt his friends and acquaintances, and ſometimes coming the patron or deſerter ſome novice for the ſtage ; an artiſt who wanted to make himſelf public notice by puffing, or indirect means. It is ſaid ſeveral players and painters contributed for this purpoſe as he was a man of ſome popularity, and had a known intimacy with Garrick, Foote, and many literati, it is no wonder that ſometimes gained proſelytes.

His grand place of rendezvous was the Cider-cellar, Maidenhead, a place he uſually reſorted to thoſe evenings, when, to his own expreſſion, “ he was no longer for the night.” Here it was he played the part of patron-acceptor with ſome dexterity. A painter found his favourite excluded a place in the Exhibition or wanted his piece puffeſt in the papers, Hiſſerman was lord of infamy or praiſe.” A player took dudgeon at his manager or rival brother, our author was ready to defend him if any perſon as a candidate

anted instruction or recommendation, who so fit as Hiffernan, a scholar and travelled writer of plays himself, a close friend, and occasional adviser of both managers and actors, to instruct them in the elements of their intended profes-

sion. In the mode of proceeding in this business, we were informed of an eminent performer of Covent Garden Theatre, who, partly by his ability, and, perhaps, partly by being deceived by some friend of Hiffernan's abilities and character, went through the process, and who told it with confidence and humour which he was much master of, on or off the stage. From him we are enabled to enquire somewhat of a general nature.

A candidate for the stage was announced by the writer to Hiffernan, the doctor came from his seat, but draw-pipe which he smoked in his mouth, gave a slight inclination of the head, and desired him to sit down. He then listened attentively to the novices acquainted with himself, his studies, and his professions, but then gave opinion: he reserved himself for meeting the next night with Tim, Ruffel-fire-t, or his favourite abshouter: and the candidate, wishing to do a good thing by his preceptor, offered to do the reckoning, the doctor was in the least offended, but, on the contrary, considered it as a tribute of his own superiority.

they met on the next day for the preliminaries of business, which first began by

the doctor explaining his terms, which were a *guinea entrance*, another guinea for instruction, and two guineas more to be paid on his getting an engagement at either of the London theatres. All this being settled, and the doctor having pocketed his first guinea, he began by attentively eyeing the height and figure of the performer: and, in order to ascertain this with mathematical precision, he pulled out a six-inch rule, which he carried about him on these occasions, and measured him against the wainscot. If the candidate happened to be very tall, "to be sure that was not so well; but then, Barry was as tall, and nobody objected to his theatrical abilities." If he was short, "that was against his being much of a hero; but then, there was Carrick, whom all the world admired." He, therefore, generally consoled his pupil, let him be of what size or figure he might be, with the superiority which *merit* has over all external qualifications; concluding with Churchill upon the same subject,

"Before such merit all distinctions fly,  
Pritchard's ventral, and Garrick's six feet high."

In this wretched manner did our author while away the greater part of a life which, with becoming industry, and his stores of information, might have been made useful to the world, and respectable to himself. He never, however, wholly gave up the trade of *look-making*, every now and then producing some original matter or translation from the French. In this latter walk, we find him employed in the year 1764, and as the circumstances attending this case go in a great de-

gree to develop the eccentric character of the man, we shall detail them at full length.

Political parties, it is well remembered, ran high much about this time, and much ink was shed upon both sides of the question. In this struggle it was suggested by one of the heads of opposition, that the translation of a French book called "The Origin of Despotism," would not only sell well, but be of use to the party. A bookseller, since dead, was spoke to for the purpose of procuring a translator, and as Hiffernan's knowledge of French was unquestionable, he was fixed upon to be the man. The book was accordingly put into his hands, and in the usual time was finished and prepared for publication.

And here it may not be improper to remark, on the very material difference there appears to be in the flavour and strength of political writing then and at this present time. "The Origin of Despotism" was written, as the author declares in his last section, as a kind of introduction to "Montesquieu's Spirit of Laws," and the design of the book is as follows:

The author first condemns the different opinions hitherto entertained on the origin of despotism, and thinks he has discovered its true source. "The Origin of Despotism," says he, "appears to me to have established itself upon the earth, neither through consent nor by force, but was the dire effect, and almost natural consequence of that kind of government which men had forged for themselves in very remote ages, when they took for a model the government of the universe, as it is reigned over by the Supreme Being. Magnificent but

fatal project! which has all the nations into idol thralldom, because a multitude of suppositions that were the diet to be made, have been adopted as certain principles that mankind, then being what ought to have been, principles of their conduct below, went in quest of natural ones, which, not being for this earth, not only rendered them unhappy then attempts to shew the of these principles from to despotism, and concludes some general observations on narchical government.

In short, the whole of it appears to us to be a mere superficial inquiry, too refined to up on any active principle, general to calumniate or any particular government; yet this book in the year 1794 upon a consultation of some eminent politicians of the time thought too dangerous to and notwithstanding the time was cautiously worked off, had been printed at Amster was agreed that the publication should be laid aside.

Comparing this with many political writings of the day, we shall make no mistake. The real friends of the liberty the press know and feel the consequence.

But to return, the delay in publication was for some time to Hiffernan, when accepting the bookseller's shop required the cause. The bookseller informed him, and in the course of conversation on that subject proposed to sell him the copy for six months credit, at the trad

at once closed with the  
as it offered a cheap and  
manner of laying his friends  
advances under fresh con-  
The account was in-  
ade out, a note of hand  
nd every thing ready to  
sh the bargain but the  
signature.

be here necessary to state,  
as amongst the peculiari-  
his very eccentric man,  
acquaint his most intimate  
h the place of his lodging.  
r could be the motive,  
pride or whim, let him be  
sober, the secret, we be-  
er once escaped him. In  
s name, therefore, to this  
bookseller, very naturally,  
im to put down his place

"I am to be heard of  
edford coffee-house," re-  
doctor. "But, sir," says  
seller, "a coffee-house is  
a place to make a note  
de, and therefore it will  
lary to state where you  
reside." Hiffenan paused  
time, and again repeated,  
dford coffee-house." Be-  
told that this would not  
crisied in giving no other  
The bookseller not ap-  
of this, the bargain fell to  
d, and the doctor walked  
great dodgeon, reproba-  
e inquisitive impertinence  
men."

Hiffenan refused accept-  
for six months for a num-  
books, which he could very  
se of amongst his friends—  
ery well see the price he  
eping his lodging a secret.  
of the books would be a  
ney traffic to him during  
;—the translation would

likewise gain him some reputation;  
—and as to the payment of his note,  
that could be settled in his usual  
way, viz. for some time by *promises*,  
and at length by a frank acknow-  
ledgment of *total incapacity*:—yet  
all these *advantages* were foregone  
sooner than "divulge the secrets of  
his prison-house."—There he was  
alike impenetrable to friend and  
foe.

The next thing of any conse-  
quence that engaged our author's  
attention, was a work called "*Dramatic Genius*"—which he dedicated  
to Garrick, his friend and patron  
through life. This work is divided  
into five books. The first deline-  
ates a plan of a permanent temple  
to be erected to the memory of  
Shakespeare, with suitable decora-  
tions and inscriptions. The second  
investigates the progress of the hu-  
man mind in inventing the drama,  
and conducting it to perfection;  
with a candid disquisition of the  
rules laid down by critics. The  
third exhibits a philosophical ana-  
lysis of the pre-requisites of the art  
of acting. The fourth displays the  
criteria of dramatic genius in com-  
position, and the beautiful and sub-  
lime of acting; and the fifth treats  
of architecture, painting, and other  
arts, so far as they are accessory to  
theatrical representation.

There is in this, as in most of  
Hiffenan's writings, a mixture of  
science and absurdity—He had not  
taste sufficient to set off his learning,  
and his familiar life was such as to  
shut out all improvement. The  
characters of the several plays of  
Shakespeare given in this work are  
in Latin as well as in English; and  
as the doctor piqued himself on his  
*Latinity*, the reader will judge for  
himself, what excellence he possessed



in that language from the following specimen of the character of Richard the Third.

*Ricardus Tertius.*

Imperium obtinuit primorum strage viro-  
rum,

Iustitiam, Leges, naturæ et jura perosus;  
Reges *Henricum*, fratremque, et pignora  
amoris

Sustulit è medio truculentâ mente, *Ri-  
cardus*

Astutusque, toro, et morti promoverat  
*Annam*.

Cognatas umbras menti fera somnia  
pingunt,

Sin excussa quies—vanæ excutiuntur et  
umbræ.

Religione tegit facinus, quia sanguinis uitro  
Prodigus humani effuderat—omnis

Ordo gemit populi; juga solvere barbara  
jurat.

Richmondus petitur; Gallorum clapsus  
ah oris

Advolat in patriam—cecinerunt horrida  
bellum

Classica—*Besworthi* in campo pugnatur:—  
acerba

Funera densantur—mediis in millibus ardet

Regia sævitus—et equo privatur—ah onni

Milite clamat Equum, regni pretio: tu-  
runda,

Impatiens, volat huc; illuc sua prælia  
jactans:

“ Sex *Richmondi* hodiè dextrâ hac cecide-  
dere, morantem

“ *Richmondum* quoties,” rauco vox in-  
crepat ore!

Convenere! enses rapido mucrone cor-  
ruscant.

Vulnera vulneribus geminantur, et ictibus  
ictus—

Rex fato opprimitur—Victori cedere reg-  
num

Cogitur; infrendit moriens, “ *Æterna*  
repente

“ Nox reat in terras, perituro prologus  
orbi.”

The subscriptions he gained by this work were very considerable, as Garrick exerted himself amongst his friends for the author, and who could refuse Garrick on the subject

of the stage? And yet, though these exertions might have credit to the friendship of our glisli Roscius, they did not serve delicacy very much, as the price so lavishly bestowed on him should have in some respect withheld personal interference: besides, were too fullsome in themselves to add any degree of credit to such blished abilities.

The amount of these subscriptions we do not exactly know, but it is supposed to be from one hundred and twenty to one hundred fifty pounds; a temporary misfortune such a man as Hisserman, who was so much with the public, and in his interior life, there is no reason to suppose, practised an economy. With this money he emerged a little more into the world, he quitted the old English dress (as he used to call his seedy clothes) for a new suit of black, and knocked the doors of his friends with all confidence of a successful author.

In this progress, our author sometimes felt *l'embarras du richesse*, a manner that was laughable enough. Dining one day at a friend's house and feeling the consequence and weighty of a full pocket, he was the change of a twenty pound note; the gentleman said he was not quite so much money in his house, but as his servant was going on a message to Fleet-street for dinner, he should take it to Hoare his banker, and bring the change. This did very well, and soon after Hisserman gave a note to the man for the above purpose.

So far the object of self-consequence and vanity were sufficiently displayed, and our author joined pushing about the bottle with

nd conviviality. After an two spent in this manner, an inquired after the man— was rung—but no man was returned;—he dropped his title upon this, but said no-

In about an hour afterwards uired again, but no man. ur author began to lose a liti- ence; and turning round to ntleman of the house, very exclaimed, "By the living I'm afraid your man has run h the money."—"Upon my doctor, says the other (lino- m), I must confess it has an pearance; but if the fellow ave gone off, it is with *your* not mine."—"My money!" ed Hiffernan, starting from ir, and raising his voice, I would have you to know, know law as well as you in rticular, and I know that if my money to your servant r direction, the act of the is the act of the master."—

a altercation on the point of some time took place, when or was most happily extri- ut of all his fears by the ar- the servant with the money, o was only prevented from ig in time, by a number of essages which he had to de- om his mistress.

next production of the doc- as a thing which he called "Philosophic Whim," and e ironically dicated to the ties of Oxford and Cam-

is such a jumble of nonsense, re is no reading or defining it aims at any thing, it ap- o be a laugh against some s of modern philosophy, but ably executed, as to warrant

a supposition, that the man must be mad, or drunk, who wrote it. The publication however answered his purpose, for as he was very heed- less of his literary reputation, or perhaps did not always know when he was degrading it, he as usual subscribed it among his friends; and generally, wherever he went to dine, taxed his host from half a crown to a guinea (just as he could get it) for this pamphlet. Hugh Kelly, who had previously seen it at a friend's house, generously lent him a guinea for a copy; but consoled himself at the same time, that he was under no obligation to read it.

Talking of this strange publica- tion at that time, gave rise to one of the last flashes of poor Goldsmith. "How does this devil of an author, says a friend, contrive to get credit even with his bookseller for paper, print, and advertising?"—"Oh! my dear sir, says Goldsmith, very easily—he *steals the brooms ready made*."

The next year, 1775, doctor Hiffernan appeared as a dramatic author, by the introduction of a tragedy at Drury-lane theatre, under the title of "The Heroine of the Cave."—The history of this piece is as follows: After the death of Henry Jones, the author of the tragedy of the Earl of Essex (a man superior to Hiffernan in point of genius, but very like him in his want of prudence and discretion), this piece was found amongst his loose papers by the late Mr. Reddith, of Drury-lane theatre, who soon after brought it out for his benefit. Hiffernan and Reddith living in close habits of intimacy, the latter, after his benefit, gave it to the doctor, and suggested to him that he might make something of it by

extending the plot, and adding some new characters.

Hiffernan undertook it, and brought it out the next year for the benefit of Miss Young (now Mrs. Pope), with a new prologue, epilogue, &c. &c. and by the very excellent and impassioned performance of that capital actress, who played the heroine, it went off with considerable applause. The title Jones gave to this piece was, "The Cave of Idra." The plot is taken from a narrative in the *Annual Register*, and had the original author had time and coolness to finish it, it is probable he would have succeeded in making it a respectable tragedy. Even in Hiffernan's hands the plot and incidents buoyed him up above his ordinary thinking; and if he gave no graces, he avoided any great blemishes.

The doctor lived upon the profits of this tragedy for some time; but, as usual, never made a calculation what he was to do next, till poverty pressed him to do something. After casting about for some time (and occasionally damning the booksellers for their want of taste in not encouraging learning, and the performers of both theatres for a dearth of abilities that discouraged any author of eminence from writing for them) he undertook to give a course of lectures on the anatomy of the human body.

He instantly published proposals, which was a guinea for the course, to consist of three lectures, and the subscribers not to exceed twenty, in order to be the better accommodated in a private room. The subscription (which was evidently given under the impression of charity) was soon filled by the exertions of his

friends—and the first denounced by the doctor's going to the subscribers himself, and telling them of it.—"This method I look upon the best, as any imputation of *quack* public advertisement."

The room fixed on for his lecture was at the Percy's—the hour, one o'clock in the afternoon. At this hour the gentlemen assembled—Dr. Jones, physician to the King, and the present general to the hospitals, duke of York—Mr. Gerriek—Mr. Becket of Pall-mall—another gentleman. Till two for more company more coming, the doctor appeared, from an indredressed out in a full suit, and placing himself behind a round table, made a vobedience to his small audience.

The company could not smile at this mode of behaviour, but the doctor proceeding with gravity, pulled out of his small print of a human anatomy evidently cut out of some cal magazine, and laying the table thus proceeded:

"I am now, gentlemen, to open a subject to you of the greatest importance in life, is the *knowledge of ourselves*. Plato recommends in that forcible maxim of "No *self*"—Pope, by saying, "The study of mankind is man's divine Shakespeare, by saying, "What a piece of work is man! how noble in reason! how excellent in faculties! in form and action, how like an angel!"

on, how like a God! the of the world—the paragon is!”

ving thus given the general of three great men on this I shall commence with de—the *head* of this paragon of —Here the doctor entered common-place description of l, the brains, &c. which bout half an hour, when ap the print, and restoring l of the skeleton (which he siously doubled down) to its sition, he next undertook tion of the breast.

re gentlemen, says he, is part of this very extraor- nimal, which may be very called from its very curi- id and texture—the *bread-* of the human frame.”—At audience could hold out no but unanimously burst out orse laugh, which made the ause for some minutes, and d in the company likewise ward and embarrassed si-

At last one of the gentle- roke ground by saying, , doctor, as we are all and as the subscription has aid in, what signifies giving any farther trouble?—We sified of your capacity, and i dispense with any farther .”—Aye—aye, joined the he company.—“Why then, ed the first speaker, suppose come and take a bit of din- me to-day, when we shall t we are able to do in ana- g the bottle.”

found of a gratuitous good always fell very *magically* on an’s ear, and in the present : peculiarly so, as it not only lly provided for the wants

of one day, but released him from the trouble of *two days* more attendance, with out losing any part of his subscription-money. Hence the brow of the grave and philosophic lecturer instantly relaxed into that of the convivial familiar acquaintance; he stepped from behind the corner of his little table with the utmost cheerfulness, paid his congees separately to his friends, ordered up some coffee (which he left them to pay for), and soon after met them at the dinner rendezvous in all the hilarity of an eleemosynary guest.

This transient exhibition, we believe, was the last public effort of his, either as a physician or an author: not but he sometimes used to *convertible* works, perhaps without any design of publishing them, but for the purposes of *giving pain*, or *extorting mercy*. In this list we find many pamphlets, some, perhaps, written, others intended to be written; but all calculated to form his miserable ways and means for raising the supplies.

In this shifting manner our author went on, living as he most conveniently could make it out, without feeling much of the disgrace or embarrassment of his situation, till the spring of 1777, when he contracted the jaundice, which very soon made an evident impression on his frame and spirits. His friends, knowing his pecuniary situation, saw it was necessary for him to confine himself to his apartments, and liberally assisted him for this purpose. Amongst these were Mr. Garrick, Mr. Murphy, Dr. Kennedy, Mrs. Abington, and others. The doctor, however, used to creep out during the morning sun for an hour or two, which he trusted would

would do him more good than either physic or confinement.

In one of these morning excursions, he gave a singular proof of the ruling passion sticking to us even in the hour of death. Calling at a friend's house, so faint and spiritless that he was unable to walk up to the drawing-room, he was told in as delicate a manner as possible, "that as sickness always brought on additional expenses, if he would give his friend his address, he would very readily lend him a guinea per week until he recovered.

The doctor received the promise of the loan with becoming gratitude, but referred him for his *address* to the usual place, "The Bedford coffee-house."—"My dear doctor, says the other, this is no time to trifle. I assure you in the most solemn manner, I do not make this enquiry from any impertinent curiosity, or idle wish to extort a secret from you under your present circumstances; my only reason is, for the quicker dispatch of sending you any thing that may be needful."—The doctor still expressed his gratitude with a sigh, and ardent gripe of the hand; but left the house by referring his friend to the Bedford coffee-house.

It was in vain to expostulate farther: the gentleman sent on the two following Saturdays a guinea each day, sealed up in a letter, which, on enquiry, he found the doctor received; but on the third Saturday no messenger arriving, upon enquiry, it was found that the doctor was *no more*, having died the preceding night, at his lodgings, in one of the little courts of St. Martin's lane, about the beginning of June, 1777.

Hiffernan was in his person a short, thick-set man, of a ruddy

complexion; black, obscure with a nose somewhat in the aquiline, and upon the though not formed with symmetry, might be called telligent and well-looking as he has humourously in both his person and mind poem called "The Author Himself," we shall use pencil:

"Perhaps some curious would  
son know;

I humbly answer, 'Tis but so an  
Not over tall—nor despicably low  
Black frowning brows my deep  
o'er shade,

They were, I fear, for a physician  
Foreseeing Nature gave this anti  
And mark'd me with a medical  
In limbs proportioned—body  
gross,

In humour various—affable—m  
The ladies servitor—in health a  
Good-natur'd, peevish, gay,  
thing;

That like friend Horace, grey  
time,

Seek fame in loose-pac'd prose a  
rhyme;

Whose highest wish's a mere ab  
*Nothing to do—and learnedly idle*  
Like to myself to have a muse—  
My vain chimeras to review and  
The day to write—by night in  
So, like true poets, dream my

As a writer, Hiffernan, as  
fore observed, had the ma  
scholarship, but from no  
cultivating good company  
crificing occasionally too  
Bacchus, he did not prop  
himself of his stock of  
He was far from being, i  
a mere scholar; he coul  
himself in good company v  
becoming decorum, and en  
conversation with anecdote  
fervation, which rendered  
times an agreeable compan  
other times, and particula

early intoxicated, he could roarie and vulgar, sparing no arts of abuse, and indulging in all the extravagancies of

Had he attended at an age to take the proper advantage of his education and talents were many situations, he might have been fit instance, a schoolmaster, a tutor, or a translator. In saying however, we must presuppose sobriety, &c.; but his was such, that he let all others run to seed, and only him, like the beavis of the hunt for *daily prey*, which, sometimes, we are afraid, ended either by stratagem or

and many *peculiarities*, which who knew him intimately, the pleasantest part of his character. One was, and which were remarked, the inviolable he observed about the place dying. Many schemes used twisted among his friends to get him out; but his vigilance, whether drunk or sober, always effected the discovery. How far had this whimsical idea may be seen from the following anecdote.

One night in a mixed comely old Slaughter's coffee-house, the rest was a Mr. Doherty, by the late date of Cumberland, a man of a lifetime, but who lived late hours and late rising in the morning excess. He had another more peculiar than the former, was, that whoever he sat with, he made it a point of him home. Such a coincidence of characters as Hilkernan formed, could scarcely fail

of producing some whimsical event. On their leaving the coffee-house, about one o'clock in the morning,

Mr. D. asked the doctor permission to see him home. This was a question of all others the doctor was least willing to answer; however, after pausing for some time, "he thanked him for his civility; but as he lived in the city, he could not think of giving him that trouble."

—"None in the world, sir (said the other); on the contrary, it affords me the highest satisfaction."

To this the doctor was obliged to subscribe, and they walked on arm in arm until they came to St. Paul's church-yard: "Pray, doctor (arriving at this point)" says Mr. D. "do you live much farther?"—

"Oh, yes, sir (says the doctor), and on that account, I told you it would be given you a great deal of trouble." This revived the other's civility, and on they marched till they reached the Royal Exchange. Here the question was asked again, when the doctor, who found him lagging, and thought he could venture to name some place, replied, "he lived at Bow." This answer decided the contest, Mr. D. confessed he was not able to walk so far, particularly, as he had business in the morning which required his attendance at two o'clock, wished the doctor a good night, and walked back to his lodgings near Charing-cross with great composure.

The doctor lived upon some terms of intimacy with most of the literati of his time, viz. Foote, Garrick, Murphy, Goldsmith, Kelly, Bickerstaffe, &c. and occasionally felt their patronage and beneficence. He had other *haunts of call*, as he used to express himself,

where

where he was entertained, and where he found a ready subscription for his publications; his real expense of living, therefore, must have been very trifling, if we deduct from it the high price he paid for his time and independence, but in these he himself was the lowest valuator.

Garrick often relieved him, and Hiffernan was vain enough to think he repaid him by an occasional epigram or paragraph in praise of his talents, both of which he was very far from excelling in. Foote had him upon easier terms: he entertained him upon no other principle than that of amusement, and relieved him from the impulse of humanity, of which the following is a peculiar instance, and which the doctor used to relate as a proof, amongst many others, of his friend's generosity.

Foote meeting Hiffernan one morning rather early in the Hay-market, asked him how he was? "Why, faith, but so, so," replied the doctor. "What, the old disorder—*impecuniosity*—I suppose—(here the doctor shook his head)—Well, my little Bayes, let me prescribe for you; I have been lucky last night at play, and I'll give you as many guineas as you have shillings in your pocket—Come, make the experiment." Hiffernan most readily assenting, pulled out *seven shillings*, and Foote, with as much readiness, gave him *seven guineas*, adding with a laugh, "You see, Paul, Fortune is not such a b—ch as you imagine, for she has been favourable to me last night, and equally so to you this morning."

Where the doctor generally lodged he had the dexterity (for purposes only known to himself) to con-

ceal to the last hour of his life. The supposition lay, from the circumstances of his being often coming out with clean shoes in that quarter, to be in one of the courts of Fleet-street, where lodgings are not only cheap, but there are a number of small houses, which afford an easy accommodation.

His familiar day was spent as follows: He never turned out about twelve o'clock at noon, then called at some friend's to enquire their health, &c. and then the news of the morning put himself in a way of being put to dinner. If he failed in one, he tried it in another, and so to the third and fourth; if all failed, he went to an eating-house, and in the evening went to the theatre, where he generally slept out the whole of the night in the number box, and then finished his evening at the cider-cellar, Maiden-lane, or some of the porter-houses in Covent-garden: at these last he generally quartered upon some friend, who treated him, and he could be for a time very entertaining. Towards the close of the night he got drunk, if he could, then broke out the violence of his temper, abusing every body who differed with him in politics, religion, literature, &c. in the streets and straits of Billingsgate. He was thus, however, with impunity, every body knew him, and every body laughed at him, and he sometimes worked him up to the verge of phrenzy to exhibit himself to his friends and strangers.

When he spent the day at his friend's, he generally put on a different kind of behaviour, mixing the conversation with temper.

and sometimes enlivened anecdotes and remarks, fanciful or judicious. His respect here was his debt to nod a little after which sometimes proceeded a nap, and was often the more ridiculous embarrassment which the following is an

to the exhibition of the  
 " 'Tis Well Its no  
 ce cut down to the farce  
 'annel") Bickerstaffe in-  
 friends, of whom Hif-  
 one, to dine with him,  
 m read his play. After  
 glass went cheerfully  
 out half an hour, when  
 began, and read to the  
 first act, the company  
 h observations on it as it  
 to their judgements. Hif-  
 y remark all this while  
 y well, by G—d! very  
 about the middle of the  
 when he began to nod,  
 little time afterwards, to  
 d, that the author could  
 heard. Bickerstaffe felt  
 arrastied, but, raising his  
 t on. Hifferman's tones,  
 increased, till at last  
 could hold no longer, but  
 "Never mind the brute,  
 on—so he would have  
 ner if he was here, and  
 own works."  
 n, however, made his  
 the next day, and which  
 was ready enough to ad-  
 h; for when the latter  
 how he could behave in  
 er, the other coolly re-  
 s my usual way—I never  
 eeping at a *pantomime*."  
 ds the little history of a

man who had learning sufficient to fill many situations in life, and talents and observation, if joined but to a common share of prudence and industry, to make himself respectable and independent. All his bad qualities seemed to grow out of his *indolence*, and he adds another name to the long list of martyrs who have sacrificed to this destructive and degrading vice. Men of this stamp act as if they considered themselves as a "kind of rent-charge upon Providence," who is obliged to invert the order of nature in their favour, and provide for them at the public expence. Repeated disappointments, or the severe bites of poverty, will not set them right; and as life must be supported (and sometimes according to their extravagant ideas of support), the means, of course, must be unjustifiable.

The following, as far as we have been able to collect, is a chronological list of Dr. Hifferman's works:

The Ticklers; a set of periodical papers, published in Dublin about 1750.—The Tuner; a set of periodical papers, published in 1753.—Miscellanies in Prose and Verse; Lond. 1751.—The Ladies Choice; a dramatic petit piece, 1759.—The Wishes of a Free People; dramatic poem, 1761.—The New Hypocrites; a farce, n. p. 1761.—The Earl of Warwick; a tragedy, 1764.—Dramatic Genius; in five books, 1770.—Philosophic Whim, 1774.—Heroine of the Cave; taken from Jones's "Cave of Idra;" a tragedy, 1775.

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*Account of the town of Zurich, and of the crejs and manners of the inhabitants;*



*bitants ; from Gray's Tour through Germany.*

**Z**URICH is charmingly situated on the river Limmat, where it runs from the lake. The town has no streets that are regular or well built: the suburbs, towards the lake, are improved by some modern buildings; the environs are very beautiful, and the banks of the lake and the Limmat are covered with houses, many of which are the country seats of the gentlemen of Zurich: these derive their chief beauty from their situation; having nothing that corresponds with our pleasure-garden; the Swiss, who, on every side, behold the bold and magnificent features of nature, seem to despise the minute and artificial ornaments by which we mimic her works.

Though the town has no buildings distinguished for their beauty of architecture, it has every edifice of importance to the welfare of the people. The town house is large and commodious; the granary is well conducted, and, in times of scarcity, alleviates the public distress: the arsenal, where, among the ancient armour, is preserved, as a valuable monument of liberty, William Tell's cross-bow, seems to be well provided with arms: Les Orphelines, a charitable institution for the children of the citizens, and which contains from eighty to one hundred, who are instructed, and, at fifteen, are apprenticed to different trades, is well supported. The Swiss have neither the inclination or the power to spend money in superfluous edifices. Their private houses are furnished with simplicity, and very little ornament:

their carriages are for convenience, and chiefly open; their possession are not permitted to use them in town; their servants seldom wear liveries; and there is but little appearance of those refinements which are too often the indication of corruption of manners. The dress of the higher ranks is extremely plain: black is the full dress; and the men, who are in any department of government, wear swords. The dress of the women is unbecoming; on Sundays they wear black in the morning, and colours in the evening: the hair is dressed in the French and English fashion, but with a loose and ill-shaped negligence, appearing what is vulgarly called blowzy; their shapes are not advantageously displayed, nor do they exhibit any of that flowing and graceful drapery which gives to the lengthened and picturesque forms of Reynolds and Bunbury, the elegance of the Grecian figure: their squat and unfeminine masters of shoes seem manufactured for downright walking, not to bend with supple pliancy in the dance, or to draw attention in the succession of the well-directed steps. The strangers who resort here begin to sap a little the simplicity of manners which prevails, by the introduction of foreign luxuries; they intermix indeed, but seldom, with the natives in convivial intercourse; but the sight of luxury is infectious, and the genius of the people of Zurich yields to the contagion. Heidegger, the famous arbiter elegantiarum, for many years, in England, was the son of a clergyman at Zurich; and no man ever presided with greater spirit in the circles of dissipation, or pushed the  
revels

voluptuousness to a great-

The native of a severe  
e town in Switzerland,  
ne luxurious pleasures of  
e most refined courts in  
" I was born a Swiss,"  
a public company, " and  
ngland without a farthing,  
ive found means to gain  
year, and to spend it.  
efy the most able English-  
go to Switzerland, and  
gain that income or spend

ve no particular introduc-  
e inhabitants of this town,  
ate chiefly with the Eng-  
her strangers, with whom  
our public table brings  
nted. I have been intro-  
wever, to Mr. Lavater,  
ld and expressive counte-  
ndered more interesting  
le of dejection, will re-  
him to all who adopt his  
of physiognomy. I ob-  
him, that it required some  
o present ourselves before  
fessing the powers of pe-  
which he professed: he  
hat no mortal need fear  
nce of another, since all  
conscious of defect. He  
a very small house; we  
r instructive and unassuming  
sation. He speaks French  
itation and difficulty, but  
ssions are forcible. On a  
isit he shewed us his col-  
f pictures, which contains  
four pieces by Holbein, in  
servation: among these is  
I with the instruments of  
crucifixion, that has great  
There are some other va-  
ictures; one by West. and  
hree admirably done by a  
asant; a variety of beauti-

ful drawings, and other things well  
worthy attention. Mr. Lavater's  
character, as a minister, is very  
high. He is now projecting two  
or three charitable institutions, one  
of which is designed as a retreat for  
women after the age of fifty. He  
is engaged in a pleasant periodical  
publication of Miscellanies, of which  
six volumes have appeared for the  
first year, and one for the second.  
He complains that our translations of  
his writings (especially of his great  
work) are extremely defective. I  
have since heard him preach with  
great apparent energy; but he  
preached in an unknown tongue to  
me. The Vandyke frill, which the  
ministers wear, gives them a very  
antique appearance; and the mourn-  
ing dresses of the congregation pro-  
duce a very grave effect in the  
churches. I was not much disposed  
to approve an hour glass, which was  
placed by the preacher, to direct  
him in the length of his discourse.  
After the singing, in which all the  
congregation join, there is a great  
noise of letting down the seats; and  
the people all put on their hats and  
sit down, to hear the minister pray  
or preach. Devotion here appears  
to correspond with Parnel's descrip-  
tion of it at Geneva. " A fullen  
thing, whose coarseness suits the  
croud." I reflected, with satisfac-  
tion, on the rational and decent ser-  
vice established in our church: on  
premediated prayers, formed upon  
sublime principles of piety and be-  
nevolence; and exterior forms, de-  
signed only to be expressive of re-  
verence for God, and subservient to  
the becoming solemnity of public  
worship.

The ministry is supported with  
suitable maintenance at Zurich, and  
the people seem to profit at least by  
its

its moral instructions, being celebrated for their integrity and worth.

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*Account of the resignation of Philip V. king of Spain ; from the History of Spain, by the author of the History of France, in 3 vols. 8vo.*

**T**HOUGH the relief of Ceuta left the Spanish empire in perfect tranquillity, yet the internal regulation of it required the most strenuous exertions and unwearied application : the public debt had rapidly grown beneath the profuse administration of Alberoni ; while that statesman pursued his vast and visionary plans of dominion, he had totally neglected, and not unfrequently left unfilled, the subordinate departments of the state ; the disorders in the revenue had multiplied beyond the example of former times ; and it demanded the clearest judgement and the purest integrity to explore the crooked labyrinth of finance, to reform abuses which had been sanctioned by custom, and to redress grievances which originated in the corruption of a court. Such qualities were not the growth of the reign of Philip the Fifth. The death of the marquis of Bedmar, who had filled with ability the important trust of president of the council of the Indies, was an irreparable loss ; the marquis del Campo, to whom was principally confided the superintendence of the revenue, was of a delicate constitution, and was rather occupied in administering to his own infirmities than to those of the state : the marquis of Grimaldi alone relieved the king from part of the public burden ; but

what remained was beyond strength of Philip ; and a naturally prone to indolence, perdition, and to melanchol oppressed by the weight of

Of the different princes who descended from a throne, supposed to have secretly re of their hasty resolution ; but in accepting a sceptre that had offered violence to his position. Bred up in the famous school of Lewis the Fourth he had been early instructed for grandeur to ease ; but session of a crown he had expected the fallacy of his choice. Only three years that he had eighteen had been consumed in foreign war or domestic contention ; and the love of arms and of glory, which to noble minds conciles every toil and danger only faintly or never felt the feeble spirit of Philip. Far mingled with indolence to the cup of royalty ; in the and tumultuous struggle with rival, incessant action had ; no leisure for reflection ; a splendid hopes which the chi projects of Alberoni inspired for a moment triumphed over gious terrors. But no soon Philip secured the peace kingdom, than he trembled for the salvation of his soul. From relief of Ceuta, two autumn two successive years, admonished his subjects that under the a bigot it was less dangerous to revolt from their civil than allegiance ; but their murmurs never reached the ears of the sovereign, who in the sepulchres of St. Ildefonso, gratified with alternate servour

as climate which pre-  
the Escorial and St.  
ough at the distance of  
agues from each other.  
preferred the latter to  
Philip. A range of  
ns divides it from the  
f the south; in a deep  
accessible only to the  
it enjoys the freshness,  
forth the flowers of  
the inhabitants of the  
ons are exposed to the  
raged in collecting the  
turn. It was to this  
spot that the king re-  
complaints of his sub-  
e importunities of his  
beneath his care the  
n arose into a palace;  
icated to St. Ildefonso  
n the ancient name of  
about six millions fler-  
ended in fertilizing a  
and though the palace  
cannot vie with the  
f the Escorial, yet its  
versed by close and  
as, and refreshed by  
ntains, present a del-  
t from the burning rays  
sun.  
p fixed his residence;  
the vigour of his age,  
ed to deliver him-  
es of royalty, and to  
s crown to his son.  
ay was interposed by  
nces of the queen, and  
d'Aubenton, the king's  
e latter had cherished,  
ferent conduct of the  
ans, an idea that he  
ly disapprove the abdi-  
king of Spain. He  
e, laboured to im-  
l of his royal person,  
on of his regal duty was  
A.

a sacred offence. In a letter to the  
duke of Orleans, he explained the  
motive of his counsels. But the  
regent was only anxious to see his  
daughter on the throne of Spain.  
He sent the letter of the father to  
Philip, and d'Aubenton was not  
able to sur vive the detection of his  
treachery. The death of the Jesuit  
released the monarch from his scr-  
ples: the prince of Asturias had at-  
tained the age of eighteen; he had  
already been familiarized with the  
forms of government; and the gra-  
vity of his manners seemed to ren-  
der him worthy the important trust.  
The queen no longer deemed it  
prudent to persevere in a resistance  
which might have exposed her to  
the resentment of her son-in-law.  
The chief object of Elizabeth had  
been to secure a royal inheritance  
for her son Don Carlos; this had  
been stipulated by the late peace;  
and the death of Cosimo of Medicis,  
with the shattered constitution of  
his impotent successor, promised  
soon to gratify her wishes, in the  
possession of the duchy of Tuscany.  
Thus circumstanced, she yielded to  
the inclinations of her consort, and  
consented to renounce the tumult-  
uous grandeur of a crown, and to  
confine her future views to the ag-  
grandizement of her son.  
It was in the twenty-fourth year  
of his reign, and in the fortieth of  
his age, that Philip formally an-  
nounced his intentions to his people;  
the instrument of his renunciation  
was intrusted to the marquis of  
Grimaldi, and was, by that nobles-  
man publicly read in the Council.  
It dated the coronation of the king  
a turbulent reign of twenty-seven  
years, and anxious to employ the  
remains of his life in preparing  
for a final crown, Philip resigned

his temporal one to his eldest son Lewis, and transferred to him the allegiance of his subjects; it named at the same time a council of state, to assist the inexperience of the young monarch; and it concluded, with providing a proper subsistence for himself and his consort, in the retreat he meditated.

This extraordinary scene, which recalled to the minds of the hearers the abdication of Charles the Fifth, was attended by the same external marks of regret, that had accompanied the resignation of that monarch; but when the first impressions of surprise had subsided, the Spaniards could not but be sensible to the different situation and conduct of those two princes. Charles had advanced his country to the highest pitch of grandeur and prosperity; and it was not until a long series of illustrious achievements and stubborn toils had matured his glory, and broken his constitution, that he resigned a sceptre which his arm could no longer wield with vigour. He retreated to the condition of a private gentleman, and a stipend of a hundred thousand crowns, or about twelve thousand pounds a year, was all that he reserved for the support of his family, and the indulgence of beneficence; in the monastery of St. Justus he buried every ambitious thought, and he even restrained his curiosity from enquiring respecting the political situation of Europe. But the age of Philip was that when the mind and body possess their fullest powers; whatever activity he had displayed, had been in support of his personal interests; nor had he earned his discharge from the cares, by having laboriously fulfilled the duties, of

royalty; his abdication was the result of a degrading indolence, and a narrow superstition; in the palace of El Escorial he preserved the revenue, though he abandoned the functions, of a king; the annual payment of a million of crowns, or one hundred and twenty thousand pounds sterling, was severely felt, and the sum that he was reported to have privately transported to his retreat was loudly resented by the people.

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*Account of the Bashkirs, from Pallas's travels, among the Kalmecks and Tartars.*

THESE people differ from other nomades in inhabiting, during the inclement season, solid houses constructed of wood, after the manner of the Russians. For the supply of the pressing wants of their flocks, they collect hay, which they put in heaps round some large trees. Their houses are generally small, and their chambers, like those of the Tartars, are furnished with large benches, which serve instead of beds. The principal utensil, seen in the Bashkir huts, is a pretty tall leathern bottle, of the form of a flaggon, rested on a wooden foot, and constantly full of sour milk. While their cattle furnish milk, and they have good provision of honey, they live joyously, and drink nothing but sour milk or hydromel: but, as they seldom clean their vessels, one may easily conceive the odour issuing from this inexhaustible bottle. In winter, and on their journey, they supply the defect of their usual beverage by little cheeses made with  
very

milk, and smoke-dried, crumble between their infuse in water. They n spring, the sap of the h they collect by means sions in the trees; which is a great number of the eir most common nou- a very thin meat-broth, pour from large spoons, ir mouths, and part on ls. They sow, indeed, i, but scarce enough for consumption. While ble to keep horses and can please themselves idolent life, it is not to d that they can be made re ground. Bread is not e with them. A Baschk kneads, with unwashed cake, with water and a and buries it in hot ashes th; it is then stuck on a held before the fire to st. schkirs have been long hans, and all their nobi- been gradually destroyed wars. At present, every *Kolost* chuses from itself re ancients or *Starshini*. on composes thirty-four therein were reckoned, in 000 families. Their lan- i Tartar idiom, differing : that spoken at Kasan. ilitary service, they them- e the chiefs, and the of- he small troops: but the l chiefs, called *Attamars*, l by the Russian comman- among the most merito- Starshimis. Their usual a bow, arrows, a lance, mail, and a catque: but

many are armed with sabres, fusils, or pistols, and some with all these. They are very well mounted, are good horsemen, and excellent archers; whence a small troop of Baschkirs is not only sure to obtain the victory over a much greater number of Kirgishians, but a single regiment of Baschkirs often makes long marches in the midst of a Kirgishian horde without ever being beaten. A corps of Baschkirs offers several singularities. Every horseman dresses himself as he pleases, or as he can; all, however, wear long clothing. Each has a led horse, which he keeps for the battle, and which carries his provisions, consisting chiefly in well-dried corn, which they grind to meal in hand-mills carried with them. Each troop of a hundred carries a standard of various colours, which differ from each other in every regiment as much as the arms do. They preserve no order in marching, and it is only when they halt, that they observe any appearance of ranks and files.

The Baschkirs live in huts in winter, and in moveable jouts\* in summer. In the choice of situations for winter villages, they pay more regard to the fertility of the soil, than to the proximity of water, snow serving them in that respect. A village contains from ten to fifty huts; an encampment is only from five to twenty jouts; so that a large winter village divides into several summer camps. Though the winters here are long and rigorous, the Baschkirs leave their cattle entirely to their own discretion. These unfortunate animals are reduced to scratch up, from beneath the snow,

\* A kind of barracks.

some withered and frozen herbs, or a little moss. The masters only furnish a little hay to their weakly beasts, and to those which bring forth out of season. As to their camels, which in like manner they oblige to provide their own subsistence, they wrap them in old felt coverlets, which they sew about their bodies. Hence all their cattle are dismally lean and meagre toward spring; but, in the summer, they are not only healthy, but fat. In order to profit of the milk, they tie, during the day, their foals and calves to cords stretched near the jourts, and suffer them to run with their dams only during night. They have observed that the young, brought up thus sparingly, support much better the severity of the winters, than those which are indulged with all the mother's milk.

Both sexes wear shirts, which are usually of coarse cloth of nettles, long and large drawers, and buskins or slippers. A woman's gown is of fine cloth or silk stuff, buttoned before, and tightly bound round the body with a girdle. The neck and breast are covered with a kind of net, garnished with pieces of money. The Bashkirs are more gross, negligent, and slovenly in their manner of living and commerce than the Kasan Tartars, but they are also more hospitable, lively, and joyous, especially in summer. They make no account of carriages, but both men and women love to ride on horseback, and take

pride in fine horses and rich hangings. The saddles for the women are distinguished from those of the men use by handsome and light coverings. A saddled horse is commonly seen before every jourt, in a habit which they have contracted of being constantly either on his back, or seated on their hams, in nearly all the men crook-kn. They sleep at night with clothes on, lying on felts; while they are rarely without vermin, especially as they use fewer ablutions than other Mohammedans. A man without reproach is greatly esteemed among them, according to the oriental custom; and, when he invites his friends to a feast, he promises to seat them among the men.

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*Character of William Rufus, from Andrewes's history of Great Britain.*

WILLIAM was now on the point of gaining Guiney by advancing money to its prince, he had acquired Normandy, with a mis-directed shaft, from a French knight, named Walter Tyrrel, who had ruined all his ambitious projects. The king was hunting in the New Forest and had just struck a deer. He checked his horse, and had raised his hand to guard his eyes from sun-beams, when he received a fatal wound.\* The disastrous

\* Monarchs must have prodigies to announce their fall. We are told, that William dreamed the night before the fatal chase, that an extreme cold wind had pierced through his sides. A monk too would have detained him from hunting, by the capital frightful vision; he had seen in a dream, the king gnawing and tearing a crucifix with his teeth, and he had seen him spurned and trodden down by the image, while flames of fire burst from his mouth. The intrepid tyrant ordered him 100 shillings, and told him "dream better dreams."

ly embarked for the to expiate his in-  
vow. The body was con-  
inchster in a common  
nb erected over it was  
pieces in the last civil  
large gold ring and a  
e were found mingled  
al dust.

Rufus fell, unmarried, in  
ear. His person must  
unpleasing. He was  
it, had a stern visage,  
d eyes of different co-  
had all his father's vices  
few virtues, a stern  
perhaps excepted; im-  
el, and avaricious; he re-  
ord or oath only as means  
credulous; religion he  
Israelite who knew his  
ave him a large sum of  
persuade his converted

son to return to Judaism. Rufus  
did his honest endeavour, but in  
vain. 'Well,' said he to the father,  
'I have done what I could, but I  
have not succeeded. It is not my  
fault though, so we will divide the  
money between us.' Another time,  
when ten Englishmen had been  
cleared by the ordeal of fire from a  
charge of killing deer, the impious  
Rufus exclaimed, 'Pretty justice a-  
bove, indeed! to let ten such scoun-  
drels escape!'

To close the character of William  
Rufus, let us quote the nervous lines  
of Henry of Huntingdon: 'He was  
a man more fierce than seemed con-  
sistent with human nature. By the  
advice of the worst of men (which  
he *always* followed) he perpetually  
harrassed his neighbours with war,  
and his own subjects with soldiers  
and taxes.'\*

*Character*

rious opinions as to the death of Rufus, although what is written above  
dited. Eadmer gives it as a received opinion, that he fell with an arrow  
d mortally wounded his breast. Suger, in his 'Life of Lewis the Fat,'  
Tyrrel had with solemn oaths averred to him, that he was not even in that  
est where the king fell, nor saw him there on the day of his death. And  
my, comparing the death of William to that of Julian the apostate, says,  
tally doubtful (at the time when he wrote) by whom either of them was  
[LYTTELTON'S HENRY II.]

in the New Forest, a ford called 'Tyrrel's Ford;' there is an estate too  
'Tyrrel, and if (as the tradition of the forest affirms) these lands have been  
yearly fine to the Exchequer of seventeen shillings, on account of the  
ed told having been shewn to the regicide by the then owner of the estate,  
doubt of Tyrrel's at least presuming himself guilty.  
it (which still exists) was erected on the spot where Rufus died, by a lord  
avers, that he had seen the oak on which the shaft had glanced. In the  
is recorded, that a peasant named Purkis, drove the cart which conveyed  
to Winchester; and it is remarkable, that two families of the said name  
ttages near the spot, and that within the present century an axle-tree was  
ne of these cottagers, which tradition asserted to have belonged to the very  
tioned.

these, one of the most irritating was that species levied by the lawless pur-  
cely ravaged the whole country' says Eadmer, 'through which the court  
iently they would burn or destroy the provisions which they could not use;  
g washed the feet of their cattle with the best liquors, they would let the  
ite. In short, the cruelties which the masters of families suffered, and  
atment offered by these wretches to their wives and daughters, are too  
e told or credited.' Much more defensible was a species of impost men-  
accurate and curious writer, as in use during the earlier Norman reigns,



*Character of king John, from the same.*

THE party of John being now the strongest, he indulged his favourite passion, revenge, to such excess, that he drove the barons to the desperate resolution of applying to Philip of France, for his son Lewis, (in right of his wife Blanche, grand-daughter to Henry II.) to be their king. In consequence, the Dauphin, embracing their invitation, soon landed in Kent, and was joined by many noblemen and their armed dependents. He took Rochester-castle with ease, and was actually received in London with transport. The friends and soldiers of John began to abandon him; and the French prince might have crushed this royal viper with ease, had

he not made a rash vow not to advance before he had reduced Dover-castle. While he strove for this in vain: the English barons by this delay had time to reflect on the ill their country might sustain from a foreign lord: and even to entertain such † suspicions of Lewis's integrity, that they determined to quit his party and (under restrictions) to restore the abhorred John. But that equally wicked and unfortunate prince was doomed to receive no benefit from their good intentions. A flood had swept away his money, his provisions, and even his regalia, as he marched along the sands of Lincolnshire: no consciousness of rectitude, no magnanimity, was at hand to support him under this calamity; with difficulty he reached Newark-castle; and || in that ter-

viz. Severe fines on persons 'for making foolish speeches, returning foolish answers, or having short memories,' &c. &c.

[Madox. Hist. Exch.]

This tax may not be unprofitable in more modern days.

\* It is probable, that the first standing military force in Britain was that garrison in Dover-castle, which by resisting the arms of the Dauphin saved the kingdom of England from a foreign dynasty. For (as Camden quotes from an ancient historian,) "Sir Robert de Burgo (when made constable of the castle) considering that it was not for the safety of the fortress to have new guards every month, procured by the assent of the king, and of all that held of the castle, that every tenant for one month's guard should tender ten shillings, out of which, certain persons elected and sworn (both of horse and foot) should receive pay for guarding the castle."

[BRITANNIA.]

"Alas (said the king of France, on hearing how ill the besiegers had sped) my son has not gained Dover-castle, he has gained no footing in England!"

† Suspicions which, from the succeeding tenor of Lewis's blameless life, we may conclude to have been groundless. He was charged with a design to execute the English barons as traitors to their king, so soon as by their help he should be confirmed on his new throne. Yet the French writers speak doubtfully of this business.

‡ John had so strong an attachment to Lynn, in Norfolk, that he had given it a charter, and had girded the first mayor with his own sword, a relique still preserved in that town. He kept also there his crown and other regalia; and it was in attempting to remove these to a stronger fortress that he met with the last misfortune.

[M. Paris. Camden.]

|| The story of John's being poisoned by a monk at Swinburn-abbey, is of a late date and deserves no credit. In some respects, this inconsistent prince had benefited the church; he had actually built many monasteries; and indeed in 150 years, which elapsed between the deaths of Harold and of John, no less than 550 religious houses were founded in England, which composed above five parts in seven of the whole number of those, which Henry VIII. afterwards dissolved at the reformation. So desirous were the most despotic of the Norman princes and their barons of expiating their sins at the cost of their ill-fated and oppressed vassals.

[Anderson.]  
true,

ten-hearted and unlamented breathed his last.

The prince feared ever dis-  
turbance to his throne; and the histo-  
rian gave himself the odious  
drawing up his character,  
leading the reader to the an-  
cient life, as son, uncle, and  
Hell," said a contemporary  
felt herself defiled by his

\* He fell in the forty-  
fourth of his age, leaving five  
children, Henry (who  
succeeded him), and Richard, earl  
of Cornwall; Joan, † queen of

Eleanor, countess of  
Aquitaine; and Isabella, wife of  
H. emperor of Germany.  
His natural children, whose  
names and posterity are recorded at  
Sandford.

The person of John has not been  
well represented by his biographers. If, in  
the gloom of his fallen state,  
a single spark of patriot-  
ism pointed its ray towards the  
end of the first year of his reign  
to assert the superiority of the  
law by an ordinance; and

in 1213, he had annihilated the na-  
val power of France, by a gallant  
and successful battle; and in his dis-  
tress in 1215, the affections of the  
seamen (of the Cinque Ports parti-  
cularly) was his only refuge. He  
even lived night and day on ship-  
board, for fear of being betrayed. ‡

Nor should it be concealed that,  
from the beginning of his reign this  
inconsistent prince had shewn a sin-  
gular readiness to convert demesne-  
towns into corporate burghs. A  
measure inimical to all despotism. ||

Trifling too as the merit may ap-  
pear, we must allow to John the  
honour of having been the first  
English king who perfected the coin-  
ing of pure sterling money.

Had historians no stronger reasons  
to accuse this hated prince of im-  
piety, than his pointing to a fat  
deer, and saying, "see how plump  
he is; and yet he has never heard  
mass," we might have allowed some-  
what for the humorous allusion to  
the wonderful gluttony of the monks  
in his days. § But he was uniform-  
ly wicked; and laughed at every  
obligation

our Jehanne Cehenna.

[M. PARIS]

amiable prince was styled "Joan Make-peace;" from her constant and  
endeavour to keep England and Scotland united in amity.  
Farna Burgh.

over.

Of monkish gourmandizing in the earlier centuries is almost incredible.  
Within's, Winton, Henry II. received a formal complaint against the abbot  
of his priests of three out of thirteen dishes at every meal. The monks of  
exceeded those of St. Martin. They had seventeen dishes every day; and  
were cooked with spices and the most savory and rich sauce. [GERALD. CAMBR.]  
Brian of Croiland also speaks highly in praise of brother Lawrence Chartres,  
a society (as others considered as of the highest importance) who, prompted  
of heaven and a religious zeal, had expended a sum equal to 400 modern  
supply the father with almond milk on fish-days. But the glutton-mass  
celebrated in honour of the B. V. five times in the year) carried ecclesiastical  
the highest pitch. The inhabitants of every parish vied with each other in  
churches with meat and drink; and as soon as the mass ended, the feast be-  
they were invited to join the clergy in the good work; and the church became  
the most gross and bestial licentiousness. The monks of France were not  
to the pleasures of the table. It was a celebrated preacher among them,  
sermon, represented the partridges, and ortolans, as addressing themselves

obligation which mankind look on as sacred. Matthew Paris, however, (who abhorred him) owns, that once, when he was persuaded to deface a splendid tomb erected over an enemy; he chid the adviser, and added "would to heaven all my foes were as handsomely intertomb'd."

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*Account of the famous Giraldus Cambrensis, from the same.*

IN 1202 or 3, Gerald Barry (better known as Giraldus Cambrensis) forsook the world and lived in retirement till his death, the æra of which is not known. He was born in 1146, and had studied with honour at the University of Paris. Returning to England in 1172, he was put in possession of several benefices, one of which (that of Brechin) he says he obtained by convicting the old incumbent of keeping a concubine. He was a favourite of church and of court; was a joint preacher of a crusade with the archbishop of Canterbury, and was (as he affirms) inserted by Richard Cœur de Lion in his commission for the guardianship of England.

Gerald was a most entertaining writer, but very credulous and most intolerably conceited. He expatiates on the exquisite delight which he gave at Oxford in publicly reading his books three days successively. First to the poor; secondly, to the doctors and men of literature; and, on the third day, to the scholars, soldiers, &c. "A most glorious spectacle (says the honest Gerald),

which revived the ancient the poets." He also speaks of Latin sermons, which affected him to take the cross (for the recovery of Jerusalem) the Welchmen, who knew not of Latin, the language in which he had preached. He dwelt on his own principles, which, he avers, made him jealous of him and stop his ment. He went with pride to Ireland; and refused (at two fees, that he might have to compose a history of the

At Chester, he observed countess Constance kept a milch-kine, made cheeses of milk, and presented three to his comrade the archbishop of Canterbury. He adds, that marked an animal between a stag; a woman borrowed arms, who could sew with as well as others could will and that he heard of a whelp, begotten by a How judicious and important the historian's observations were, may be judged from extracts; yet, when we consider his foibles, we must allow many curious pieces of intelligence to be found in his works too are frequently in though absurd, as the philosopher, perhaps, may prelate, he affirms, kept a who used to entertain him measure, by a wonderful accuracy in science the most absurd particularly by reciting profane history perfectly new to be found in the Bible.

themselves to the clergy and entreating to be eaten by them and them only, incorporated with their glorious bodies, they might be raised to heaven; and ravenous devourers to the infernal regions.' [St. Foix &

he related with great energy the various distresses of the rebellious angels, when driven from the presence of their offended Creator. "They fled (said the story-teller), to the extremities of the universe, and hid themselves to avoid his wrath, in the most unfrequented places. Some sought the deepest caverns; some plunged into the ocean; as for me, I dived into a well." Here the incautious narrator, conscious of having betrayed his diabolical origin, broke off short, and vanished away with every symptom of vexation and shame.

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*Account of James Bruce, esq. the late celebrated Abyssinian traveller.*

HE was born in Scotland, about the year 1720, of an ancient and respectable family, which had been in possession for several centuries of some of the estates which he owned at the time of his death. Indeed Mr. Bruce more than intimates that he was descended from some ancient kings. At an early period he was sent for education to a boarding-school at or near Glasgow, where his application was commended with several respectable persons, and particularly some of the family of the Barclays, to which family he retained to the end of his life. Returning to Scotland, he was educated from his father, who had given him a good manner and grace of all talents, which enabled him to relieve on visiting his country. He accordingly came to London, and soon afterwards married the daughter of Mr. Allen, a wine merchant, with whom he continued the wine-trade during seven years.

An indisposition of his wife, which terminated in her death, induced him to carry her to France, and the loss of her, it may be conjectured, inclined him to continue his travels. At the latter end of the earl of Chatham's ministry, about 1761, he returned from a tour through the greatest part of Europe, particularly through the whole of Spain and Portugal, and was about to retire to his small patrimony, in order to embrace a life of study and reflection, when chance threw him into a very short and desultory conversation with that nobleman. He soon afterwards received an intimation of a design to employ him, which proved abortive by the resignation of his intended patron. He then received some encouragement from lord Egremont and Mr. George Grenville, and in a short time a proposal from lord Halifax to explore the coast of Barbary, to which he assented. The consulship of Algiers becoming vacant at this juncture (1763), he was appointed to it, and immediately set out for Italy. At Rome he received orders to proceed to Naples, from whence he again returned to Rome. He then went to Leghorn, and from thence proceeded to Algiers.

He spent a year at Algiers, and his high facility in acquiring languages, in that time qualified him to be conversing on any part of the continent without an interpreter; but at this instant orders arrived from England for him to wait for further orders as consul. He accordingly remained in his post until 1765.

In June, 1765, he solicited leave of absence from the secretary of state, to make some drawings of antiquities near Tunis. He had before

fore this been to Mahon and the coast of Africa. He was shipwrecked on the coast of Tunis, and plundered of all his property.

In 1768, we find him at Aleppo, and in August that year was at Cairo, from whence he proceeded to Abyssinia, which he is supposed to have entered either the latter end of that year, or the beginning of 1769. His stay in that country was about four years, as he returned to Cairo the 15th of January, 1773. The transactions of this period form the substance of the five volumes of his Travels, published in 1790.

During Mr. Bruce's absence, his relations considering him as dead, took some measures to possess themselves of his property, which they were near succeeding in, when he returned home. Soon afterwards he took an effectual method of disappointing any future hopes, by a second marriage, the consequence of which was, one, if not more, children. In 1784, his lady died, and in 1790, he published his Travels, a new edition of which was negotiating with a bookseller at the time of his death, which happened at Kinnaird, the latter end of April in this year, owing to a fall down his staircase, in which he dislocated his breast-bone.

The following account of Mr. Bruce is extracted from a late traveller, Mr. Lettice, who visited him in the autumn of 1792.

*"Linthgow, Sept. 25, 1792.*

"It was impossible to be within two miles of Kinnaird, and to quit the neighbourhood without wishing to offer our respects to the Abyssinian Traveller, and requesting permission to inspect his museum.

"The latter point being obtained fortunately gave us an opportunity

of seeing Mr. Bruce himself, & received us with flattering mark attention. When we had taken some refreshment, he was obliging enough to accompany us to his museum, and to direct his library search for such objects as he thought likely to interest our curiosity: many of them he himself commended in a very agreeable manner, related at the same time several little incidents and anecdotes connected with the occasions of procuring them, which enhanced both our amusement and information. This repository occupies a large room, and valuable furniture is arranged in a number of neat glazed cabinets, each having a cupboard below it, beautifully painted with the figure of a curious object of natural history described by Mr. Bruce in his African Tour; many of them found on the coasts of the Red Sea and Nile. This museum consists, as you will imagine, not solely of articles from the animal, vegetable, and mineral kingdoms, of curious petrifications, lusus naturæ, &c. but has many rare specimens distinguished by their singularity, exquisite workmanship; and, lastly, a collection of Abyssinian and Arabian manuscripts.

"As, after a cursory survey of some thousand articles, without the opportunity of making notes while the objects are before the eye, it is impossible to be sure that most curious may not have escaped the memory, I find little inclined to specify those which mine I have retained. If I mention, among the petrifications, a horse's head agatized, or speak of stones more curiously reticulated than perhaps most other collections can exhibit, it is with the mortification of having forgot

many things more worthy  
ty. Ores of every descrip-  
will naturally anticipate.  
ety and splendor of the sea  
at to mention the novelty  
of them, is scarcely to be  
elsewhere. Among the  
ind, none, perhaps, more  
y claimed our notice than  
nt consulted in divination;  
at, you know, Mr. Bruce  
ularly treated in his book.

ong the artificial curiosities  
re shewn us, was a drink-  
or goblet, with four heads,  
round the outside; an an-  
m Rhodes; and a model of  
ed at Glasgow, in a man-  
ly creditable to the skill  
istish artist. Any thing re-  
the Nile, the first object of  
linian Traveller, was sure  
every spectator; and Mr.  
mself seemed not unplea-  
terested in displaying his  
t to measure the Nile and  
at river; a brazen bar  
radiated scale ingeniously  
l\* to that purpose from  
mps used in the arches of  
cisterns: nor did he, per-  
th less feeling, call our at-  
the hilt of a spear marked  
s discharged at himself; but  
ly missing aim, in an en-  
with a desperate banditti  
is and robbers.

I Horace himself been at  
w, and was, we, founded  
rs—

*rari prope res est una, Nu-  
mica. &c.*

sen impossible not to have  
oxymoron of admiration when,  
e beheld two cups made

from the horns of the very bullock  
who roared through them no sounds  
of welcome to the bloody banquet  
furnished from his own living flesh  
to the royal epicures of Gondar;  
two cups turned by the delicate  
hand of one of his Abassinian ma-  
jesty's daughters, and presented by  
herself to Mr. Bruce, as a memorial  
of his entertainment and reception  
at that polite court.

“ Last of all we were favoured  
with inspection of the cabinet of  
manuscripts, written upon parch-  
ment of goat skins, and manufac-  
tured by the priests of those coun-  
tries. From the account which Mr.  
Bruce has given of the low state of  
religion and science in Arabia, it is  
but too probable that the priesthood,  
a channel through which all the li-  
terature of Europe, since the revival  
of letters has first been derived to  
our enlightened quarter of the globe,  
has, in Abyssinia, contributed little  
else to the extension of knowledge  
than the material substance of  
books.

“ Mr. Bruce mentioned to us,  
that thirty different languages were  
spoken in the camp of one of the  
caravans in which he had occa-  
sionally travelled on the continent  
of Africa, and that it was his desire  
to have procured a translation of the  
“ Song of Solomon” (from the  
Arabic, I believe) into them all.  
This was executed for him in ten  
of them, beautifully written in  
Æthiopic characters, and each in a  
different coloured ink, to prevent  
a confusion of tongues, which, in  
this instance, had certainly not been  
miraculous. To spare the ears of  
the unlearned, and, perhaps, at

r the distressing circumstance, I think he said, of having been deprived, by  
ent, of his mathematical apparatus.

some

some moments, his own recollection, he calls these languages, with some humour, the red, blue, green, or yellow languages, &c. according to the colour of its character. Upon Mr. Bruce's shewing these manuscripts to a lady distinguished for the vivacity of her remark, and informing her that the word *kiss*, which occurs in Solomon's song, is to be met with, expressing the same idea, in some passages of his rainbow of languages, she pleasantly observed to him—"I always told you, Mr. Bruce, that kissing is the same all the world over."

"Before we departed, Mr. Bruce obligingly accompanied us to an inclosure in his park to shew us his Abyssinian sheep. They are entirely white, except their heads, which are black. Their tails are large, and, indeed, the animal is larger than our common sheep. They are extremely tame, and often very frolicsome. The three or four remaining in Mr. Bruce's possession, are unfortunately all males. One of them bred with a she goat, but the offspring died.

"Except a month or two in summer, which Mr. Bruce passes upon an estate in the Highlands, he spends the rest of the year chiefly at Kinnaird, divided betwixt his museum, his books, and his rural improvements, in elegant retirement and lettered conversation. This latter estate has descended to him from ancestors of his name, who have successively possessed it upwards of 380 years. He has rebuilt the family mansion since his return from his travels. In what we saw of it, good taste and convenience equally prevailed. The park appears to be well wooded and pleasant, and his situation commands some of the

finest views of the Forth. His museum, every article of which, by association of ideas, must recall some incident, some scene, some object new or strange in his travels, cannot but be to him a fund of perpetual entertainment and delight, which, through the liberality of his character, as a man of learning, and a citizen of the world, he freely communicates to all who can have any pretension to approach him.

"As every thing is interesting that relates to extraordinary men, you will not be displeased with a trait or two of the Abyssinian traveller's person. His figure is above common size, his limbs athletic, but well proportioned; his complexion sanguine, his countenance manly and good humoured, and his manners easy and polite. The whole outward man is such as announces a character well calculated to contend with the difficulties and trying occasions which so extraordinary a journey was sure to throw in his way. That his internal character, the features of his understanding and his heart, correspond with these outward lineaments, you who have read his work cannot be at any loss to know."

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*Account of Henry Jones: from the European Magazine.*

THIS author stands in the line of celebrity from his talents rising above the obscurity of his original, and the lowness of his education. Like Ben Jonson, he was bred a bricklayer, and like him he soon relinquished the drudgery of a mechanical profession for the service of the mules. Jonson, however, having

great superiority of education the basis of that fame, -

as like Egypt's kings a lasting name."

ness, not having exertion to improve his education, and sufficient to render him- self of patronage or public notice, stunted the growth of all talents, and in the end did justice to his dissipation.

Jones was born at Bewleygheda, in the north of Ireland, twenty-five miles from Dublin in the year 1721. His fall probability, were in low circumstances, as he was bred a farmer. He, however, had a English school education previous to his apprenticeship, and such a desire to improve himself, that in the course of his trade, he made himself acquainted with some of our best and with many translations of Greek and Latin poets.

His taste for study in time induced him to his hand in versification, and he seemed to mix with the common herd of mechanics at once surprized the men of Drogheda with a literary copy of verses, with a view towards the farther improvement of their town, trade, &c. These verses, which were intended, and of which the poet no copy, were reckoned that they were for some light to be above the light of clay: but Jones soon

his claim to the name of a duetist, and particularly lines occasioned by the Mr. Pope, which, as one earliest production of our reinsert.

## *On Mr. Pope's death.*

These lines to Pope for ever sacred live,  
The best a grateful mourning muse can give;  
To him now number'd with th' immortal dead,  
This verse unfeign'd with flowing eyes be read.  
O thou! applauded by the wise and great,  
Nor worth or genius could postpone thy fate;  
Too long an exile from the worlds of bliss,  
By envying angels snatch'd too soon from this,  
Thy strains seraphic shall their anthems raise,  
Give heaven new harmony—and God new praise.

These poems so recommended him to the favour of the corporation of Drogheda, and other gentlemen of the town, and in particular to lord chief justice Singleton, who lived at Bewley, where Jones was born, that they paid him every kind of civility, and constantly made him one of their convivial parties.

In the latter part of life Jones would have fastened upon this kind of patronage, and yielding to the pleasures of a corporation table, would have thought his time happily filled; but youth is the season of spirit and adventure, and an opportunity soon offered of calling out our young poet to greater scenes, and more independent prospects.

The parliament-house in Dublin being about to be repaired at this time, a number of workmen in all branches were in much request, and Jones living but twenty-five miles from the capital, thought this would be a lucky opportunity to try his fortune. His *love* and *rat* were his immediate pretensions; but his *mouse* was the mistress he secretly relied on. With this hope he left Drogheda about the beginning of the year



year 1746, much against the inclination of his friends, but with that confidence in his own powers which, generally speaking, if properly founded, and diligently pursued, seldom misleads us.

Had his prudence been equal to this resolution, it was the luckiest measure he possibly could have adopted. He had an opportunity of living in the capital of his country upon better terms than in his own native place; he had the means of improving himself both in the line of his profession, and as a poet; and above all, perhaps, he might then have the flattering hope (which afterwards came to be verified) of his muse reaching the ear of a *Mæcenas*,\* who had taste and liberality to encourage and reward his labours.

The following circumstance soon brought him to this last point of success. Lord Chesterfield, who had been some time before appointed lord-lieutenant of Ireland, just landed in Dublin. Jones thought this a good opportunity to come forward. He accordingly addressed his excellency in a copy of verses on his arrival; wherein he not only panegyricizes with some force and delicacy, but towards the close thus artfully insinuates his own humble occupation.

"Nor you, great sir, on these weak numbers frown,  
Which mourn a Swift, and sing thy just renown;  
Such strains, alas! as my *unletter'd* hand,  
Trembling would reach thee on the crowded strand;  
But throning thousands intercept my way,  
And deafening 10's drown my feeble lay;

Yet life's moment from the toll of  
And all the burthen of a kingdom's  
Some little leisure to the muse you  
(Each leisure moment is the muse's  
Permit, my lord, that my unpoll'd  
May hope for pardon, tho' the  
please."

Jones had the good fort have these lines presented constant friend through life chief justice Singleton; and still the better fortune to poem take effect. Lord C field was pleased with it, quiring into the origin and ter of the author, sent for b erally rewarded him, an him into his immediate prote

What pecuniary reward thor received is now uncertain whatever it was, "the brick frock went on no more." H menced author at large, an after, by his lordship's defl owed him to England.

On his arrival here, whi in the year 1748, he collecte of the best of the poems l written at different times bel introduction to lord Chest and added others upon a var occasional subjects, which h some pains to polish and With these his lordship highly pleased. He thought something in this mechanic which in time might do credi patronage and the republic ters; he therefore not only re him at his house with kindne hospitality, but recommende to several noblemen and liter whose assistance he publish Poems by subscription, and b erally rewarded.

\* The late earl of Chesterfield, then lord-lieutenant of Ireland.

the poetical freight ought with him from the new wife brought the comedy, entitled "The

Having now leisure and money sufficient from the drudgery of he sat down to this finished it about the season of 1752. It proved of by lord and warmly recommended to Colley Cibber, introduced him to the Covent-Garden theatre,

his regards for him by a thousand acts of humanity, and even sorts by his interest at secured to him the the laurel after his

remarkable, that on that Jones sent the comedy of "The Earl e manager of Coventre, the late Dr. P. his tragedy of "Conis rather embarrassed which he should bring es's friends (and they l in point of rank and ided the originality of and the pressure of his ; but Francis disre-

particulars, and injus- justice of an equal manager felt this, and ng for some time to do h, proposed tossing up r. The parties agreed, e shilling was spinning nes, with the coarse- ginal education, cried y" by the grossest name e use of. He was suc- do doctor turned away etending to be more

hurt at the indelicacy of his rival than at the failure of his own success.

Francis's "Constantine" came out the next year, and afforded a striking contrast between *art* and *nature*. The *Scholar's* tragedy nearly failed, whilst the *Bricklayer's* met with universal applause. It was brought out in the best part of the season, January, and was played fifteen nights to very great houses, and his benefits were supposed to bring him in no less than five hundred pounds—a sum, considering the state of the theatre and audience in those days, which was almost unprecedented.

The merits of this tragedy were much cried up at that time; the public had been long taught to expect it; and as the author had already published a book of Poems, wherein some of the first names in both kingdoms appeared as subscribers, and as he was likewise well-known to be protected and encouraged by so great a judge and patron of the muses as lord Chesterfield, expectation ran high. This expectation was farther confirmed by overflowing audiences, as John Bull found something so congenial in the *ground-floor* pretensions of a humble bricklayer, that he very freely gave him his praise and protection.

Banks had written upon this subject before, and Brookes followed in 1761. The former seems to have more *pathos* than Jones, and Brookes's, upon the whole, appears to be written with more powers of poetry. But Jones, by catching at the *popular* character of the Earl of Essex, and introducing those incidents which led to the fall of that unhappy nobleman, renders it more an *English story*, and being thus rendered

dered more intelligible and congenial to an *English mind*, it alone keeps possession of the stage to this day.

Whilst the public gave him praise, critical envy was not silent. To be a favourite of the muses in itself was a stimulus to ill-nature; but for a low mechanic to woo such mistresses was insufferable:—hence, amongst other reflections upon our new dramatist, it was said, “The tragedy was not his own; or at least he was so far assisted by his noble patron, as to leave him little or no merit; that they could evidently see the *linsey-woolsey* shoot itself with the *filk*; and that though some passages were poetical, others were little better than a profane history of the times.”

A similar charge has been often alleged against young authors, on account perhaps of the facility with which it might be made. A novice, if he has merit, creates envy, and persons possessed of this quality find their interest in attempting to crush a rival in embryo. A novice likewise, generally speaking, has not many friends to defend him; nor is he himself dexterous enough to repel the arts, the intrigues, and the insinuations of the many;—he besides all this cannot be compared with himself; so that there are various assailable places about him, which envy is quick-sighted enough to see and to attack.

Speaking of this as a general question, and we speak upon some experience, we believe it is not once in twenty times that an author rises into any degree of fame by another man’s labours, and by his permission. Fame is not so easily acquired, and when acquired not so easily parted with, as to form the common commerce of friendship;

the receiver of fame too, from inequality of talents, must be discovered, and when discovered his pretensions are at an end, charge in the course of time been made against many, and no one instance, we believe appeared, that any great writer has been claimed by any but the real author: so that we are safe in giving credit to any man publicly signs his name to a work except he has already shewn incompetent to such credit for long truth on that occasion.

Upon the question at issue, whether Jones was the author of *Earl of Essex* there is all the real evidence of its being his. There is nothing in the writing of that tragedy that may not be ascribed by the author of the work which were already published to him, and universally acknowledged to be his. He had previously shewn his tragedy, piece-meal, to his friends, and has been known to make several alterations, during rehearsal, on the spot. Jones confessed the few alterations suggested by Colley Cibber, were in the too great familiar language in some passages, and in particular, of changing the “the house is up,” to “the house is resolved.” But, except some arrangements of the dialogue suggested by Colley Cibber, we ascribe to Jones’s repeated directions, “that the tragedy was entirely his own,”

Indeed, if any doubt could arise upon this subject, it must have long since cleared up by his subsequent tragedies, “*Hamlet*” and “*The Cave of Idra*.” The last was brought upon the stage years after Jones’s death, by

rd brother adventurer Dr. Fernan, under the title of heroine of the Cave," and was left in an unfinished state author, evidently shewed of writing equal to "The flex."

Harold," we believe it is vely lost to the world. Jones speak of this as his *chef-d'œuvre* and we remember to have seen Hissernan repeat some of it that were very poetical in point of sentiment and of language. It was never upon the stage, or published before to say what is become of it, must entirely be conjectured. The late Mr. Reddish, of London, possessed himself of all his manuscripts, and by this obtained "The Cave of Idra," which, as we have already said, consisted of five acts, and brought Reddish's benefit. "Harold," the probability, was amongst the papers of these papers, and, perished for some future benefit the subsequent infamy of deranged all this, and, perished "Harold" to the most impenetrable obscurity. Jones had been playing the rascals call "the best of the best" with the booksellers, relative to the tragedy, is pretty evident, as he had some money on it from the printer, and, perished others; but such is the nature of knaves, that in cheating others, they cheat themselves. Jones meant honestly to have this play forward, the probability was, that he could have had what he borrowed on it, a considerable sum in his pocket; but he chose to make a game of deceit, and thus fa-

crificed his interest and reputation.

Some critics thought they got scent of "Harold," when it was known that Mr. Cumberland was bringing out his tragedy, called "The battle of Hastings;" and Mr. Cooper, who was interested to know this fact more than others, attended the theatre on the first night's representation for that purpose. But whatever "The Battle of Hastings" was like, it was not like Jones's "Harold;" and this Mr. Cooper was so sensible of, that to atone for his own suggestions on that head, as well as to do every degree of justice to Mr. Cumberland, he published the following letter in the General Advertiser.

*To the editor of the General Advertiser.*

SIR,

"Having heard several gentlemen, not only in the theatre, but in private company, question whether Mr. Cumberland is the author of the tragedy now playing, called "The Battle of Hastings," and declaring it to be an alteration of a tragedy, written by the late Mr. Jones (author of the Earl of Essex), called "Harold;" I beg leave, through the channel of your paper, to relate a few circumstances, which may tend to clear all doubts upon that subject.

"Some years ago, Mr. Jones brought me a tragedy, called "Harold;" which was to have been my property, upon terms then agreed on between us. It remained in my hands for some months, and I read it twice with great attention. After this, Mr. Jones called on me again, and left with

me two books of a poem he was writing, called "Kew Gardens," which I also agreed to purchase. At this time he requested me to lend him the tragedy, that he might shew it to a friend. I did so; and this request was in a few days followed by a second for the poem, which I likewise complied with, but from that day never saw the author or his works.

"Upon the first representation of 'The Battle of Hastings,' I went to see it, I own on purpose to prove whether it was a new piece, or an alteration from that for which I had paid a consideration. As many passages in Mr. Jones's *Harold* are perfect in my memory, and I must immediately have known them. I think it but common justice to Mr. Cumberland to declare, that his play does not bear the least resemblance to Mr. Jones's in any one scene.

"I am, Sir,

"Your very humble servant,

"JOS. CUMBERLAND."

The colat of "The Earl of Essex" gave Jones not only the success of the theatre, but it introduced him to many persons of condition and literature, who were well disposed to be friendly to him; but his original talents being in a great degree consumed by dissipation, the keeping of a copy-book was too great an effort for his mind, which, instead of throwing any of its glial force upon these occasions, contented itself "to dwell in day-dreams"—the first was, he was afraid to best what he called his ease, for in these moments he was full bent to betray a confidence and vulgarity very inopportune with the situation he was then placed in.

Some of his friends saw this would be a barrier to his rising in the world, and suggested to him a plan for improving his education:—one in particular, who is now living, and no less eminent in rank than literature, proposed he should begin with the French, and as his son was just studying that language, if Jones would attend three times a week, at stated hours, at his house, he should have every accommodation, and his instruction cost him nothing. Jones accepted this proposal with seeming gratitude, and attended three or four mornings pretty punctually; he then became a little irregular, and one morning came so drunk, that he could scarcely articulate his own language. This, of course, put an end to the gentleman's civilities, and Jones spoke of the *relâche* with all the exultation of a man getting out of bondage.

Sitting down to learn any language in the prime of life, when cares and passions have generally too strong holds of the human brain, is very difficult, and I must be little less than a drudgery to any man, particularly to a man of genius, but for the ends to be attained. This is the incentive which physics pain, and smooths all intervening difficulties.

Jones, however, felt none of these incentives. Idle in his habits, warm in his passions, and somewhat despotic in his genius, he only aimed at catching his improvement through the medium of pleasure; if it did not come that way, let other people seek it for him. What was still more against him, he was fond of a mixed company—he was more at home in their society—they fostered his talents, and what was really and pleasantly purchased,

is often repeated: hence his time was spent in y of players, painters, fall descriptions, whom to take under his pro- l, from some of whom, he exacted tribute of

od at which Jones came was favourable for ac- historical knowledge of which is even now a- lifierata of literature. attachment to the stage, patronage, and his being of a successful tragedy, the friendship of many aipal performers of that Barry, Moti6p, Sheridan, ghton, and, in particular, ds, who was said to have ional knowledge of his and who used to com- at knowledge, with no ble talent of narration, at bout Russell-street, Co- n. Our author availed hese advantages, and, it npled from Husband's and conversation some le anecdotes of the stage: with his other papers, the author's well-known , or the carelessness or inifinity of Reddish, his executor, are now, per- ever sunk in obscurity, idit of Jones's dissipation pt up his intimacy with rfield, who received him ry kindly, and gave him his table open all days, se assigned to very select . It appears to be diffi- man of Jones's habits and ndencies, to throw off speriodically, and become nion of him who had de-

mands upon the first scholars, and the men of first breeding, for their exertions. Our author himself has in some respect solved this difficulty, as he has frequently told his intimate companions that he always kept himself sober the day before he knocked at his lordship's door—took care to collect all the anecdote and talk of the town that he thought would be most agreeable—was *hypocritically referred at his bottle*, and took an early departure.

But even this kind of conduct, we should think, could be but a Lenten entertainment for the Mæcenas of his day. He that was so delicate as to shrink from the morning visits of a *Johnson*, to make *Jones* the companion of his leisure hours, appears to be somewhat unaccountable, did we not know the effect of compliances on some minds. *The Sturdy Moralist*, though a man of the first education and observation, was not so ready to yield opinions, or mould himself to the general cast of conversation. *Johnson* would talk upon any subject, and with a force, if necessary, which made it very indifferent to him what he trode upon, whether the neck of a lord or any other person: but Jones felt himself the humble friend and *protégé*—he thought it his duty to talk or be silent, just as he was encouraged—he created no jealousies, embarrassed no conversation—he sat at the table as the mirror of his lordship's superiority, his discernment, his protection, and hospitality.

Indeed his lordship indirectly gives another reason for leaving off *Dr. Johnson*, in one of his "Letters to his Son," where, in describing the character of a very learned yet very awkward man, he draws the por-

trait of Johnson with so much discrimination, yet with such severity, that every body knew the original at first sight; and yet it is the general opinion that this portrait would never have been drawn, had not Johnson previously released his lordship from all kind of patronage, in that celebrated letter of his, published by Mr. Boswell!—a letter that the oftner it is read must be the more admired for its strength, originality, and independence.

Whatever was the attraction that kept Jones the humble friend of lord Chesterfield's leisure hours, he certainly kept it for some years, and if he had had but common prudence and common industry, he could very readily, under such a patron, have established himself in some line of independence. It may be asked, Why did not lord Chesterfield do something for him unsolicited?—and the laws of *private* and *equal* friendship will readily justify such a question:—but the *patron* and *patronized*, according to the custom of the great, stand upon different footings. To notice a man in public, to give him the *entrée* of his house, and promote subscriptions for his benefit, are *condescensions* that go a great way, and must in general be accepted as *friendship*; and if the patronized does not think himself entitled to higher rewards than those transitory attentions, the patron, according to the old established rule of couriers, consoles himself by thinking, 'that when a man solicits for nothing, it is a proof he thinks himself already sufficiently provided for.'

The unhappy temper of the author at last broke the link of this early and fortunate connection, never to be again restored. He had been absent for some time from

Chesterfield-house, and as his lordship was dressing one morning, he asked his man when he had seen Jones? "Not these two months, my lord."—"Why I was thinking it is somewhat about that time since he was here, and I am afraid the poor fellow may be taken ill, and perhaps in want of some little comforts; therefore I wish you would make inquiries about him." The man bowed, and, as he was going out of the room, smiled—but "smiled in such a sort," as could not escape so accurate a judge of men's tempers and passions as lord Chesterfield: He called him back, and, looking him gravely in the face, asked him why he smiled as he went out of the room, and whether he knew any thing particular about Jones? The man hesitated for some time, but at length confessed, that the last day Mr. Jones dined at his lordship's table, he borrowed *eight guineas* from him, and he believed it was that circumstance, and not illness, that might have prevented his attendance. His lordship paused for some time, and then calling up that air of good breeding which was so natural to him, observed, "That as the lending of a sum of money to any gentleman that sat at his table, was an act of civility that he could not possibly condemn, he would pay him the *eight guineas*; but as to Mr. Jones (though, says he, I believe you'll never be put to the trial), if ever he knocks at my door, I'm not at home, and this must be your constant answer."

Thus, like the foolish Esau, Jones sold his birth-right for a mess of pottage. Eight guineas in the most pressing situation could avail him little—the purchase, perhaps, of a few irregular pleasures, or, at best, a month

or two's subsistence; and he exchanged the friend-protection of one of the characters of the age—a that the scholar and man must pride themselves to be acquainted with, but to him must acquire a distinction which could rarely be the lot of his description.

It, perhaps, reasoning in this manner, however just, but ill defined, was Jones's *real feeling*. The consequence, in the first instance, was, that he could, in the first instance, borrow money from the friend of his friend, must be pretty sure to obtain the finer sensations;—he was, of course, very well known to the friends of such a conduct, and must be able to estimate, in some degree, the value of the money he obtained, by what he was about to do.

Whatever he thought upon, the connection between the friend and him ended in nothing, we believe, Jones did not take some pains to revive the friendship from the following address to Lord Tyrrelly, "On his sending me to the friend when I *durst not* visit his door."

I went, of speeding sure,  
At your command  
Took at Stanhope's door,  
Outly stretch'd my hand.

Anding brass I rashly rais'd,  
'd my hopes to crown;  
Was unseen my senses seiz'd,  
It silent down.

After thus I thrice upheld,  
Once I made essay—  
To command my arm impell'd,  
Would fain seize.

Forbid th' intruding sound  
To would his ears add;  
Ness aw'd, and worth renown'd,  
In front must fall.

Jones, thus emancipated from the awe of his patron, seemed to turn his thoughts to the stage, as the best resource for his future fame and fortune. He had at that time made some progress in a tragedy, called "Harold," and he flattered himself much on the profits of this production; but in this he neither estimated his industry, his economy, or reputation. He raised money (as we before observed) upon this tragedy in embryo, and such was his unaccountable indolence, and neglect of all character, that sooner than finish it for the stage, which in all probability would produce him a fair fame, and considerable profits, he chose to employ it as the temporary expedient of raising money under false pretences.

His intercourse with some of the principal performers of both houses is pretty evident, from the poems he dedicated to them from time to time. He wrote a prologue for old Husbands, the player; paid some poetical compliments to Barry on his Hamlet; and as Jones's muse not only reached the principal performers of his time, but occasionally stooped to flatter those of that profession who might be serviceable to him in his wants and his pleasures. The fact is, he had the lower part of the green room at that time under a kind of contribution. He lived with them either at their lodgings, or at ale-houses, borrowed money of them, &c. &c. and for this he repaid them with puffs and poetical compliments preceding their benefits. He could be coarse too upon particular occasions; and, like his friend Hisserman, was subject to fall *under the tyranny of the landlord*. In these moods he used to abuse the protection of the stage,

U 3

calling



calling the performers *parrots*, who solely depended upon the words which the author put into their mouths for their reputation and support.

A life of this kind daily wore off that spirit of independence and respect for character, without which man is poor indeed. Jones soon entirely lost sight of fame, as well as establishment, and only roused himself for the provision of the day. The misery attending this situation can readily be conceived; and our author must have felt it at times, though he had not resolution to alter his conduct. Hence he experienced all the vicissitudes of an indigent and degraded condition; "the shifting tides of fear and hope, the peril and escape, the famine and the feast;" the noisy moment of intoxication, and the brooding melancholy hours of despondence and despair.

His distresses daily gaining on him, and no effort on his part exerted to relieve him, he frequently fell under the gripe of the law, and the *spunging-house* was a place that not infrequently claimed his habitation. Here he generally drew upon his muse for his support: and, as he could assume some address and softness in his manners, he generally found out the weak side of the daughter or wife of the bailiff, and flattered them so with a copy of verses, either on their beauty or talents, as to make his quarters both comfortable and convenient. Many stories have been told of his address in those matters. Sometimes he would make himself useful by drawing petitions and memorials for persons under the same roof with him; sometimes he would assist at the tap; and sometimes would be so far con-

sided in, as to be *apostate* dian of the inner door.

Two anecdotes he used with no little pride, as to the prevalence of his talents: one was his borrowing *two* of the bailiff whilst in his *hinder* an arrest for ten *poun* the other of his writing *son* on the daughter of a bailiff like a *second Lucy*, gave *h* his liberty, at the expense father's *purse* and resentment.

It would be difficult to trace through all the *labyrinths* of tune. A life so totally *un* must hang upon the events hour, and, if known, must repetition of scenes as *disgrace* the exhibition as *disgrace* actor. It is sufficient to know after experiencing many *re* fortune, which *his* *impr* temper and unaccountable *dence* drew on him, his *sits* last excited the pity of Mr. H the master of the Bedford house: a man who, to the of fragility and attention in *finis*, displayed, upon all occasions, a very feeling he was well known to be *par* attentive to the wants of *gentlemen*, decayed artist. This man, knowing Jones and struck with the *shab* his appearance as he to morning perambulation *ro* Piazzas, made him an *off* room in his house, and *bow* day that he was not *other* ter engaged. Jones *accep* proposal with gratitude, *some* time kept within the *tions* of a private family. *natural* love of a *more* *mi* enlarged society, the *spirit* mineering, of contrast, of *dis*

ailed; and eloping one early from his lodgings, he return that night; the next morn, and Mr. H—d—n visited his inmate. This was his inquiries, when it appeared that Jones, after being in a state of inebriety for two days, had run over by a waggon on the night of the third, in St. Martin's, without his hat or his shoes. In this disgraceful and mutilation, he was taken to the workhouse of that parish, where he lay a few days after (April, 1770). This was a miserable example of the want of that prudence, which men with or without taste find absolutely necessary to get them through all the affairs

of his life. Jones, from the report who knew him in the early part of his life, possessed many amiable qualities. He was generous, affable, and complying; perhaps his only fault was in being much addicted to the pleasures of the table. He received his education under lord chief justice Hargrave, and the principal patronage of lord Chesterfield in time supported the conduct of his mind. To be select such a character as his lordship's common sense of authors, education, or family connections; to be transplanted into England, as a soil congenial to his talents; to be the *entrée* of his lordship's to be supported by him in his opinions and private recommendations:—these raised a golden prosperity, which overawed the wounds of our author's diffidence and drove him into the

ocean of life without rudder or compass.

He was, however, under some kind of restriction in his conduct till he broke altogether with lord Chesterfield. The awe of his lordship's high character, the expectations he raised upon his protection, and the necessity there was for an appearance both in dress and conversation when before him;—all these checked even such a character as Jones; and it was always readily perceived amongst his intimates when he was about to pay a visit to Chesterfield-house, by some seasonable and preparatory deviation which he made from his general conduct.

When this barrier was once broke down, he rushed into all the extravagancies of his natural and acquired vices. The great eye of the public was no censor for him; it might observe, but it observed in silence; and Jones estimated his pleasures (as he called them) above his reputation. To provide for the sensual enjoyments of the day, was all his care; and this once obtained, he was philosopher enough "to let to-morrow take care of itself."

We shall wind up this part of his character with the observation of one who seems to have known him well. "His temper (says he) was, in consequence of the dominion of his passions, uncertain and capricious; easily engaged and easily disgusted; and his economy was a virtue which could never be taken into his catalogue. He appeared to think himself born rather to be supported by others, than under a duty to secure to himself the profits which his writings and the magnificence of his patrons from time to time afforded."

As an author, his character comes more critically before us: but in developing

veloping this character, we must always have an eye on his origin.

Bred in the humble line of a provincial bricklayer, with a very little better education than is generally attached to that line, much could not necessarily be augured from the efforts of his mind. To get a little forward in life by the narrow gleanings of his profession, or perhaps by some stroke of enterprize, to arrive at the rank of a *master builder*, speaking generally, would be termed a fortunate wind-up for such a character:—but when we see a young man, in the very outset of life, without family, fortune, or connections—without the incitement of example, or that collision of similar minds which rouses and invigorates the seeds of ambitious fame;—to see such a man at once abandon a profession which was his daily support, and courageously throw himself under the protection of the muses,—we must at least allow him a genius, and a force of mind very peculiar to his situation in life.

Such were Jones's efforts when, after first obtaining the patronage of lord Chesterfield, he sat down to his tragedy of the Earl of Essex. It is idle to listen to the little tales of malice and rivalry which were propagated at that time, of this play not being his own, and that he was greatly assisted in it by lord Chesterfield and Colley Cibber: whoever has read the play with any degree of accuracy, will look in vain for the marks of two such writers;—they will neither see the long-experienced dramatic contrivance of the latter, nor the elegant pointed periods of the former; they will see a story more naturally than artfully drawn from the history of their country, combined with such inci-

dents as were most like to produce effect and illustrate aided by language enough to the characters, forcible than elegant, more from the first heat of than the studied lucubrations of a scholar.

Considering, therefore of this tragedy, and from acts of his "*Cave of*" the reports we have of "*Harold*" (a tragedy, w unaccountable confusion is now, perhaps, for ever stage), we must pronounce an inconsiderable dramatist are warranted to say n had he cultivated his tal line with becoming al prudence, there is ever think he would stand in of modern tragedy writers.

Of his lighter pieces o cannot say as much. mostly written upon occ perishable subjects it is then there is little of the *general reflection* which p trifies from oblivion. Gr on a Cat being drowned gold fishes," seems to p from the title; but wh trifling incident embel neat allusions to the fau tion, and the false friend world, we read it ove with avidity, and esteer of the poetical gems master.

On the whole, Jon must be estimated by th out in, viz. a *journeym with a moderate share* and, considering that i the means that were off improve this situation, almost solely on those ta

originally gave him, he must  
 dered as a very extraordin-  
 ius.

*of Nell Gwynn, from the  
 to the new translation of  
 mont's memoirs.*

he early part of Nell's life  
 tle is known but what may  
 eted from the lampoons of  
 s; in which it is said, that  
 born in a night-cellar, told  
 it the streets, rambled from  
 o tavern, entertaining the  
 y after dinner and supper  
 eggs (her voice being very  
 le); was next taken into  
 se of madam Rots, a noted  
 in, and was afterwards ad-  
 into the theatre, where she  
 the mistress of both Hart-  
 rey, the celebrated actors.  
 counts say she was born in  
 in the cold-yard in Drury-  
 nd that she was first taken  
 of when selling oranges in  
 y-house. She belonged to  
 s's company at Drury-lane;  
 cording to Downes, was re-  
 is an actress a few years af-  
 houte was opened, in 1663.  
 I notice I find of her is in  
 1668, when she performed  
 en's play of Secret Love;  
 ick, she may be traced every  
 til 1678, when I conjecture  
 tted the stage. Her forte  
 to have been comedy. In  
 gue to Fanny Love, spoken  
 she says,

-I walk, I strut, I die  
 of my calling in a tragedy.

m the same authority it may  
 eed that her person was  
 nd she was negligent in her

dress. Her son, the duke of St.  
 Alban's, was born before she left  
 the stage, viz. May 8, 1670. Bishop  
 Burnet speaks of her in these terms:  
 "Gwynn, the indifereetest and wild-  
 est creature that ever was in a court,  
 continued to the end of the king's  
 life in great favour, and was main-  
 tained at a vast expence. The duke  
 of Buckingham told me, that when  
 she was first brought to the king, she  
 asked only 500 pounds a year, and  
 the king refused it. But when he  
 told me this, about four years after,  
 he said she had got of the king above  
 sixty thousand pounds. She acted  
 all persons in so lively a manner, and  
 was such a constant diversion to the  
 king, that even a new mistress could  
 not drive her away; but after all, he  
 never treated her with the decen-  
 cies of a mistress." History of his  
 Own Times, vol. i. p. 369. The  
 same author notices the king's at-  
 tention to her on his death-bed.  
 Cibber, who was dissatisfied with  
 the bishop's account of Nell, says,  
 "If we consider her in all the dis-  
 advantages of her rank and educa-  
 tion, she does not appear to have  
 had any criminal errors more re-  
 markable than her sex's frailty, to  
 answer for; and if the same author,  
 in his latter end of that prince's life,  
 seems to reproach his memory with  
 too kind a concern for her support,  
 we may allow, it becomes a bishop  
 to have had no eyes or taste for the  
 frivolous charms or playful *badinage*  
 of a king's mistress; yet if the com-  
 mon fame of her may be believed,  
 which in my memory was not doubt-  
 ed, she had less to be laid to her  
 charge, than any other of those la-  
 dies who were in the same state of  
 preferment: she never meddled in  
 matters of serious moment, or was  
 the tool of working politicians;  
 never

never broke into those amorous infidelities which others, in that grave author, are accused of; but was as visibly distinguished by her particular personal inclination to the king, as her rivals were by their titles and grandeur." Cibber's *Apology*, 8vo. p. 450. One of madame Sevigné's letters exhibits no bad portrait of Mrs. Gwynn.—"Mademoiselle de K— (Kerouaille, afterwards duchess of Portsmouth) has not been disappointed in any thing she proposed. She desired to be mistress to the king, and she is so: he lodges with her almost every night, in the face of all the court: she has had a son, who has been acknowledged and presented with two duchies: she amasses treasure; and makes herself feared and respected by as many as she can. But she did not foresee that she should find a young actress in her way, whom the king dotes on; and she has it not in her power to withdraw him from her. He divides his care, his time, and his health, between these two. The actress is as naughty as mademoiselle; she insults her, she makes grimaces at her, she attacks her, she frequently steals the king from her, and boasts whenever he gives her the preference. She is young, indiscreet, confident, wild, and of an agreeable humour; she sings, she dances, she acts her part with a good grace. She has a son by the king, and hopes to have him acknowledged. As to mademoiselle, she reasons thus: This duchess, says she, pretends to be a person of quality: she says she is related to the best families in France; whenever any person of distinction dies, she puts herself in mourning: if she be a lady of such quality, why does she demean her-

self to be a courtesan? she die with shame. Al! for my profession: I do not put any thing better. He has me: I pretend that he only knows him; and I assured he will; for he loves well as mademoiselle. Ture gets the upper hand, countenances and embarras the duchess extremely." L. Mr. Pennant says, "she is in her house, in what was the Pall-Mall. It is the first on the left hand of St. James's Square, as we enter from London. The back room on the ground floor was (within memory) ever looking-glass, as was said to have been the ceiling. Over the chimney was her picture; and her sister was in a thin London, p. 101. At this time she died, in the year 1691, and was pompously interred in the church of St. Martin's in the field. Dr. Trenchard, then vicar, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury, preached her funeral sermon, we learn, was brought forward at court to impede the doctor's sermon; but queen Mary heard the objection, and said, "What then?" in a composed manner to which she little subject, "I have much to say: this is a sign that an unfortunate woman died; for if I can read a man through his looks, had not a pious and Christian end, she could never have been so to speak well of her." L. Thomas Trenchard, p. 20. also says, he had been un- ably informed, that our fi-

penitance appeared in all the symptoms of a Christian. Cibber's apology, p. 451.

*of the late George Colman, from the European Magazine.*

GEORGE COLMAN was the son of Francis Colman, esq. esq.'s resident at the court of the duke of Tuscany at Florence by a sister of the late countess of Bath. He was born at Floborough 1733, and had the honour of having the late king George the third name he bears, for his father. He received his education at Westminster-school, where he early showed his poetical talents. The first performance by him was a copy of verses addressed to the late lord Pulcrey, written in the year 1747, while he was at Westminster, and since printed in James's Magazine, a work edited by his unfortunate friend Mr. Lloyd.\* At school he had for companions Mr. Lloyd, Mr. Hill, Edmund Thomson, and others, who afterwards distinguished themselves in the literary

world. From Westminster-school he went to Oxford, and became a member of Christ church. It was at a very early age, he was with his friend, Edmund Thomson, publishing *The Critic*, a literary paper which appeared a week, and was continued from January 31, 1754, to September 1, 1756. When the age of the editor of this entertaining paper is

considered, the wit and humour, the spirit, the good sense, and shrewd observations on life and manners, with which it abounds, will excite some degree of wonder, but will at the same time evidently point out the extraordinary talents which were afterwards to be more fully displayed in the *Jalons Witte* and the *Clandestine Marriage*.

The recommendation of his friends, or his choice, but probably the former, induced him to fix upon the law for his profession; and he accordingly was entered of Lincoln's Inn, and in due season called to the bar. He attended there a very short time, though, if our recollection does not mislead us, he was seen often enough in the courts to prevent his abandoning the profession merely for want of encouragement. It is reasonable, however, to suppose, that he felt more pleasure in attending to the mule than to briefs and reports, and it will therefore excite no wonder that he took the earliest opportunity of relinquishing practice, not only to his amusement, but to his study, says Wycherley, to learn to meet in the same brain.

On the 14th of March, 1758, he took the degree of master of arts at Oxford, and in the year 1760, his first dramatic piece, *Polly Honeycombe*, was acted at Drury-lane, with great success. For several years before, the comic muse seemed to have relinquished the stage. No comedy had been produced at either theatre since the year 1751, when Moore's *Gil Blas* was with

in conjunction with this gentleman, he wrote the best parcels of modern times, *Mr. and Mrs. G. and O. and O. and O.* When Mr. Lloyd's volume of poems was about to be published, materials being wanted to complete it, Mr. Colman gave him *The Love-Sick*, addressed to himself, with such alterations as that circumstance necessitated.

difficulty

difficulty performed nine nights. At length, in the beginning of the year 1761, three different authors were candidates for public favour in the same walk, almost at the same time, viz. Mr. Murphey, who exhibited the *Way to Keep Him*; Mr. Macklin, the *Married Libertine*; and Mr. Colman, the *Jealous Wife*. The former and latter of these were most successful, and the latter in a much higher degree. Indeed, when the excellent performance of Messrs. Garrick, Yates, O'Brien, King, Palmer, Moody, with Mrs. Pritchard, Clive, and Miss Pritchard, are recollected, it would have shewn a remarkable want of taste in the town not to have followed, as they did, this admirable piece, with the greatest eagerness and perseverance.

The mention of the *Jealous Wife* in Churchill's *Rosciad*; occasioned Mr. Colman to experience some of the malevolence which that and other of Mr. Churchill's satires gave birth to. We shall only observe, that much good writing, and much wit and humour, were thrown away in this very acrimonious and disgraceful controversy.

We shall not regularly trace the several dramatic pieces of Mr. Colman as they appeared, the greater part being within the most of our readers remembrance. In July, 1764, lord Bath died, and on that event Mr. Colman found himself in circumstances fully sufficient to enable him to follow the bent of his genius. The first publication which he produced, after this period, was a translation of the comedies of Terence, in the execution of which he rescued the author from the hands of as tasteless and ignorant a set of writers as ever disgraced the name of translators. Whoever would wish

to see the spirit of the author transfused into the English, must look for it in Mr. Colman's version.

The successor of lord Bath, Pulteney, died in 1767. Colman again found himself liberated in his will, by a security, which confirmed the pendency of his fortune. He however, to have felt no such an idle life; as, in 1767, he joined Messrs. Harris, Rymer, and Powell, in the purchase of the Swan-theatre, and to himself the laborious office of manager. The difference arose from this association, recent to be forgot, and that of them perhaps too ridiculous to be recorded. It may, however, be observed, that appeals to the public, during controversy, do great credit to talents, if not the tempers, of the party. As an act of oblivion to former animosities, and a reconciliation of all parties afterwards took place, we perpetuate the memory of now no longer of consequence to the public.

After continuing manager of the Swan-theatre several years, Mr. Colman sold his share therein to Mr. James, one of his then partners. In 1777, purchased of Mr. Fox the theatre in the Hay-market, in the estimation which the entertainment exhibited under his direction held in by the public, the attention which the theatre acquired the continual concurrence of the world, during the height of which sufficiently speak the praise of Colman's management. It has been long admitted, that

the death of Mr. Garrick, able to superintend the elements of the stage as the sub-  
stant account.

facility in discovering the talents of his performers, he joined his nation and ability to display with every advantage. To Mr. Henderson, Miss Farren, Miss Henderfon, Miss Farren, Miss George, Mrs. and, in some measure, Mr. (whose comic powers had tried a whole season under Mr. Colman's management) besides others, owed their introduction to the audience; and the great merits made by Mr. Palmer, Messrs. Henderfon, &c. testify the judgment and industry of their director. Mr. Colman's attention to the did not make him entirely neglect his classical studies. He

published a new translation of Horace's Art of Poetry, in which he produced a poem to explain this very dilemma. In opposition to Dr. Johnson he supposes, "that one of the sons of Piso, undoubtedly the best, had either written or made a poetical work, most probably a tragedy; and that he with the knowledge of the play, communicated his piece to Horace; but Horace, either disapproving of the play, or doubting of the poetical merits of the elder Piso, or wishing to dissuade from all thoughts of publication. With this view he formed the design of writing this epistle, addressing it to a courtliness and delicacy of agreeable to his acknowledged character, indifferently to the whole family, the father and two sons, *Epistola ad Pisonem de Poetica*." This hypothesis

is supported with much learning, ingenuity, and modesty; and if not fully established, is at least as well entitled to applause as that adopted by the bishop of Worcester.

On the publication of the *Horace*, the bishop said to Dr. Douglas, "Give my compliments to C——, and thank him for the handsome manner in which he has treated me, and tell him, that *I think he is right*."

Besides the dramatic works of Mr. Colman, and those we have already mentioned, he was the author of a preface to the last edition of Beaumont and Fletcher, a dissertation prefixed to Massinger, a series of papers in the *St. James's Chronicle*, under the title of the *Genius*, and many other fugitive pieces.

At the close of the theatrical season of 1785, Mr. Colman was seized at Margate with the palsy, and at the beginning of the season of 1789, he first shewed symptoms of derangement of his mind, which increasing gradually, left him in a state of idiocy. On this occasion the concluding lines of his friend Churchill's Epistle to Hogarth, will naturally intrude themselves on our reader's attention:

"Sure 'tis a curse which angry fates impose  
To mortify man's arrogance, that those  
Who're fash on'd of some better sort of clay,  
Much sooner than the common herd decay  
What bitter pangs must humbled genius feel,  
In their last hour to view a Swift and Steele  
How must ill-boding horrors fill her breast,  
When she beholds men mark'd above the rest,  
For qualities most dear, plung'd from that height,  
And sunk, deep sunk, in second childhood's night.

Are



Are men indeed such things? And are  
 the best  
 More subject to this evil than the rest,  
 To drive out whole years of idiot breath,  
 And sit the monuments of living death?  
 O, galling circumstance to human pride!  
 Abasing thought! but not to be deny'd.  
 With curious art the brain, too finely  
 wrought,  
 Preys on herself, and is destroy'd by  
 thought.  
 Constant attention wears the active mind,  
 Blots out her pow'rs, and leaves a blank  
 behind."

In this sad state he was c  
 to the care of a person at  
 ton. The management  
 theatre was entrusted to  
 with an allowance of 600l

Mr. Colman died on  
 of August, 1794, at the age  
 Paddington. A few hours  
 death he was seized with  
 spasms, which were succe  
 melancholy stupor, in  
 drew his last breath.

## NATURAL HISTORY.

### *description of Corfica.*

island of Corfica, now  
 ted to the crown of Great  
 s situated nearly opposite  
 ain-land of Genoa, be-  
 gulph of Genoa and the  
 Sardinia; and, according  
 st maps which Busching  
 , is in length thirty-two  
 linbreadth twelve miles,\*  
 almost longitudinally by a  
 mountains; and indeed the  
 part of the island is moun-

The soil is fruitful even  
 ountains, except the high-  
 : summits are covered with  
 greatest part of the year.  
 ows very well, and much  
 in many places excellent  
 d oil, and chefnuts. In  
 ior part of the island is  
 f cattle, and the inhabi-  
 ve a great trade with all  
 them, but more especially  
 hose flesh is the common  
 Corfica. There are feve-  
 : of iron, lead, copper, and  
 slides stones and minerals,  
 good coral fishery on the  
 The number of parishes, in  
 as 333; of villages 427;  
 is, 46,854; and of souls,  
 ; which, in 1760, amount-

ed to 130,000; Mr. Boswell carries  
 it to 220,000.

The kingdom of Corfica was  
 conquered by the Genoese, who  
 drove out the Saracens, A. D. 806.  
 The Pisans took it from the Ge-  
 noese in the 11th century, ceded  
 it in the following, and recovered  
 it in the next. Alphonsus V. king  
 of Arragon, attempted, without  
 success, to make himself master of  
 it 1420. In 1533, the French pos-  
 sessed themselves of the greatest  
 part of the island, but ceded it by  
 the treaty of Cambresis, 1559. In  
 1561, the inhabitants revolted from  
 the Genoese; and, though reduced  
 to obedience five years after, pre-  
 served an inveterate aversion to the  
 Genoese, who treated them with  
 the utmost rigour. An insurrec-  
 tion, on occasion of heavy taxes,  
 broke out in 1726, which were  
 ended by the interposition of the  
 emperor. In 1735, fresh troubles  
 broke out, and the islanders chose  
 Theodore baron Neuhoof their king;  
 who, after some exertions, ended  
 his days in prison for debt at Lon-  
 don, where, in 1753, a subscrip-  
 tion was raised for him by public  
 advertisement. Peace was at length  
 restored during the years 1743 and  
 1744; and, though our fleet bom-

these are German miles, each of which is about five English miles.

barded

barded Bastia 1745, and the malcontents seized the town, it was soon recovered from them. May 15, 1763, the Genoese gave up Corsica to the king of France, as a compensation for the expences that crown had been and was to be at for the reduction of the island. April 9, 1769, comte de Vaux arrived at Corsica, and made a progress. May 13, Paoli and his friends embarked at Port Vecchio, on board a vessel carrying English colours. July 18, France ceded it to the king of Sardinia; and the duke de Chablais, the king's brother, prepared to take possession of it.

The clergy are very numerous, and there are sixty-eight convents of Cordeliers, Capuchins, and Servites. The revenues of the island were applied by the Genoese, in time of peace, to maintain governors, officers, and soldiers: the surplus has never exceeded 40,000 Genoese livres.

The chain of mountains divides the island into two unequal parts, and these are again subdivided into districts or provinces of different tribunals and siefs, and these again into pieves, parishes, and paezes.

Mr. Boswell makes the length of the island 150 miles, the breadth from 40 to 53 miles, and the circumference 322 miles. It is charmingly situated in the Mediterranean, whence continual breezes fan and cool it in summer, and the surrounding body of water keeps it warm in winter; so that it is one of the most temperate countries in that quarter of Europe. The air is fresh and healthful, except in one or two places. It is remarkably well furnished with good harbours. The great division of it is into the

country on this and on that of the mountains, reckoning from tia, into nine provinces, and many pieves, containing each a certain number of parishes. *paese*, or village, elects an *ammogest*, and two other magistrates called *padri del comune*; and a year all the inhabitants of a village assemble and choose a *curatore*, to represent them in the general *consulta*, or parliament of the nation, made up of several persons who have been formerly members of the supreme council, or have had relations in the service of the country. The magistrates of each province send also a *procuratore*; two of those of the province together with the *procuratore* and the magistrates, are chosen to elect a president to preside in the *consulta*, and an orator to read the papers subjected to deliberation. The general's office much resembles that of the stadtholder. The government exhibits a complete well-ordered democracy.

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*Observations on Middlesex agriculture by Abraham Wilkinson, from the Annals of Agriculture vol. 22.*

*White Webb House, Enfield  
Dec. 14, 1793*

TO A. YOUNG, ESQ.

Dear sir,

PERMIT me to congratulate you on your appointment to the office of secretary to the Board of Agriculture. May the same spirit of patriotic industry, which has distinguished your agricultural labours, pervade and invigorate the proceedings of the board.

in characters of the pre-  
secretary, the public are  
in entertaining the most  
expectations.

confess, I should have be-  
h concern, so deserving a  
n the service of agricul-  
ring from the field, disre-  
nd unrewarded by that  
ty, to whose aggrandise-  
has long devoted the la-  
his pen, and the sweat of

The gratitude of the  
erves comfort and inde-  
to the veteran soldier,  
r of whose youth has been  
in fighting her battles,  
icing her cause. And al-  
u have neither wielded the  
r pointed the cannon in  
ce; the pillar of your fame,  
namented with the *plough*  
*tree*, shall prove more d-  
n one stained with *blood*,  
azoned with all the *trophies*

sent some communica-  
fir John Sinclair, for the  
of Middlesex Agriculture,  
e ingenious Mr. Beard has  
ted into his accurate sur-  
having been requested,  
worthy president of the  
continue my communica-  
he more complete investi-  
the subject; in fir John's  
I take the liberty of ad-  
few particulars to you, as  
to the board, which may  
ed in the Annals, or in-  
ed into some future copy of  
y of Middlesex, or both,  
y judge proper.

last paper which I had the  
f communicating to the  
I expressed a wish for the  
ient of a *national experi-*  
*ment*; and although I am  
XXXVI.

still of opinion, that the advantages  
attending such an institution would  
be great, and more than a counter-  
balance to the expence; yet, as  
many difficulties would occur re-  
specting the mode of conducting it,  
and the sum to be allowed by go-  
vernment, it appears to me, that a  
method of pursuing agricultural ex-  
periments might be adopted, with-  
out incurring any considerable  
trouble or expence. Let a num-  
ber of corresponding members be  
selected from the principal farmers  
and landholders, who might be  
willing to co-operate with the  
board of agriculture. They might  
be requested annually to attend a  
public meeting of the board, when  
a list of experiments for the ensu-  
ing year might be made out, and  
allotted to the landholders present,  
according to the nature of the soil  
they occupied, and the advantages  
for conducting the experiments,  
which their situations might respec-  
tively admit of. Corresponding  
members might be selected from si-  
tuations which command the use of  
marl, chalk, and lime, for the com-  
plete investigation of these valuable  
manures. And in regard to *live*  
*stock* and the *utensils of husbandry*,  
there can be no doubt, but that a  
sufficient number of farmers might  
be procured from the leading men  
in their profession, who could fa-  
vour the board with such communi-  
cations, as would tend greatly to  
ascertain the best instruments for  
the cultivation of different soils, and  
the most profitable stock, that can  
engage the attention of the grazier.

#### *On suckling Calves.*

Though Smithfield market is  
chiefly supplied with fat calves from  
X the

the Essex farmers; yet, on the borders of Middlesex, there are a number of cows kept solely for suckling. This to a gentleman may be considered as the most profitable expenditure of after-grass. Sheep purchased solely to consume the after-grass, where there are no turnips for winter food, are often sold again to a great disadvantage.—Suckling being easily managed by a man, requires no additional expence of a dairy-maid, and the easy access to Smithfield-market, affords a certain sale, if no neighbouring butchers can be dealt with. It is generally reckoned, that calves should pay 5s. a week as sucklers, exclusive of the value of the calf when first dropped. Some value the saleable meat at 6d. per lb. allowing what is called the fifth quarter for the butcher's profit. In order to keep up a regular supply, calves are purchased as sucklers, from a week to three weeks old; the price varying from 16s. to 1l. 10s. A wide difference is observable in the thriving nature of the calves; some acquiring a proper degree of fatness for the butcher much sooner than others, though kept on the same food. Could the causes occasioning this difference be discovered, they would be of great consequence to the farmer, in regulating the purchase of sucklers. When the food and treatment is in every respect the same, the difference must be referred to something constitutional in the calf, which it must be difficult to discover, unless connected with a particular breed. The butchers in general are averse to the purchase of the black calves, though there is reason to believe, that the colour of the skin has no influence on the delicacy of the

meat. The ball-faced sucklers selected by some, in preference to other colours. The calves are confined solely to the milk of the cow of which they are allowed a quantity, morning and evening. Chalk is uniformly placed in hay in the corner of the calves' pen with a view to render the milk white; and though this effect may not be clearly ascertained, it is however, the practice may be justified, as contributing to the health of the calf, by correcting a strong acid, which, though common to the young of all animals, seems to be peculiarly powerful in the stomach of the calf. It is customary with the butchers to bleed their calves about two days before they kill them: some bleed frequently during the time of suckling. Though a new milk cow will give more milk than an old calf will consume, yet, to render it completely fat, the assistance of another cow is generally required. The calves are sold at different ages, from eight to ten weeks, the price varying from 2l. 10s. to 13s. 6d. It is of importance to the farmer, to ascertain the exact age at which the calf should be sold, in order to secure the greatest profit. Some calves will grow, but not fatten; in this case, it is losing money to keep them long, in expectation of their being fat for the butcher. It sometimes happens that a calf uncommonly voracious, will consume a much larger quantity of milk than any of the others in the herd, without acquiring great fatness, corresponding to the proportion of food: such calves are unprofitable if kept to a large quantity. These observations are of importance, as the butchers in general

pour to persuade the farmers, for the sale of their calves as possible.

The chief advantage of suckling arises from the great variety of green food, which the farmer may give the cows, without affecting the quality of the milk, especially cabbages and turnips, which are so well known to communicate a disagreeable taste to milk. Grains, however, and other dry food, which give a greater quantity of milk, but of an inferior quality, cannot be used so freely, where cows are kept solely for milk. It is the quality, and not the quantity of the milk which contributes to the nourishment of the calf. I have found, by experience, that cows kept almost entirely on potatoes, will produce too much milk to support a thriving calf.

It may here be observed, that cows kept solely for suckling, are not apt to miss taking the bull, where they are confined to the stall after their own calves are weaned.

### *Turnips.*

The advance of rent and taxes, has induced the Middlesex farmers to improve the most of their land, by a succession of crops. Turnips are sometimes sown on the stubble, ploughed up immediately after harvest. This crop of winter turnips, will produce about 1000 lbs. per acre, if sold in spring. The London cow-keepers. The turnips will be but small; yet the quantity of green food at that season renders the tops valuable. This year (1793), twelve acres of turnips have been sold for 100l. to

a London cow-keeper, who engaged to clear the crop time enough for wheat. The distance five miles from London.

### *Potatoes.*

Potatoes are cultivated in Middlesex on a large scale. The latter end of April, and beginning of May, are found to be the best seasons for planting this root, unless the very early sorts are to be raised. The sharp frosts, so destructive to vegetation in the spring, will frequently cut down the potatoe shoots if planted early. The sorts chiefly cultivated for the table are the red-nose-kidney, the white-blossom, and the champion. If wheat is to succeed, the champions are preferred, as arriving sooner at maturity than the kidneys. Some use the plough in taking them up, but in general they are dug up with the spade. The frosts of October frequently cut down the leaves of the potatoe plant. The root however will continue to grow, so long as the sap remains in the stem, so that in a backward season (as the present) the time of taking them up may be deferred to the middle or latter end of November. They are found not to keep well, if taken up too early, while the skin is still soft and tender.

The price of potatoes, when delivered to the London dealers, varies from two guineas to four guineas per ton, according to the quality of the root and the time of delivery. The market generally falls after a supply from Yorkshire arrives in the river. Some of the ox-nobles have been cultivated, and sold at a low price to the cow-keepers. The general produce of the potatoe-crop



in the county, Mr. James, Lodge, and Mr. Walker, Bar.

and horn-shavings, are sold at various and uncertain prices.

*Chalk.*

Chalk has not yet been in any considerable quantity in Middlesex, yet it abounds in the neighbouring counties of Hertfordshire. It is Northaw and Chessington on the borders of Middlesex whence the neighbours of Mims, Barnet, and have been supplied with

at 6d. the bushel, at short distances; or at eight at the pit. Chalk is sold at Bow, at the bushel. It is chiefly from the coast of Kent. A the Essex carts take it as age, after delivering their London market. From sent by the lime-merchants parts of Middlesex; but more for building than

affords an infinite variety of uses, which are used in as manures: in rags, at 4l. 17s. per ton. Baker's scum, from 5s. to 7s. a load.

oil, 5s. ditto. Hides, from 5s. to 6s. ditto. 1d. and 7d. per bushel. Neighbourhood of Baldoock, Hertfordshire, they bring foot wheat, in broad-wheel from London, to the 300 bushels a load.

oil and tallow-chandler's dung of pigeons, rabbits, poultry, soap-ashes, bones,

*Timber and Underwood.*

The oak and the elm, but chiefly the latter, are the prevailing trees of this district. The hedges are frequently formed entirely of the shoots of the elm. A custom too much prevails of mutilating these trees, by stripping them up close to the stem, which must certainly prove injurious to their growth, if the leaves have any influence in imbibing nourishment from the surrounding atmosphere. It has been observed, on cutting down elms, where the year of stripping could be ascertained, that the circle of wood which the tree annually produces, was less on those years, than on any others.

There are but few oaks in this district of any size, except what have been saved from the axe, for the ornament of gentlemen's pleasure grounds. Here we sometimes find that truly venerable remnant of antiquity, the pollard oak, of immense size, and rugged stem; protecting, with its hospitable shade, the panting flock from the meridian sun. An object the most beautifully picturesque, that nature presents to the eye.

On the borders of Middlesex, there are woods of oak, which are cut in rotation, at seven years growth. They are generally purchased for fuel by the London bakers. In the parish of Pinner, within 13 miles of London, on an estate of my own, I have 24 acres of this underwood, which I am gradually training to a timber-grove, by reserving at every fall the most thriving of the young oaks. This,



I am persuaded, is the only method of raising timber, which will answer on a large scale. I once devoted nearly 50 acres to a plantation of every species of fir and forest-tree: they were planted at two years old; but I found my plantation sustained no much injury, from sheep being put in secretly in the night time, and from the depredations of other cattle, that I preferred drawing my trees, and letting the land at 12s. per acre. I am apprehensive, that government will find the method they have taken of planting the New Forest, attended with a very precarious success. At the same time, the minister's intention, I doubt not, was highly patriotic and laudable.

Within these last twenty years, several varieties of the poplar have been introduced into Middlesex, The Lombardy, or Popoplar, is much cultivated, as an ornamental plant, in the neighbourhood of London. As a timber-tree, it is but of inferior value, not being able to bear exposure to the weather. For packing-cases, however, and other purposes, where duration of wood is not required, it may prove a cheap and useful substitute for deal. Its growth far exceeds that of any other timber-tree. It is supposed that there are few in England, whose age exceeds forty years. It flourishes best on the sides of rivers, and has acquired its name from its long-sloped situation on the banks of the Po.

Of the white and black poplar, the white is most frequent in Middlesex, but the black yields the best timber. The wood of the latter, I can pronounce from experience, to be excellent for common floors. It is much used for the purposes of

deal in the midland counties. In Worcestershire they reckon that it pays the owner 1s. a year, from the time of its being first planted. When converted into a pollard, the loppings are used for hop-poles. The boards of this poplar are so slow of taking fire, that the flames of a house on fire have been stopped at that part of the building, when the timber of the poplar had been used. They are observed to smoke a long time before they burst into a flame.

#### *Ofiers.*

There are some flourishing ofier-grounds near London, on the banks of the Thames. The quick growth of these aquatics, allows them to be cut every year. The cuttings are sold to the basket-makers, in bundles measuring 42 inches in circumference, at 1s. and 1s. 6d. per bundle. The basket-makers will willingly give 5l. an acre rent, for a good ofier-ground, though situated at the distance of ten or twelve miles from London. But the produce of a good bed will frequently amount to 10l. per annum. Considering the small expence necessary for supporting the ofier-bed, and that neither the plough nor manure are required to produce an annual crop, there is reason to believe, that land adapted to the growth of aquatics, will ensure a larger profit when planted with ofiers, than in any common mode of cultivation.

The *salix citellina*, or golden willow, and the *salix viminalis*, or green ofier, are the sorts used by the basket-makers. The annual growth of these will frequently exceed six feet.

*Rivers.*

*Rivers.*

an agricultural survey of Middlesex, the rivers, which contribute much to the fertility of the land, are not to be omitted. Being immediately connected with the New River, which takes its course nearly a mile through my own parish, I shall minute down a few particulars worthy of notice. The New River rises in a rich valley, half-way between Hertford and Ware. The water at the fountain-head, which is remarkably clear and pure, collects in a circular basin; it then takes a course through Uxell and Hoddeston, nearly parallel with the London-road; at Uxell, Theobalds, and Enfield, it winds through several parks and commons, not only supplying the inhabitants of those districts with water, but enriching the country with the fertility and beauty of its stream; at Enfield, after passing through the Webb's farm, it just touches the Enfield-chace, and returns immediately through the same farm, in a direction nearly parallel to its former course, and thus encloses a large tract of rich low-land, which requires no fence. The mode of conducting streams across vallies was but little understood when this river was first formed, otherwise, so circuitous a course, to preserve the water, would have been unnecessary. The Chace, in its turn, it crosses the Rowley vale, which after heavy rains is frequently flooded. The river being obstructed in its course by the banks of the river, would only have overflowed and dashed the river water, with the consequences of a land flood, had not this mischief been prevented, by an

arch of brick-work, which is thrown across the river, by means of which, the waters collected in the valley, after heavy rains, pass over the stream without injuring it. In a wet season, so large a sheet of water, rushing over the New River with great noise and impetuosity, forms a very grand cascade.

Between Enfield and London, the New River winds in so singular a manner, that in the course of ten miles, you pass it as many times.

The weeds at the bottom of the river are repeatedly cut, and the mud cleared away, in order to preserve the channel free and open for the course of the water. For the care of the banks, a walkman is appointed to every two miles. On trying the mud of the New River, in the neighbourhood of Enfield, I found it strongly calcareous; a considerable effervescence ensuing on being mixed with acids. This is owing to the admixture of shells and fresh water snails, which, continually subsiding, give a marly nature to the earth at the bottom of the stream. If we consider, that it is now one hundred and eighty years since the river was completed, the quantity of calcareous matter thus accumulated must be considerable. The chalk, which abounds in the neighbourhood of Hertford and Ware, where the river rises, may furnish an additional supply of the calcareous earth. On using this river mud, as a manure on meadow land, I have found the pasture sweetened by the great increase of the white clover. The *f. f. f. f. f.* grass prevails much on the banks of the New River, owing probably to the calcareous mud scraped up from the bottom, and with which the banks are continually repaired.

This grass has been observed to abound in meadows, that have been often flooded with water, which has previously passed over calcareous earth. Land contiguous to rivers ought always to be in grass, both on account of the advantage of water to cattle, and the constant benefit that grass receives from a running stream. The loss, therefore, sustained by common field land adjoining to rivers must be considerable, as the course of crops to which they are subject necessarily excludes grass. In the county of Middlesex there are several hundred acres of common field land thus situated, the rental and produce of which might be doubled by enclosure.

The above observations on Middlesex agriculture, I am persuaded, would be of no value to the board, if there did not exist a backwardness, in farmers in general, to satisfy the inquiries of gentlemen, on the subject of agriculture. With my best wishes for your success, in your various and important occupations, I remain,

Your obliged humble servant,

ABRAHAM WILKINSON.

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*Wild cattle in Northumberland. From the same, vol. xxii.*

THESE are only found in Chillingham-park, belonging to the earl of Tankerville, and as it is probable, they are the only remains of the true and genuine breed of that species of cattle, we shall be more particular in our description.

Their colour is invariably white, muzzle black; the whole of the inside of the ear, and about one-third

of the out-side from the tip, downwards, red; horns white, with black tips, very fine, and bent upwards. Some of the bulls have a thin upright mane, about an inch and a half, or two inches long. The weight of the oxen is from 33 to 45 stone, and the cows from 25 to 35 stone, the four quarters; 14 lbs. to the stone. The beef is finely marbled, and of excellent flavour.

From the nature of their pasture, and the frequent agitation they are put into, by the curiosity of strangers, it is scarce to be expected they should get very fat; yet the six years old oxen are generally very good beef; from whence it may be fairly supposed, that in proper situations, they would feed well.

At the first appearance of any person they set off in full gallop; and, at the distance of two or three hundred yards, make a wheel round, and come boldly up again, tossing their heads in a menacing manner. On a sudden they make a full stop, at the distance of forty or fifty yards, looking wildly at the object of their surprize; but upon the least motion being made, they all again turn round, and gallop off again with equal speed, but not to the same distance: forming a shorter circle, and again returning with a bolder, and more threatening, aspect than before, they approach much nearer, probably within thirty yards, when they make another stand, and again gallop off. This they do several times, shortening their distance, and advancing nearer, till they come within a few yards, when most people think it prudent to leave them, not chusing to provoke them farther, as it is probable, that in a few turns more they would make an attack.

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mode of killing them was, as the modern remains of the rancour of ancient hunting. Notice being given, that a wild boar could be killed upon a certain day, the inhabitants of the neighbourhood came mounted, and armed with guns, &c. sometimes to the number of a hundred horse, and five hundred foot, who stood in ranks, or got into trees, while the hunters rode off the bull from the rest of the herd, until he stood by; when a marksman discharged and shot. At some of these huntings, twenty or thirty have been fired before he was dead. On such occasions, the young victim grew desperately wild, from the snarling of his fellows, and the shouts of savage hunters at were echoing from every side, but, from the number of accidents that happened, this dangerous mode has been little practised of late years; the park-keeper generally shooting them with a single gun, at one shot. When the cows calve, they hide their calves, for a week or ten days, in a sequestered situation, and go to suckle them two or three times a day. If any person comes near the calves, they clap their heads to the ground, and lie like a dead animal in form, to hide themselves. This is a proof of their native wildness, and is corroborated by the following circumstance, that happened to the writer of this narrative, who found a hidden calf, two days old, very lean, and very weak. On stroking its head, it got up, and bellowed two or three times like an adult bull, bellowed very loud, stepped back a few steps, and bolted at the person with all its force; it then came to paw again, bellowed,

stepped back, and bolted as before; but knowing its intention, and stopping aside, it missed me, fell, and was so very weak, that it could not rise, though it made several efforts. But it had done enough, the whole herd were alarmed, and coming to its rescue, obliged me to retire; for the dams will allow no person to touch their calves, without attacking them with impetuous ferocity.

When any one happens to be wounded, or grown weak and feeble through age or sickness, the rest of the herd set upon it, and gore it to death.

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*Account of some remarkable caves in the principality of Bayreuth, and of the fossil bones found therein. Extracted from a paper sent, with specimens of the bones, as a present to the Royal Society, by his most serene highness the margrave of Anspach, &c. From the Philosophical Transactions.*

A Ridge of primeval mountains runs almost through Germany, in a direction nearly from west to east; the Hartz, the mountains of Thuringia, the Fichtelberg in Franconia, are different parts of it, which in their farther extent constitute the Riesenberg, and join the Carpathian mountains; the highest parts of this ridge are granite, and are flanked by alluvial and stratified mountains, consisting chiefly of limestone, marl, and sandstone; such at least is the tract of hills in which the caves to be spoken of are situated, and over these hills the main road leads from Bayreuth to Erlang, or Nuremberg. Half way to this town lies Streitberg, where there is a post,

a post, and but three or four English miles distant from thence are the caves mentioned, near Gailenreuth and Klausstein, two small villages, insignificant in themselves, but become famous for the discoveries made in their neighbourhood.

The tract of hills is there broken off by many small and narrow valleys, confined mostly by steep and high rocks, here and there overhanging, and threatening, as it were, to fall and crush all beneath; and every where thereabouts are to be met with objects, which suggest the idea of their being evident vestiges of some general and mighty catastrophe which happened in the primeval times of the globe.

The strata of these hills consist chiefly of lime-stone of various colour and texture, or of marl and sandstones. The tract of lime-stone hills abounds with petrifications of various kinds.

The main entrance to the caves at Gailenreuth opens near the summit of a limestone hill towards the east. An arch, near seven feet high, leads into a kind of antichamber, 80 feet in length, and 300 feet in circumference, which constitutes the vestibule of four other caves. This antichamber is lofty and airy, but has no light except what enters by its open arch; its bottom is level, and covered with black mould; although the common soil of the environs is loam and marl.

By several circumstances it appears, that it has been made use of in turbulent times as a place of refuge.

From this vestibule, or first cave, a dark and narrow alley opens in the corner at the south end, and leads into the second cave, which is

about 60 feet long, 18 high, and 40 broad. Its sides and roof are covered, in a wild and rough manner, with stalactites, columns of which are hanging from the roof, others rising from the bottom, meeting the first in many whimsical shapes.

The air of this cave, as well as of all the rest, is always cool, and has, even in the height of summer, being found below temperate. Caution is therefore necessary to its visitors; for it is remarkable, that people having spent any time in this or the other caverns, always on their coming out again appear pale, which in part may be owing to the coolness of the air, and in part likewise to the particular exhalations within the caves. A very narrow, winding, and troublesome, passage opens farther into a

Third cave, or chamber of a roundish form, and about 30 feet diameter, covered all over with stalactites. Very near its entrance there is a perpendicular descent of about 20 feet, into a dark and frightful abyss; a ladder must be brought to descend into it, and caution is necessary in using it, on account of the rough and slippery stalactites. When you are down, you enter into a gloomy cave of about 15 feet diameter, and 30 feet high, making properly but a segment of the third cave.

In the passage to this third cave, some teeth and fragments of bones are found; but coming down to the pit of the cave, you are every way surrounded by a vast heap of animal remains. The bottom of this cave is paved with a stalactical crust of near a foot in thickness; large and small fragments of all sorts of bones are scattered every where on the surface

of the ground, or are easily out of the mouldering rubbish. The very walls seem filled with various and innumerable teeth and broken bones. The stalactical hanging of the uneven sides of the caves does not reach quite down to the bottom, whereby it plainly appears that this vast collection of rubbish, some time ago filled the space in the cave, before it sunk by mouldering.

This place is in appearance very like a large quarry of sandstones; indeed, the largest and finest of osteolithical concretes have been hewn out in any number, and there was but room enough to get to them, and to carry them out. This bony rock has been dug in different places, and every where undoubted proofs have been found, that its bed, or this osteolithical stratum, extends every where beneath and through the whole rock, into which and through which these caverns have been made, so that the queries suggested by themselves about the astonishing numbers of animals buried in this sound all speculation.

Along the sides of this third cavern are some narrower openings leading into different smaller caverns, of which it cannot be known how deep they go. In some of these bones of smaller animals have been found, such as jaw-bones, crura, and tibiae, in large heaps. The bottom of this cave slopes towards the passage seven feet high, and is as wide, being the entrance

to the fourth cave, 20 feet high, and is lined all round with a calcareous crust, and gradually leads to another steep descent, where the ladder is wanting a few

feet, and must be used with caution as before, in order to get into a cave 40 feet high, and about half as wide. In those deep and spacious hollows, worked out through the most solid mass of rock, you again perceive with astonishment, immense numbers of bony fragments of all kinds and sizes, sticking every where in the sides of the cave, or lying on the bottom. This cave also is surrounded by several smaller ones; in one of them rises a stalactite of uncommon bigness, being four feet high, and eight feet diameter, in the form of a truncated cone. In another of those side grottoes, a very neat stalactical pillar presents itself, five feet in height, and eight inches in diameter.

The bottom of all these grottoes is covered with true animal mould, out of which may be dug fragments of bones.

Besides the smaller hollows, spoken of before, round this fourth cave, a very narrow opening has been discovered in one of its corners. It is of very difficult access, as it can be entered only in a crawling posture. This dismal and dangerous passage leads into a fifth cave, of near 30 feet high, 43 long, and of unequal breadth. To the depth of six feet this cave has been dug, and nothing has been found but fragments of bones, and animal mould: the sides are finely decorated with stalactites of different forms and colours; but even this stalactical crust is filled with fragments of bones sticking in it, up to the very roof.

From this remarkable cave, another very low and narrow avenue leads into the last discovered, or the

Sixth cave, not very large, and merely covered with a stalactical crust,

crust, in which, however, here and there bones are seen sticking. And here ends this connected series of most remarkable osteolithical caverns, as far as they have been hitherto explored; many more may, for what we know, exist, hidden, in the same tract of hills.

Mr. Esper has written a history in German of these caves; and given descriptions and plates of a great number of the fossil bones which have been found there. To this work we must refer for a more particular account of them.

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*Observations on the fossil bones presented to the Royal Society by his most serene highness the margrave of Anspach, &c. By the late John Hunter, esq. F. R. S. Communicated by Everard Home, esq. F. R. S. From the same.*

THE bones, which are the subject of the present paper, are to be considered more in the light of incrustations than extraneous fossils, since their external surface has only acquired a covering of crystallized earth, and little or no change has taken place in their internal structure.

The earths with which bones are most commonly incrustated are the calcareous, argillaceous, and siliceous, but principally the calcareous; and this happens in two ways; one, the bones being immersed in water in which this earth is suspended; the other, water passing through masses of this earth, which it dissolves, and afterwards deposits upon bones which lie underneath.

Bones which are incrustated never to undergo this change in earth, or under the water, the soft parts were destroyed; bones that are fossilized become in the medium in which they deposited\* at the animal's death. The incrustated bones have been variously exposed to the open air; this is evidently the case with bones at present under collection, those of the rock of Gibraltar and those found in Dalmatia from the account given by the Spallanzani, those of the island of Cerigo are under the same circumstances. They have the character of exposed bones, and many of them are cracked in a manner in places, particularly the cylindrical bones, similar to the effects of exposure to the sun. This circumstance appears to distinguish them from fossilized bones, and gives some information respecting their history.

If their numbers had corresponded with what we meet with recent bones, we might have led to some opinion of their mode of accumulation; but the quantity exceeds any thing we can form an idea of. In an inquiry into their history three questions may arise: did the animals come to the place and die? or were they brought there, and lay exposed? were the bones collected from different places? The first of these conjectures appears to me the most natural; but yet I am by no means convinced of its being the true one.

Bones of this description are found in very different situations, which makes their presence

\* Bones that have been buried with the flesh on acquire a stain which the flesh loses; and those which have been long immersed in water receive a considerable

cultly accounted for. Those any are found in caves. It of Dalmatia is said to be holly formed of them, and v that this is the case with ortion of the rock of Gib-

e were found in caves, but masses covered with marl or ; it would then give the their having been brought by some strange cause, as lition in the earth, which ese materials over them ; we can hardly form an idea they had all been found in ve should have imagined res were places of retreat animals, and had been so thousands of years ; and if s were those of carnivorous and herbivorous, we might posed that the carnivorous ght in many animals of a ize which they caught for d this, upon the first view, to have been the case with ich are the subject of this yet when we consider that es are principally of carni- nimals, we are confined to olution of their being only f retreat. If they had been together by any convulsion irth, they would have been with the surrounding mate- the mountains, which does ear to be the case ; for some are found sticking des of the caves in cased eous matter, this seems to lisen from their situation in . Such accumulation would ide them coeval with the ns themselves, which, from ent state of the bones, I ery much doubt.

The difference in the state of the bones shews that there was probably a succession of them for a vast series of years ; for, if we consider the distance of time between the most perfect having been deposited, which we must suppose were the last, and the present time, we must consider it to be many thousand years, and if we calculate how long these must still remain to be as far decayed as some others are, it will require many thousand years, a sufficient time for a vast accumulation : from this mode of reasoning, therefore, it would appear that they were not brought here at once in a recent state.

The animal earth, as it is called, at the bottom of these caves, is supposed to be produced by the rotting of the flesh, which is supposing the animals brought there with the flesh on ; but I do conceive, that if the caves had been stuffed with whole animals, the flesh could not have produced one-tenth part of the earth, and to account for such a quantity as appears to be the produce of animals, I should suppose it the remains of the dung of animals who inhabited the caves, and the contents of the bowels of those they lived upon. This is easily conceived from knowing that there is something similar to it, in a smaller degree, in many caves in this kingdom, which are places of retreat for bats in the winter, and even in the summer, as they only go abroad in the evenings ; these caves have their bottoms covered with animal earth, for some feet in depth, in all degrees of decomposition, the lowermost the most pure, and the uppermost but little changed, with all the intermediate degrees ; in which caves



caves are formed a vast number of stalactites, which might incrust the bones of those that die there.

The bones in the caves in Germany are so much the object of the curious, that the specimens are dispersed throughout Europe, which prevents a sufficient number coming into the hands of any one person to make him acquainted with the animals to which they belong.

From the history and figures given by Esper, it appears that there are the bones of several animals; but what is curious, they all appear to have been carnivorous, which we should not have expected. There are teeth in number, kind, and mode of setting, exactly similar to the white bear, others more like those of the lion; but the representations of parts, however well executed, are hardly to be trusted to for the nicer characters, and much less so when the parts are mutilated.

The bones sent by his highness the margrave of Anspach agree with those described and delineated by Esper as belonging to the white bear; how far they are of the same species among themselves, I cannot say; the heads differ in shape from each other; they are, upon the whole, much longer for their breadth than in any carnivorous animal I know of; they also differ from the present white bear, which, as far as I have seen, has a common proportional breadth; it is supposed, indeed, that the heads of the present white bear differ from one another, but for the truth of this assertion I have not seen heads enough of that animal to determine.

The heads not only vary in but also in size, for some of when compared with the white bear, would seem to belong to an animal twice as large while some of the bones correspond in size with those of the white bear and others are even smaller.

There are two *ossa humeri* of a less size than those of the present white bear; a first is rather smaller; the teeth are considerably in size, yet the teeth of the same tribe; for variety among themselves is less than between them and the present. In the formation of the humerus makes a considerable difference in the skull of a young dog is more rounded than an old dog, the ridge leading back to the occiput terminating in the two laterals hardly exists in a young dog among the present bones the back part of such a head is larger than the head of the mastiff; how far the young bear may vary from the old to the young dog, I do not know but it is very probable.

Bones of animals under circumstances so similar, although in different parts of the globe, or have naturally supposed to be chiefly of those of one class in every place, one principle in all places. In Gibraltar mostly of the ruminating the hare kind, and the birds; yet there are some dog or fox, and likewise. Those in Dalmatia appear mostly of the ruminating I saw a part of the or

\* It is to be understood, that the bones of the white bear that I have seen, are one that had been a shew, and had not grown to the full or natural size; an allowance for this in my assertion, that the heads of those incruited appear to be an animal twice the size of our white bear.

at those from Germany are voracious. From these facts I should be inclined to suppose, that accumulation did not arise from an instinctive mode of living, and that the same mode could not suit both voracious and herbivorous

considering animals respecting their position upon the globe, there are some which are peculiar to particular climates, and others that are common, as herrings, mackerel, codfish, &c.; others again, which move over the whole extent of the sea, as the shark, porpoise, &c. whale tribe; while many others must be confined to one part of the sea had not shifted its position more than once, and was the land in a very short time we could determine what position had formerly been by the various fossils of the stationary, for those only would be mixed with those of passing; but if the sea moves from one position to another slowly, then the fossils of animals of different climates may be mixed, by those of the climate moving over those of the stationary, and being fossilized; I am afraid cannot be made by the fossils we may, however, form some idea how the bones and animals fossilized may be mixed with respect to those of the

the sea should have occupied a position that never had been dry prior to the sea's being there, various fossils can only be of sea animals; but each part of its particular kind of those stationary mixed with a few amphibious, and of sea-birds, in parts that were the skirts of

I shall suppose that when

the sea left this place it moved over land where both vegetables and land-animals had existed, the bones of which will be fossilized, as also those of the sea animals; and if the sea continued long here, which there is reason to believe, then those mixed extraneous fossils will be covered with those of sea-animals. Now if the sea should again move and abandon this situation, then we should find the land and sea fossils above-mentioned disposed in this order; and as we begin to discover extraneous fossils in a contrary direction to their formation, we shall first find a stratum of those of animals peculiar to the sea, which were the last formed, and under it one of vegetables and land animals, which were there before they were covered by the sea, and among them those of the sea, and under this the common earth. Those peculiar to the sea will be in depth in proportion to the time of the sea's residence and other circumstances, as currents, tides, &c.

From a succession of such shiftings of the situation of the sea, we may have a stratum of marine extraneous fossils, one of earth, mixed probably with vegetables and bones of land-animals, a stratum of terrestrial extraneous fossils, then one of marine productions; but from the sea carrying its inhabitants along with it, wherever there are those of land-animals there will also be a mixture of marine ones; and from the sea commonly remaining thousands of years in nearly the same situation, we have marine fossils unmixed with any others.

All operations respecting the growth or decomposition of animal and vegetable substances go on more readily on the surface of the earth

earth than in it; the air is most probably the great agent in decomposition and combination, and also a certain degree of heat. Thus the deeper we go into the earth, we find the fewer changes going on; and there is probably a certain depth where no change of any kind can possibly take place. The operation of vegetation will not go on at a certain depth, but at this very depth a decomposition can take place, for the seed dies, and in time decays; but at a still greater depth, the seed retains its life for ages, and when brought near enough to the surface for vegetation, it grows. Something similar to this takes place with respect to extraneous fossils; for although a piece of wood or bone is dead, when so situated as to be fossilized, yet they are found and free from decomposition, and the depth, joined with the matter in which they are often found, as stone, clay, &c. preserves them from putrefaction, and their dissolution requires thousands of years to complete it; probably they may be under the same circumstances as in a vacuum; the heat in such situations is uniform, probably in common about  $52^{\circ}$  or  $53^{\circ}$ , and in the colder regions they are still longer preserved.

I believe it is generally understood that in extraneous fossils the animal part is destroyed; but I find that this is not the case in any I have met with.

Shells, and bones of fish, most probably have the least in quantity, having been longest in that state; otherwise they should have the most; for the harder and more compact the earth, the better is the animal part preserved; which is an argument in proof of their having been

the longer in a fossil state. From experiment and observation, the animal part is not allowed to putrefy, it appears only to be dissolved into a kind of mucus, and can be discovered by dissolving the earth in an acid; when a shell is treated in this way, the animal substance is not fibrous or laminated, as in the recent shell, but without tenacity, and can be washed off like wet dust; in some, however, it has a slight appearance of flakes.

In the shark's tooth, or *glossopetra*, the enamel is composed of animal substance and calcareous earth, and is nearly in the same quantity as in the recent; but the central part of the tooth has its animal substance in the state of mucus, interspersed in the calcareous matter.

In the fossil bones of sea-animals, as the vertebrae of the whale, the animal part is in large quantity, and in two states; the one having some tenacity, but the other like wet dust: but in some of the harder bones it is more firm.

In the fossil bones of land-animals, and those which inhabit the waters, as the sea-horse, otter, crocodile, and turtle, the animal part is in considerable quantity. In the stags horns, dug up in Great Britain and Ireland, when the earth is dissolved, the animal part is in considerable quantity, and very firm. The same observations apply to the fossil bones of the elephant found in England, Siberia, and other parts of the globe; also those of the ox kinds; but more particularly to their teeth, especially those from the lakes in America, in which the animal part has suffered very little; the inhabitants find little difference in ivory of such tusks from the recent.

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this, those fossil bones which con-  
tain a small portion of animal mat-  
ter, produce in an acid the greatest  
effervescence when the surface is  
acted on, and very little when the  
centre is affected by it; however,  
this may be accounted for by the  
parts which have lost their phospho-  
ric acid, and acquired the aerial,  
being easiest of solution in the  
marine acid, and therefore dis-  
solved first, and the aerial acid let  
loose.

In some bones of the whale the  
effervescence is very great; in the  
Dalmatia and Gibraltar bones it is  
less; and in those the subject of  
the present paper it is very little  
since they contain by much the  
largest proportion of animal sub-  
stance.

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*Account of a spontaneous inflamma-  
tion, by Isaac Humfries, esq. in  
a letter from Thomas B. Woodman,  
Esq. to George Atwood, esq. F.R.S.  
from the same.*

Excell, June 9, 1794.

Dear sir,

I Inclose you the extract of the  
letter from Isaac Humfries,  
esq. a gentleman resident in India,  
and employed in the company's  
service, which relates to the cir-  
cumstance of the fire I lately men-  
tioned to you.

And am yours, &c.

THOMAS B. WOODMAN.

" On going into the arsenal, a  
few mornings since, I found my  
friend Mr. Golding, the commissary  
of stores, under the greatest un-  
easiness, in consequence of an acci-  
dent which had happened the pre-

Y

ceding

ceding night. A bottle of linseed oil had been left on a table, close to which a chest stood, which contained some coarse cotton cloth; in the course of the night the bottle of oil was thrown down, and broken on the chest (by rats most probably), and part of the oil ran into the chest, and on the cloth: when the chest was opened in the morning, the cloth was found in a very strong degree of heat, and partly reduced to tinder, and the wood of the box discoloured, as from burning. After a most minute examination, no appearance of any other inflammable substance could be found, and how the cloth could have been reduced to the condition in which it was found, no one could even conjecture. The idea which occurred, and which made Mr. Golding so uneasy, was, that of an attempt to burn the arsenal. Thus matters were when I joined him, and when he told me the story and shewed me the remainder of the cloth. It luckily happened, that in some chemical amusements, I had occasion to consult Hopson's book a very few days before, and met with this particular passage, which I read with a determination to pursue the experiment at some future period, but had neglected to do so. The moment I saw the cloth, the similarity of circumstances struck me so forcibly, that I sent for the book and shewed it to Mr. Golding, who agreed with me, that it appeared sufficient to account for the accident. However, to convince ourselves, we took a piece of the same kind of cloth, wetted it with linseed oil, and put it into a box, which was locked and carried to his quar-

ters. In about three hours the box began to smoke, when, on opening it, the cloth was found exactly in the same condition as that which had given us so much uneasiness in the morning; and on opening the cloth, and admitting the external air, it burst into fire. This was sufficiently convincing: however, to make it more certain, the experiment was three times tried, and with the same success."

P. S. The passage Mr. Humphrey alludes to, is in page 629 of Hopson's Chymistry, where, in a note, you will find mention made of a set of chymical experiments made on inflammable substances by a Mr. Georgi, of the Imperial academy of Petersburg, in consequence of the burning of a Russian frigate at Cronstadt, in 1781, although no fire had been made on board of her for five days before.

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*Description of a new species of warbler, called the Wood Wren, observed in May, 1792, by Mr. Thomas Lamb, A. L. S. from the Transactions of the Linnean Society, vol. 2.*

THE length is five inches and a half; bill horn-colour; upper mandible bent at the tip, and rather longer than the under; irides hazel; nostrils beset with bristles; top of the head, neck, back, and tail coverts olive-green; throat and cheeks yellow, paler on the breast; belly and vent of a most beautiful silvery white; through the eye passes a yellow line; wings and coverts brown, edged with green; the tail consists of twelve feathers, rather forked, and of a brown colour.

lour, edged with green on the exterior webs, and with white on the interior, the first feather wanting the green edge; under part of the shoulder, bright yellow; legs rather more than an inch long, of a horn-colour; claws paler.

This is undoubtedly a new species in England, and I believe a non-descript: it inhabits woods, and comes with the rest of the summer warblers, and in manners is much the same, running up and down trees in search of insects.

I heard it first, early in May, in Whitenight's Park, near Reading; it was there hopping about on the upper branch of a very high pine, and having a very singular and single note, it attracted my attention, being very much like that of the *Emberiza Miliaria* (Linn.), but so astonishingly shrill, that I heard it at more than a hundred yards distance: this it repeated once in three or four minutes.

I never heard these birds before last spring, and nevertheless I have heard nine in the course of a month; four in Whitenight's Park, and five in my tour to the Isle of Wight, viz. one in a wood at Stratfield-sea, one at East Stratton-park, two in the New Forest, and one in a wood near Highclere: I have not heard it since June 6.—Colonel Montague informed me, he had met with it in Wiltshire, and had called it the Wood Wren; it has also been heard near Uxbridge.

It differs from the *Motacilla Hippolais* (Linn.), in being much larger, of a finer green colour on the upper parts, and more beautiful white beneath; also in the yellow streak passing through the eye, which in the *Hippolais* passes above and below the eye. It differs also from

the *Motacilla Trochilus* (Linn.) in being larger, and white on the under parts, which are yellow in the *Trochilus*. The three which I opened were all males: I shall still continue my researches for the female with the nest and eggs; and if I should at any time meet with them, I shall with pleasure submit my observations to the Linnean Society.

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*Objections against the perceptivity of plants, so far as is convinced by their external motions, in answer to Dr. Percival's memoir in the Manchester Transactions, by Robert Townson, esq. F.R.S. Edinburgh; from the same, p. 267.*

HOWEVER sanguine we may be in our expectations of extending the limits of human knowledge, we cannot avoid perceiving, that there are boundaries which it never can exceed. These boundaries are the limited faculties of the human mind, which, though fully sufficient to answer all the purposes of common life, are an insuperable barrier to the enquiries of speculative men. None feel more the truth of this observation, than those engaged in physiological enquiries; the operations of nature being so complicated, and at the same time carried on in so secret a manner, as to keep us ignorant of the most common phenomena.

If physiologists have been unsuccessful in many of their enquiries into the animal economy, they have been still more so with respect to vegetables: for how little do we know at this day of the course of their fluids, and of the power by which they are moved? Are we

not in the vegetable kingdom where we were near two centuries ago in the animal, when the great *Harvey* withdrew the veil?

The many beautiful analogies existing between the two organized kingdoms of nature, their similar origin from egg to seed, their subsequent development, and nourishment by intus-susception; the power of continuing their species, the limited time of their existence, and, when not carried off by disease and premature death, possessing in themselves the cause of their own destruction; have been so favourable to the supposition of the existence of a complete chain of beings, that there appeared to the favourers of this opinion nothing to be wanting to connect them, but the loco-motive faculty; for irritability, from phenomena in a few vegetables, had been granted them by some. This loco-motive faculty, which is considered as a consequence of volition, which is an attribute of mind, they say \* is manifested in the direction of the roots towards the soil which affords them their most proper nourishment, and in the direction of the tender shoots and leaves towards the light, which is likewise necessary to their well-being. These facts are admitted, but not the consequence drawn from them.

It must indeed be allowed, that vegetables do on some occasions act as though possessed of volition, avoiding those things that are injurious to them, and turning towards those that are beneficial; thus appearing to act by choice, which must be preceded by perceptivity,

a favour that nature has granted, I think to the animal world alone. The following are brought as examples: †

A palm-tree twenty feet high, growing upon the top of a wall, straitened for nourishment in that barren situation, directed its roots down the side of the wall, till they reached the ground ten feet below. It has been amply repaid, say they, for its trouble ever since, by plenty of nourishment, and a more vigorous vegetation has been the consequence. On another occasion, a plant being placed in a dark room, where light was admitted only through an aperture, put forth its shoots towards the aperture, which elongating passed through it, and this likewise was rewarded for its trouble, by plenty of light and free air.

That appearances so similar to those that are observed in animals, should be considered as proceeding from the same cause, viz. volition, is not to be wondered at, when so many of the inferior orders of animals hardly possess so much of the loco-motive faculty; particularly by men of warm imaginations, who, prepossessed in favour of an opinion, were grasping at every distant analogy to support it. Though, as I have said, we are by no means acquainted with the course of their proper fluids (*succi proprii*), or with the power by which they are moved, nor even can say by what power it is that the fluids, which are its food, are taken in: yet so far we know, that here, as in the animal economy, there is a constant change and evolution of their

\* Dr. Percival, Manchester Transactions.

† Manchester Transactions.

and that a constant supply  
 cessary, without which they  
 perish. This supply, so ne-  
 cessary, must be taken in by ab-  
 sorption; and it is this act of ab-  
 sorption that I shall endeavour to  
 show to be the efficient cause of  
 motions in vegetables, and  
 exclude volition from having  
 a place in these phenomena;  
 is from their not having been  
 formed upon mechanical princi-  
 ples, that mind has been resorted  
 to. I find in general our last re-  
 sort, when we fail in explaining  
 natural phenomena. I could wish  
 physiologists were agreed upon  
 the mode of absorption which takes  
 place here, whether it be by active  
 mouthed vessels, which in the  
 human opinion takes place in the  
 human economy, or by capillary at-  
 traction, which is the most general  
 in the vegetable; but the  
 I shall offer to the consider-  
 ation of the Linnean Society will  
 with either.

The first consideration is—That  
 the fluid is in motion.

Secondly—That, possessing no  
 motion in itself, it owes this motion  
 to the plant.

Thirdly—That as action and re-  
 sistance are equal, whilst the plant  
 is drawn towards the fluid, it  
 must be drawn towards the fluid,  
 at in the reverse ratios of their  
 live resistances.

Now whether this absorption be  
 effected by vessels acting as in  
 the animal economy, or by vessels  
 of the nature of capillary tubes, is  
 of no moment, provided only that  
 absorption be admitted; for it  
 is evident, that if action and re-  
 sistance be the same, the absorbed  
 fluid which possesses no motion in

themselves, cannot be put in mo-  
 tion by the open-mouthed active  
 vessels, without being drawn in the  
 direction of the absorbed fluids.—  
 But should we prefer the theory  
 which explains this absorption by  
 capillary attraction, which theory  
 I think is the most prevalent, we  
 shall still find that the absorbing  
 vessels are drawn towards the fluid.  
 This is equally true as evident,  
 whether applied to that simple  
 hydraulic instrument, the straw,  
 through which the school-boy sucks,  
 or to the most complicated ma-  
 chine of the natural philosopher.—  
 These principles will, I think, be  
 sufficient to explain those appear-  
 ances in vegetables which have  
 served as a foundation, or have  
 been considered as signs of their  
 perceptivity and volition, and which,  
 as far as I have learnt, have never  
 been attempted to be explained,  
 viz. the direction of their roots to-  
 wards the soil which affords them  
 the best nourishment, and the young  
 and tender shoots towards the light:  
 for here is an absorption of water  
 and light. The absorption of water  
 is easily ascertained; but that of  
 light, by its subtileness, eludes our  
 experiments, with probably many  
 other fluids of great importance to  
 the healthy state of the vegetable  
 world. But to make the connexion  
 more complete between the two  
 organic kingdoms, it has not only  
 been found that plants move to-  
 wards their food like wise and in-  
 telligent beings, but they likewise  
 turn aside from those soils, &c.  
 which are injurious to them, or at  
 least afford them but a scanty  
 nourishment. This is a deception:  
 it is only the immediate conse-  
 quence of their motion towards  
 their



their nourishment; for when the root of a tree or plant changes its course, on account of meeting with a rock, or with a hard, stiff, and barren clay, or other object that does not afford it proper nourishment, it is owing not to any dereliction of these objects, but to no attraction from absorption acting in that direction, but one from a more favourable soil. The smallness of the resistance of these fluids cannot be urged against this theory: the motion to be explained is only the tendency of the nascent shoots, no one having pretended that the solid wood could alter its direction; and this power, however feeble, is always acting. I am not ignorant, that these are not the only motions which are thought to announce the perceptivity of plants. The motions observed in the stamina and other parts at the time of fecundation, the spiral direction of the stems of some,\* the use of the cirrhi of others, and the bursting of the capsules, have all, with many other powers, been thought to favour this opinion. These are but powers nature has bestowed upon them for their preservation and production, which can no more be considered as the consequence of volition, than the fall of their leaves at stated periods, their growth and decay, which have never been considered as the consequence of mind, any more than the increase or destruction of

animal bodies, the efficient cause of which may for ever remain unknown.

When all is considered, I think we shall place this opinion amongst the many ingenious flights of the imagination, and soberly follow that blind impulse which leads us naturally to give sensation and perceptivity to animal life, and to deny it to vegetables; and so still say with Aristotle, and our great master Linnæus—*Vegetabilia crescunt & vivunt; animalia crescunt, vivunt, & sentiunt.*

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*Observations and inquiries made upon and concerning the coal-works at Whitehaven, in the county of Cumberland, in the year 1793. By Joseph Fisher, M. D. fellow of the royal physical society in Edinburgh. From the Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy, vol. v. p. 266.*

IN the neighbourhood of Whitehaven are two coal-works or collieries, called Howguill and Whinguill. The first lies on the south-west part of the town, and the present works extend from the town towards the south about two miles and a half, reaching nearly to the valley called Sandwith, and in breadth about one mile and a half, viz. from a rivulet called the Powbeck on the east side to about nine

\* I have read, and heard it more than once asserted, that the *Lonicera* and other plants with the *caulis volubilis*, which are twisted either *dextrorsum* or *sinistrorsum*, can change this natural direction; so that when two *Lonicera*, or two branches of the same *Lonicera* meet, the one turns to the right, the other to the left, that they may afford to each other a better support. This is a mistake, and, if true, would only counteract the intention of nature, which is a mutual support; for this would prevent their uniting so firmly together. Some of the *cirrhi* of the *Bryonia*, &c. turn to the right, others to the left, but do not accommodate one another.

hundred yards under the sea towards the west, making in area about two thousand four hundred acres. This is the extent of the present workings, and is asserted to be the most extensive colliery in Great Britain.

In this colliery are now discovered five workable seams or bands of coal, besides several smaller seams which are not worth the working.

In the pit named King-pit, which is the deepest pit in this colliery, or in Great Britain, the first seam or band is called the Crow-coal, which is two feet two inches thick. It lies at the depth of sixty yards.

The second seam or band is called the Yard-band, in thickness four feet six inches, and lies at the depth of one hundred and sixty yards.

The third seam is called the Banrock-band, about eight feet thick, including two metals, which are about twelve inches thick. It lies at the depth of two hundred yards.

The fourth seam is called the Main or Prior-band, which is from ten to twelve feet thick, and about two hundred and forty yards deep.

The fifth seam is called the Six-quarters coal, about five feet thick. It lies at the depth of three hundred and twenty yards. No part of this last seam has been yet wrought.

What other seams lie below these are yet unknown. No trial has been made above twenty yards below the fifth seam, which makes the greatest perpendicular depth hitherto sunk to be three hundred and forty yards below the earth's surface.

It would not be difficult to perceive, before any coals were got, that this tract of land contained seams or bands of coal, because the Banrock or third seam, and the

Main-band or fourth seam, before-mentioned, have burst out, as it is termed, at Whitehaven; that is, they shew themselves in several places on the sloping surface of the earth, on the west side of the valley leading from Whitehaven to St. Bees. To the southward of this colliery, these seams of coal are also thrown much nearer the surface by what is called upcast dykes (words which will be hereafter explained) the largest of which is about forty yards.

At a pit called Wilson's pit, which is the most southern pit in this colliery, the Main-band, or fourth seam, before-mentioned, lies only about one hundred and forty yards below the surface; whereas at King-pit, as before-stated, it lies one hundred yards deeper, or about two hundred and forty yards.

It appears, that at the first beginning to work this colliery, a level or water-course has been driven from the rivulet called Powbeck, near the copperas-work, to the south of the town about three hundred yards.

The course of this level is to the full dip or descent of the colliery, which is nearly due west, until it cuts or intersects the Banrock-band, or third seam of coal before-mentioned. This level effectually drained about three hundred yards in length, and about one hundred yards in breadth, water level course, in this seam. The extent of coals thus drained is called a winning. The depth of the pits in this winning or extent is from twenty to sixty yards.

The second winning or extent drained, has been effected by driving a level from the surface of the Powbeck, near a farm called Thicket-

et, farther southward than the first winning. By continuing this level to the westward, they have cut or intersected the Main-band, or fourth seam before-mentioned, about four hundred yards to the dip or west of the outburst or appearance of this coal at the surface.

This level drained about a thousand yards in length, water level course, and four hundred yards in breadth, or dip and rise course; and also something more in breadth in the Bannock-band seam of coal.

The coals obtained from these two winnings or extents must have been very considerable.

At that time the coals were drawn out of the pits by men with jack-rolls or windlasses, and laid up in banks, from whence they were carried to the ships upon the backs of little horses in pack-loads, each pack-load containing what is called a Cumberland bushel, consisting of twenty-four gallons, and each weighing about fourteen stones.

Having obtained as much coal as they could by these two levels, the third winning was made at a place now called Ginns, which is a village or hamlet near Whitehaven on the south-west.

Horizontal vertical wheels were erected here, called Ginns, by which they drew the coals with horses out of the pits, which before was done by men with windlasses or jack-rolls.

A few houses being built here, in consequence, for the colliers and workmen, became a considerable village, now known by the name of Ginns.

With these ginns or vertical wheels both water and coals were drawn from the pits; but drawing the water thus, by hories and these

vertical wheels, became too expensive, so that the coals drawn would not pay for the expences incurred. To remedy this, the late sir James Lowther purchased the materials of an engine in London, which had been formerly used there for raising water to supply the city. Report says, that this was the second steam-engine which was erected in England. The materials were sent in a ship from London to Whitehaven, where they were put together and fixed upon a pit near Ginns. The depth of this pit is about fifty-six yards from the earth's surface to the Main-bank, or fourth seam of coals. This engine had a copper boiler about ten feet in diameter, with a lead top, a brass cylinder twenty-eight inches in the diameter, and wooden pumps eight inches in diameter, with a brass working barrel.

As the number of pits was increased the water augmented, until at length it was judged necessary to erect another engine with greater powers than the first. By these two engines the water was drained from a considerable extent of the Yard-band, Bannock-band, and Main-band, seams of coals, which, being thus laid water free, supplied the town and export market for many years.

The pit, called Parker's pit, about half a mile from what is called the Staith, (a place to hold a large quantity of coals) which is near the harbour, was won in the Yard-band seam by these engines.

It was from this pit that the first waggon-way (as it is called) was laid in this country. A waggon-way is a road for a waggon with four wheels to run upon. It is made with wood laid down flat

each side of the road, at a prodigious distance, for the solid iron rails of the waggon to move upon; the wheels are confined from slipping off from the wood by auberant rim of iron on the inner side of each wheel. The track is made so as to have a gentle descent along its whole length, so the loaden waggon runs from the pit to the staith without any need to draw it; where the descent is so much that the motion would be too quick, a man, who is mounted behind the waggon, by pressing down upon one wheel a piece of iron, called the convoy, which is fast to the waggon for that purpose, can restrain the too rapid motion and regulate it properly.

A horse is used to draw the empty waggon back again to the pit from the staith, by an easy ascent along a similar waggon-way, laid upon the side of the former at about thirty feet distance; thus it is provided, that the loaden and empty waggons never meet or interfere with each other.

The staith is a large wooden platform on the west side of the wharf adjoining to the harbour and wharf. In this staith are fixed hurries or spouts, at such a distance from each other, that a ship of three hundred tons burden can discharge each hurry and receive a new load at one time. The staith is about thirty-seven feet above the level of the quay, and when the waggons arrive there, the bottom of the waggon is drawn out and the coals are dropped from thence into the hurry or spout under it, through which they run down into the ship below to receive her loading. The hurries or spouts lie with an

inclining slope of about forty-five degrees.

When there are no ships ready to receive coals they are deposited in the staith, which will contain about six thousand tons, Dublin measure, or three thousand waggon loads. These coals thus deposited are once more put into waggons and dropped through the hurries or spouts into ships, when there are more vessels than the usual daily supply of coals will load. There have been two hundred waggon loads, or four hundred Dublin tons, shipped from the pits in one day, and an equal quantity on the same day from the staith, making in the whole about eight hundred tons, Dublin measure.

By the contrivance of waggons and waggon-roads, one horse carries as much coals at once as twenty-four horses used to do upon their backs before this invention.

The fourth winning or extent of coal drained was made about eighty years ago, at a place called Saltom near the sea, about a mile south-west of Whitehaven. This was a very expensive undertaking; it was, however, deemed absolutely necessary, as on the completion of this depended the future success of this colliery. A fire-engine was therefore erected here with a twelve feet boiler, a cylinder forty inches in diameter, and a pump seven inches in diameter. The pumps were divided into four sets or lifts, the pit being one hundred and fifty-two yards in perpendicular depth. It was perceived necessary, however, a few years afterwards, to erect a second steam-engine in this place, of the same dimensions as the first, because the water was increased very

very considerably by sinking several new pits.

The fields of coal already drained by these two engines have been explored from north to south about three miles, and may probably be extended about three miles more when wanted. The coal now drained, and ready to be wrought in the several working pits at present, will serve for about twenty years, according to the quantity now drawn. Pits, however, being in some time naturally exhausted, it is thought prudent now and then to drive what is called trial drifts, in order to explore the fields of coal, and to find proper places where to make new pits, when the same may be wanted.

About twelve years ago, these two engines being nearly worn out, a new one was erected at Saltom, capable of drawing more water than the two old ones. It has two boilers, each fifteen feet in diameter, a cylinder seventy inches in diameter, and a working-barrel eleven inches and a half. It can draw all the water in eight hours which is produced in summer in twenty-four hours, but in winter it requires double that time as there is double the quantity of water. This engine was repaired about three years ago at a very great expence, with a new cylinder, new regulating beam, and new cylinder and spring beams. At this time it is admitted, by several professional men who have examined it, to be the best engine of the size within the kingdom. Its maximum in working is fifteen strokes, each six feet and a half long, in a minute; each stroke draws twenty-seven gallons of water, that is, four hundred and five

gallons per minute, or nine thousand two hundred and forty hogsheads every hour.

All the bands or seams of coal in this colliery dip or descend nearly due west, sloping towards the horizon with a descent of one yard in eight to one in twelve, and the seams are always and invariably equally distant from each other, whatever be the depth. However, though these seams of coal are thus always equally distant from each other, yet they are not equally deep from the earth's surface. The seams, as before-mentioned, constantly dip or descend towards the west, and rise towards the east, till at length they shew themselves in some places on or near the earth's surface.

Besides this general descent or ascent, the seams are in some places abruptly broken off by a bed of stone or other matter of a considerable thickness, betwixt the coal, and which there is generally a cavity or hollow called at Whitehaven a gut. When a seam of coal is thus interrupted by the interposition of other matter, the workmen know that they will find the same seam either above or below this place, or, as they term it, they know that the seam is thrown either upward or downward. In order to know whether the seam of coal will be found above or below, they endeavour to discover which way the stone or other separating matter hangs or slopes. If it recedes from the coal, sloping ever so little upwards, they conclude that the seam of coal is thrown upwards (as they call it), that is, in such a case the seam is always found above the break. If the slope be hanging over the coals, sloping towards the surface,

s, then the seam of coal is to be thrown downwards, and laid below the break. The real is, that in some former time has been some great convulsion of the earth, in which all the incumbent covering matter, consisting of seams or beds of stone, or other materials, have been laid upwards in all such chasms or cracks, leaving the seam or bed laid below, in one part, where at the time the dreadful convulsion happened. Hanging, and sloping upwards, or downwards, are only relative terms, depending upon which side of the old matter you arrive at. If any seam or field coal seems to end, the interposing matter either slopes one way on one side of the matter, and the contrary on the other side, so that the superincumbent matter, with the seam of coal, has been invariably thrown upwards by the convulsion, whilst the remaining part of the bed has left as it was before the motion.

At Whitehaven collieries abound what they there call Dykes, that is, beds of stone of a considerable thickness, which separate one field of coal from another. The principal ones run in a direction nearly east and west. They divide the seams of coal into fields, which are called, that is, separate fields of coal almost like the fields or enclosures of a farm. These divisions or separations are very useful in restraining the water or inflammable air from flowing out of one adjoining field of coal, where the works are going on, into another, where men are working, unless it is found convenient to cut through or work a new field.

Without these dykes, it would frequently be very difficult to keep the works from being overcharged with water, but it is sometimes very troublesome and expensive to cut through them, being of a considerable thickness. Where the covering of superincumbent matter is not of so great a thickness, which is towards the rise of the seam or field, there pillars of coal are left from five to ten yards square, and the workings are from three to four yards wide, so that about one-half of the coal is taken away, and the other half left to support the earth above. Where the coals lie from one hundred and fifty to three hundred yards deep, and especially where the coal is drawn from under the sea, the pillars are left from sixteen to twenty yards square, so that about one-third part of the coal is taken, and two-third parts are left to support the roof.

Whitehaven colliery is not so much laden with water as the collieries about Newcastle and other flat countries are, where they are not able, by what is called day levels, to take away the top water, called surface floods, as is practised at Whitehaven.

The coal-works at Whitehaven have produced, and still do produce, greater quantities of inflammable air, commonly called damp, than any other coal-work known. This seems to arise from the coal lying at a greater depth below the level of the sea than any other known colliery. This observation holds invariably true both here and about Newcastle, that in all coal works lying above the level of the sea little or no inflammable air is perceived, except in the guts of the dykes, that is, in the cavities or hollows betwixt the fields

fields of coal and the dykes or beds of stone which separate the fields. The quantity of inflammable air appears to bear proportion to the depth of the works below the level of the sea.

When they began to sink the coal-pits at Whitehaven so deep that coals were drawn from below the level of the sea, inflammable air was found in such quantities, that it frequently took fire from the flame of the candles used by the workmen under ground, which caused violent and dangerous explosions, by which numbers of the workmen were burned and maimed, and by which several lost their lives. Mr. Spedding, a late eminent engineer and director of the coal-works at Whitehaven, discovered that sparks produced from flint and steel were not nearly so productive of these explosions, by kindling the inflammable air, as the flame of candles was. He therefore contrived a machine, composed so that by being turned about by a wheel it struck a great number of flints against steel in perpetual succession. This gives light sufficient for the workmen to work by in such depths as the inflammable air abounds in, whereby the danger is greatly abated. Without this or some similar contrivance the deepest coal-works would probably before this have been totally given up, as being so dangerous to the men employed.

It is now about one hundred and fifty years since coals are supposed to have been first raised here for exportation. What the quantity exported has been at different periods cannot now be well ascertained. Within the last twenty years the export trade has increased above one-third part of what it now is. White-

haven colliery has produced for a few years last past from one hundred thousand to one hundred and twenty thousand tons, Dublin measure, yearly. Two tons contain about a chaldron and a quarter, London measure. In general, a Whitehaven waggon of coals contains two Dublin tons, each ton weighing from twenty-one to twenty-two hundred weight. The best coals are invariably the lightest. One-third part of the main band seam, which lies in the middle thereof, would, if separated, be as good as the best Newcastle coal. The bank or bottom is worse in quality, but when mixed, they are allowed to be the best coals raised in the county of Cumberland.

On the south-west side of Whitehaven, in the part called Preston-Isle, there appears to be coal enough to supply exportation at the present rate for near two hundred years to come. There are three day holes, called Bear-mouths, where the men and horses go from the surface down a sloping cavern to the works; they are made into the different seams of coal. By these entrances horses are daily brought down, to draw the coals from the places where they are hewn, in waggons, along a waggon way under the ground, made as before-mentioned, to the bottom of the respective pits, where they are put into baskets, and drawn perpendicularly up to the earth's surface by steam-engines, through a space of near three hundred yards in depth in some places. Each engine performs what twenty-four horses used to do formerly. The men also walk up and down these caverns to and from their work, which is much easier and less troublesome than being let down and drawn through

he pits each night and which was formerly done. Every thing is most wondrously contrived to save labour and

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*Similarity between the physiology of plants and animals; from the View of Nature, &c.*

essence and properties of we are personally ignorant. really is, seems too subtle and understandings to conceive, does to discern. All animals are endowed with sensation, or with irritability, which last is considered as a distinguishing character of animal existence. We observe sensation in vegetables, when we perceive organs similar to our own, they act, in certain circumstances, in the same manner as we in an organized being have. A mouth, we naturally think it enjoys the same sensation these organs convey to us. In another being, whose exhibits nothing analogous to ours of sensation, yet with great rapidity when touched, its body uniformly to the touch. In small insects with tentacles, a kind of arms, and compared to an aperture placed at the prior end, we hesitate not to call it to be animated. If the arms, deprive it of the power of contracting and extending, the nature of this being cannot be changed; but we are unable to determine whether any portion of life. This is the condition of the small polypus, before their

heads begin to grow. The wheel-animal, the eels in blighted wheat, and the snails recorded in the Philosophical Transactions, afford instances of every appearance of sensation, and even of irritability, being suspended, not for months, but for several years, while yet the life of these animals is not extinguished, for they uniformly revive upon a proper application of heat and of moisture. If, then, we have no other criteria to distinguish life, than motion, sensation, and irritability, the animals just mentioned, continuing in a state for years, which every man would pronounce to be perfectly dead, life may probably exist in many bodies which are commonly thought to be as inanimate as stones.

Wherever there is a vascular system, containing a moving nutritive *juccus*, there is life; and wherever there is life, there may be, for aught we can prove to the contrary, a more or less acute perception. The same kind of comparative reasoning, that would exclude vegetables from the faculty of perception, might equally exclude from animality, those animals which are provided with the most obtuse senses, when compared with such as are furnished with the most numerous, and most acute. The perception of man seems to be infinitely greater, when compared with that of coralines, sea pens, and oysters, than the perception of these, which are allowed to be animals, when compared with the signs of perception manifested by a variety of what are called vegetables. Should I not rather call one of the blooming, gentle, and affectionate daughters of humanity, the sister of the lily of the valley, or of the rose, than of the muscle or  
of



of the barnacle? Spunges open and shut their mamillæ; corals, and sea-pens, protrude, or draw back their suckers; shell-fish open or keep close their shells in search of food, or avoidance of injury: and it is from these muscular motions, we judge the beings to which they belong to have perception, that is, to be animals.

In the vegetable kingdom, the *muscular motion* of many plants may be observed, to be to the full as definite and distinguishable, as those of the class of animals just mentioned. The plants called *heliotropæ*, turn daily round with the sun; by constantly presenting their surfaces to that luminary, they seem as desirous of absorbing a nutriment from its rays, as a bed of oysters does from the water, by opening their shells upon the afflux of the tide. The *floræ solares*, are as uniform in their opening and shutting, as animals are in their times of feeding and digesting: some, in these motions, do not observe the seasons of the year, but expand and shut up their flowers, at the same hour in all seasons; others, like a variety of insects, which appear or not, according to the heat of the weather or climate, open later in the day, or do not open at all, when they are removed from a southern, to a more northern latitude. Trefoil, wood sorrel, mountain ebony, wild fenna, the African marigold, &c. are so regular in folding up their leaves before rainy weather, that they seem to have a kind of instinct or foresight, similar to that of ants. And what is still more extraordinary, vegetables appear to be a sort of *hygrometers*, for in several there is found a contorsion of the fibres, which answers, in every respect,

this purpose. The fibres of the plants, being affected by the quality of the air, the spiral part twists, or untwists, as the weather varies, and that the degrees of dryness or moisture of the atmosphere are to be observed. Young trees in a thick forest are found to incline themselves towards that part through which the light penetrate, as plants are observed to do in a dark chamber, towards a stream of light let in through an orifice, and as ears of corn do towards the south.

The roots of plants are also known to turn away with a kind of aversion, from whatever they meet with which is hurtful to them; and to desert their ordinary direction, and to tend with a kind of natural and irresistible impulse towards collections of waters placed within their reach. Many plants experience convulsions of their stems, upon being slightly touched. Whatever can produce any effect upon an animal organ, as the impact of external bodies, heat and cold, the vapour of burning sulphur, of volatile alkali, want of air, &c. is found to act also upon the plants called sensitive. But, we will not insist upon any farther instances of that class. We have already noticed many, which seem far superior in quickness to those of a variety of animals. Now, to refer the muscular motions of shell-fish, and zoophytes, to an internal principle of volition; to make these indicative of the perceptivity of the being; and to attribute the more notable ones of vegetables to certain mechanical dilatations and contractions of parts, occasioned by external impulse, is to err against the rule of philosophizing, which assigns the same causes for effects of

e kind. The motions, in  
ses, are equally accommo-  
o the preservation of the  
o which they belong; are  
distinct and uniform; and  
e equally derived from me-  
or equally admitted as cri-  
perception. The genera-  
nutrition, organization, life,  
ickness, and death of plants,  
no discriminative charac-  
between them and animals.  
unication of sexes, in order  
ace their like, belongs to  
vegetables, as well as to  
animals. Expiration and  
m, a kind of larynx and  
expiration, imbibition, ar-

teries, veins, lacteals, and probably  
a circulating fluid, appertain to ve-  
getables, as well as to animals. Life  
belongs alike to both kingdoms, and  
seems to depend upon the same  
principle in both. Both are inca-  
pable of assimilating to their proper  
substance, all kinds of food; for  
fruits are found to taste of the soil,  
just as the milk, and flesh, and bones,  
and urine of animals, often give in-  
dications of the particular pabulum  
with which they have been fed.  
Both die of old age; from excess of  
hunger or thirst; from external in-  
juries; from intemperance of wea-  
ther; or from poisoned food.

## USEFUL PROJECTS.

*Account of a method of curing burns and scalds, by Mr. David Cleg-horn, brewer in Edinburgh, communicated in three letters to John Hunter, esq. F.R.S. surgeon-general to the army, &c. and by him to Dr. Simmons. From Medical Facts.*

**M**Y first application and most powerful remedy is vinegar. If the injury is on the fingers, hands, or lower parts of the arms, the application may very properly be made by an immersion of the parts. Formerly, I used also to immerse the feet and lower part of the legs, when injured, in a pail containing vinegar: but, although no material bad consequence ensued from this practice, I found that, by placing the legs in a perpendicular posture, the sores were more apt to swell and inflame, than when they were laid up and supported in an horizontal one. When, therefore, the feet or legs are injured, or when the injury falls on the thighs, the body, the face, or head, where immersion would be inconvenient or impracticable, the method I follow (and which I find very effectual) is to pour some vinegar into a plate or flat-edged dish, and to dip linen rags in the vinegar, and lay them or let them

drip on the sores. This operation of alternately dipping the rags and laying them on the parts is repeated so quickly, that the parts are kept constantly, and rather overflowing, with the vinegar, and the plates are placed to receive or catch as much as possible; and I continue what falls back again in the plates for some time, till it becomes somewhat vapour, and I throw it out, and pour in the plates a new supply of fresh vinegar. I have known two quarts of vinegar used in this manner to a large scald on the legs or five hours; and, if the body have a large surface, and the body, under which the patient cannot be so placed as to prevent it from spilling, a larger quantity of the vinegar will be required. So cooling and grateful are the effects of this application, that a considerable degree of pain remains, and so immediate the uneasiness return when it is early discontinued, that the patients themselves seldom fail of their active assistance in the operation of wetting the parts.

In slight or superficial injuries, by which, I mean such as attended with no excoriation, with pain, heat, or inflam-

ps with small blisters, the  
 f early and constantly ap-  
 plication. It  
 antly gives relief, and in  
 ee hours, and often in a  
 ter time, the patient will  
 t ease. The application  
 egar may then be inter-  
 at, as some degree of pain  
 may possibly return, and  
 ended to, might yet pro-  
 re, the vinegar must be  
 often as any painful sen-  
 sations; and, to make sure,  
 o be continued now and  
 a day after. In short, it  
 prudent, even in these  
 s, to use the vinegar long,  
 ndant quantities.

instances, such slight in-  
 hose I now speak of, are  
 thout ever breaking out  
 e; if, however, through  
 using the vinegar spee-  
 ot continuing it long e-  
 d in sufficient quantities,  
 thing peculiar in the pa-  
 ssituation, or any other  
 injury should degenerate  
 s, it will readily be heal-  
 application of chalk and  
 n the manner hereafter to  
 ned.

e burns and scalds which  
 atly happened, and which  
 led with large blisters,  
 ns, or loss of substance,  
 or must be constantly ap-  
 the heat and pain nearly  
 ich will happen in from  
 ight hours, according as  
 is more or less severe.—  
 must then be covered  
 or cloths well wetted,  
 i often as they dry, or  
 tion of pain or heat re-  
 fit be wetted afresh with  
 XXVI.

the vinegar for two, three, or four  
 hours.

In the worst cases I have ever  
 met with, the pain became tole-  
 rable soon after the vinegar was  
 applied; and in ten, or at most  
 twelve hours, the patients were so  
 much at ease, that in general they  
 fell into a sound sleep.

When I first began this practice,  
 I used to keep the wetted rags on  
 the sores, without any other ap-  
 plication, sometimes for two or  
 three days; but experience shew-  
 ed me, that, after the pain and  
 heat peculiar to burns and scalds  
 were removed, the vinegar excited  
 smarting in the tender excoriated  
 skin, and was in fact of no farther  
 use; I therefore, never employ it  
 longer than twelve hours, except-  
 ing on the parts round the edges,  
 or outside of the sores, which I  
 foment with it for a minute or two  
 before the dressings to be after-  
 wards mentioned, as long as they  
 continue in any degree swelled or  
 inflamed.

The wetted rags being removed,  
 the sores must next be healed with  
 other applications; and the first  
 dressing I use, is a common poultice  
 made of bread and milk, with a  
 little sweet oil or fresh butter in it.  
 I lay the poultice close to the sore,  
 and use no gauze or cambric be-  
 tween them. The first dressing  
 should remain six, or at most eight  
 hours; and when it is removed,  
 the sores must be covered entirely  
 with chalk finely pounded or scrap-  
 ed (for, instead of pounding the  
 chalk, I generally hold a lump of it  
 over the sores, and scrape it with  
 a knife upon them) till the powder  
 has absorbed the matter or ichor  
 from the sores, and appears quite  
 dry all over them; a fresh poultice

is then laid over the whole, and the same sort of dressing with chalk, and poultice, is repeated morning and evening till the sores are healed.

In some cases, after the second or third day, if the sores are on a part of the body where it is difficult to keep the poultice from shifting, I use, instead of it, a plaster, pretty thickly spread, of the white lead ointment, through the day, (covering the sores previously with chalk), and chalk and poultices through the night, as already directed. I also use the same kind of white ointment, occasionally, through the day, when I think the constant renewal of poultices has softened and relaxed the sores too much; a circumstance which, notwithstanding the absorbent quality of the chalk, will, at times, in some degree, happen.

In cases where there are large blisters, before I apply the vinegar, I open them with a pin or lancet in different parts, and gently press the water out of them with a linen cloth. The intention of this is to bring the vinegar to act more closely upon the burnt flesh, and I have found it to have an excellent effect.

Whilst any of the skin of the blisters remains on the sore, matter will form and lurk under it, which cannot be reached and absorbed by the chalk. New punctures, therefore, must be made at every dressing, whenever matter (which must be gently pressed out with a cloth) is seen lurking; and as soon as the skin has lost its toughness, so much that it can be separated from the sore without irritating it, which in general is the case on the second or third day, it ought to be gently

and gradually picked off when the sores are dressed, and plenty of chalk instantly laid on to prevent any bad effects the air might have on sores in a state so highly susceptible of injury.

In severe cases, or such as are attended with excoriation or loss of substance, when the vinegar is not applied within twenty-four hours of the time the accident happens, it almost always gives considerable pain; but, if the patient can endure it, the sores may safely be wetted all over for a quarter or half an hour, or even much longer. The smarting is no doubt a little irksome, but it is worst at first, and, at any rate, goes off immediately upon discontinuing the vinegar, and leaves the sores in a much cooler or less inflamed state. If the patient, however, cannot, or will not bear the vinegar on the raw and tender parts of the sore, I then cover those parts close with a plaster of the white ointment, and wet all round them with the vinegar, for a quarter or half an hour, or longer. The ointment is then taken off, and the sores are covered with the powdered chalk, and a poultice laid over all; and they are afterwards to be treated, in all respects, till they heal, as the severer sort of sores, to which the vinegar has been early applied, are already directed to be, after the pain and heat have left them.

The vinegar I prefer, is that made of the best white wine; but any sort that has enough of acid will answer, provided there be no admixture of any mineral acid. In severe cases I generally warm the vinegar before I use it, to nearly blood-heat, especially in cold weather. and where a great deal of it  
must

be employed. When it is cold, and in great quantity is apt to bring on a chill and shivering, which I have removed readily, by wetting the feet with cloths dipped in water, and giving the patient warm water to drink, with spirits added to it, so as to be stronger than good punch. Arms or hands are badly in-

I keep them, during the always slung; and, if the legs, endeavour to support them so as to cure as much ease to the patient as possible.

Sides many people scalded with water, &c. I have cured a variety of burns, occasioned by lead and brass, liquid pig-iron, red-hot bar iron, the flames of burning coals, linen, &c.

lime, and by the explosion of gunpowder; and there is no part of the body that one or other of my patients has not been burnt on.

A child, in going backwards, fell brown down by a pot standing on the floor, newly taken off the fire, and almost full of boiling oil, and fell into, or rather fat into it, and scalded, in a very bad manner, his anus, scrotum, and adjacent; but was healed in a surprisingly short time, the vinegar having been early applied: and a blacksmith once was relieved and cured, who was in great agony from the stroke of hot iron which flew into his eye from a piece he was striking on an anvil. In this case, the vinegar was diluted with water to half of its strength, and the patient let some of it into the eye. I also kept the eye shut, and washed it with vinegar of a full strength.

In what manner my applications act, so as to prevent marks and scars, I do not pretend to explain; but I uniformly observed that, when used in time, they entirely check suppuration in all slight cases, and that even in many severe ones, pus or matter is hardly ever seen. In deep burns too, attended with loss of substance, the discharge must appear astonishingly little to those who have been accustomed to see sores cured in the ordinary way.—It has been commonly remarked, that burns and scalds spread or enlarge for eight or ten days; but, with my treatment, they visibly enlarge from the beginning. The new skin begins to form round the extremities of even a bad sore, sometimes so early as the second day; and in the middle, where there has been a loss of substance, the new flesh shoots up from the bottom with rather a fungous appearance, the surface of it being unequal, somewhat resembling heads of pins, or the candying of honey (but of a flesh colour), and continues gradually to grow till it rises to the height of the sound flesh around it, when the skin forms at once without incrustation.—When I began the practice, indeed, (I do not speak of the face, my treatment of it, and the effects thereof having always been much the same,) I used the vinegar in bad cases much longer than I do now, and did not apply the poultices for twenty-four hours, or oftentimes more; a dry scab, stained by the vinegar of a black ink-colour (easily accounted for), would then form over all the excoriated places, and under it there was always matter. The poultices which were then applied, brought off the

scab generally in a lump the third or fourth dressing, and a very tender bleeding sore was thus exposed, which I instantly laid very thick over with scraped chalk and poultices. After this, the very same method was observed which I now follow, and the sores healed without a second scab or incrustation, and without mark or scar, as they do now. As I know little of theories, I cannot say, whether these circumstances, when duly considered, will confirm or contradict, or throw any new light on the received opinion concerning the use of suppuration in the production of new flesh; but this I can safely affirm, that I have neither advanced any thing that has not actually happened in the course of my long experience; nor have I exaggerated, to my knowledge, any of the circumstances of the cases I have related, as I trust, you will in due time be convinced of from your own experience.

With regard to diet, I allow my patients to eat boiled or roasted fowl, or, in short, any plain dressed meat they like; and I do not object to their taking (with moderation however) wine, water and spirits, ale, or porter. My applications, as hath been already observed, allay pain and inflammation, and also always either prevent or remove feverishness; and as at the same time (if one may judge from their effects) they have powerful antileptic virtues: I have never had occasion to order bark, or any internal medicine whatever, and I have only once thought it necessary to let blood. When a patient is collicive, I order boiled pot barley and prunes, or some other laxative nourishing food, and

sometimes an injection, but never any purgatives. It is distressing for a patient with bad sores to be often going to stool. Besides, I remarked that weakness and languor (which never, in my opinion, hinders the cure of any sore) are always brought on more or less by purgatives. From the effects too I have felt them have on myself, and observed them to have on others, they do not seem to me to have much tendency to remove heat or feverishness as is generally imagined; and I suspect that, contrary to the intention of administering them, they oftener carry off useful humours than hurtful ones. But I am got out of my depth, and exposing myself to criticism, by speaking on a subject that I surely must be very ignorant of; I will, therefore, return to my vinegar. I have already said, that I always prefer wine vinegar, when it is to be had; I have however, used, with very good effect, vinegar made of sugar, gooseberries, and even alogar; but whichever of them is taken, it ought to be fresh and lively tasted.

I once made some trials (on a burn I met with myself) of oil of vitriol diluted with water, and of different degrees of strength; but I found its effects to be the very reverse of vinegar, for it increased the pain and heat even when it was pretty much diluted. I make no doubt, that distilled vinegar might do; but since the common sort, when fresh and good, has in every case been so efficacious, there seems to be no occasion to attempt improving upon it; and, as acids are of a pungent penetrating nature, perhaps it would not be to apply one too strong to a tender sore. Even the

egar, only by being used affected two of my patients tremblings and chilliness alarmed me a good deal. and these symptoms indeed (before mentioned) very re-warming the patient's feet. His dipped in warm water, giving them warm water and drink; but ever since I have been careful to use precaution against the like symptoms, especially in cold weather, by giving the vinegar a little, placing the patients near a fire, giving them warm internally, and, in keeping them in every respect comfortable condition.

In slight case it is not necessary to use the vinegar, and severe ones, if the injury is in the hands or face. Were it not for the killing effects, it ought to be used on every part, because it weakens it, and hinders its repair. In rapid during the application used warm, it must, however, be the oftener thrown out and replaced with a fresh supply.

The vinegar is introduced into tubs (resembling bathing tubs, but shallower) that would hold water at full length would be useful in cases of universal burns. A mattress, or something of the kind, should be made to fit the patient ought to be laid on it, and as much warm water poured into the tub as to wet all the under part of the body, the sides, and the upper part. It should be wetted with cloths. I met with such a case; but, I succeeded I have unintermittedly, I should not be undertaking almost any

*Account of a curious chirurgical operation, long practised in India with success, of affixing a new nose on a man's face.*

COWASJEE, a Mahratta, of the caste of husbandmen, was a bullock-driver with the English army in the war of 1792, and was made a prisoner by Tippoo, who cut off his nose and one of his hands. In this state, he joined the Bombay army near Seringapatam, and is now a pensioner of the honourable East-India company. For above twelve months he remained without a nose, when he had a new one put on by a man of the brick-maker caste, near Poonah. This operation is not uncommon in India, and has been practised from time immemorial. Two of the medical gentlemen, Mr. Thomas Cruso, and James Trindlay, of the Bombay presidency, have seen it performed, as follows: a thin plate of wax is fitted to the stump of the nose, so as to make a nose of a good appearance. It is then flattened, and laid on the forehead. A line is drawn round the wax, and the operator then dissects off as much skin as it covers, leaving undivided a small slip between the eyes. This slip preserves the circulation till an union has taken place between the new and old parts. The cicatrix of the stump of the nose is next pared off, and immediately behind this raw part an incision is made through the skin, which passes around both *etc.* and goes along the upper lip. The skin is now brought down from the forehead, and, being twisted half round, its edge is inserted into this incision, so that a nose is formed with a double hold



above, and with its *alæ* and *septum* below fixed in the incision. A little *terra japonica* is softened with water, and being spread on slips of cloth, five or six of these are placed over each other, to secure the joining. No other dressing but this cement is used for four days. It is then removed, and cloths dipped in ghee (a kind of butter) are applied. The connecting slips of skin are divided about the 25th day, when a little more dissection is necessary to improve the appearance of the new nose. For five or six days after the operation, the patient is made to lie on his back; and, on the tenth day, bits of soft cloth are put into the nostrils, to keep them sufficiently open. This operation is very generally successful. The artificial nose is secure, and looks nearly as well as the natural one; nor is the scar on the forehead very observable after a length of time.

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*An account of some experiments upon coloured shadows. By lieutenant-general sir Benj. de Thompson, count of Rufford, P. R. S. In a letter to sir Joseph Banks, baronet, P. R. S. from the Philosophical Transactions.*

Dear sir,

SINCE my last letter, being employed in the prosecution of my experiments upon light, I was struck with a very beautiful, and what to me appeared to be a new appearance. Desirous of comparing the intensity of the light of a clear sky, by day, with that of a common wax candle, I darkened my room, and letting the day-light from the north, coming through a hole near the top

of the window-shutter, fall at an angle of about  $70^{\circ}$  upon a sheet very fine white paper, I placed a burning wax candle in such a position, that its rays fell upon the paper, and as near as I could got in the line of reflection of the ray of day-light from without; when terpoling a cylinder of wood, about half an inch in diameter, before the centre of the paper, and at the distance of about two inches from the surface, I was much surprized to find that the two shadows projected by the cylinder upon the paper instead of being merely shades without colour, as I expected, the one of them, that which, corresponding with the beam of day-light, illuminated by the candle, was *blue*; while the other, corresponding to the light of the candle, consequently illuminated by the light of the heavens, was of the most beautiful *blue* that it is possible to imagine. This appearance, which was not only unexpected, but was in itself in the highest degree firm and beautiful, I found, upon repeated trials, and after varying the experiment in every way I could devise, to be so perfectly permanent that it is absolutely impossible to produce two shadows at the same time from the same body, the one answering to a beam of day-light and the other to the light of a candle or lamp, without these shadows being coloured, the one *yellow*, the other *blue*.

The experiment may very easily be made at any time by day, almost in any place, and even a person not in the least versed in experimental research. Nothing more is necessary for the purpose than to take a burning candle into a darkened room in the

to open one of the windows a little, about half or three fourths of an inch for instance; the candle being placed upon a stand, or given to an assistant to hold, in such a situation that the rays from the candle may come at an angle of about  $40^{\circ}$ , at the distance of a sheet of white paper in a proper position to receive any solid opaque body, paper, or even a finger, held before the paper, at the distance of three inches, will project shadows upon the paper, the blue, and the other yellow.

If the candle be brought nearer the paper, the blue shadow will become of a deeper hue, and the yellow shadow will gradually grow deeper but if it be removed farther the yellow shadow will become deeper colour, and the blue shadow will become fainter. The candle remaining in the same place, the varieties in the strength of the coloured shadows may be increased merely by opening the shutter a little more or less, moderating the illumination of the paper by the light from without or weaker. By either of these means, the coloured shadows made to pass through all the shades of shade, from the deepest to the lightest, and *vice versa*; is not a little amusing to see, thus glowing with all the varieties of the purest and most intimate colours, then passing through all the varieties of tints, preserving in all the most perfect tint, growing stronger and stronger, and vanishing and receding at command.

In respect to the causes of the production of these shadows, there is

no doubt but they arise from the different qualities of the light by which they are illuminated; but how they are produced, does not appear to me so evident. That the shadow corresponding to the beam of daylight, which is illuminated by the yellow light of a candle, should be of a yellowish hue, is not surprising: but why is the shadow corresponding to the light of the candle, and which is illuminated by no other light than the apparently white light of the heavens, *blue*? I at first thought that it might arise from the blueness of the sky; but finding that the broad day-light, reflected from the roof of a neighbouring house covered with the whitest new fallen snow, produced the same blue colour, and, if possible, of a still more beautiful tint, I was obliged to abandon that opinion.

To ascertain with some degree of precision the real colour of the light emitted by a candle, I placed a lighted wax candle, well trimmed, in the open air, at mid-day, at a time when the ground was deeply covered with new fallen snow, and the heavens were overspread with white clouds; when the flame of the candle, far from being white, as it appears to be when viewed by night, was evidently of a very decided yellow colour, not even approaching to whiteness. The flame of an Argand's lamp, exposed at the same time in the open air, appeared to be of the same yellow hue. But the most striking manner of shewing the yellow hue of the light emitted by lamps and candles, is by exposing them in the direct rays of a bright meridian sun. In that situation the flame of an Argand's lamp, burning with its greatest brilliancy, appears in the form of a dead yellow semi-transparent smoke. How

transcendently pure and inconceivably bright the rays of the sun are, when compared to the light of any of our artificial illuminators, may be gathered from the result of this experiment.

It appearing to me very probable, that the difference in the whiteness of the two kinds of light, which were the subjects of the foregoing experiments, might, some how or other, be the occasion of the different colours of the shadows, I attempted to produce the same effects by employing two artificial lights of different colours; and in this I succeeded completely.

In a room previously darkened, the light from two burning wax candles being made to fall upon the white paper at a proper angle, in order to form two distinct shadows of the cylinder, these shadows were found not to be in the least coloured; but upon interposing a pane of yellow glass, approaching to a faint orange colour, before one of the candles, one of the shadows immediately became *yellow*, and the other *blue*. When two Argand's lamps were made use of instead of the candles, the result was the same; the shadows were constantly and very deeply coloured, the one yellow approaching to orange, and the other blue approaching to green. I imagined that the greenish cast of this blue colour was owing either to the want of whiteness of the one light, or to the orange hue of the other, which it acquired from the glass.

When equal panes of the same yellow glass were interposed before both the lights, the white paper took an orange hue, but the shadows were, to all appearance, without the least tinge of colour; but two

panes of the yellow glass interposed before the lights, while only one remained before the other, the shadows immediately turned.

The result of these experiments having confirmed my suspicion, I tried the colours of the shades from the different degrees of the two lights, I succeeded, by bringing day-light of the same yellow tinge as candle-light, by the interposition of sheets of coloured glass, to the shadows being colour'd by day-light and candle-light together the subjects of the experiment; and in this I succeeded, as was even able to reverse the effect of the shadows, by causing the day-light to be of a deeper yellow than the candle-light. In the course of these experiments I observed that different shades of yellow were produced by the day-light produced very different shades of yellow, and often quite unexpected; thus one sheet of the yellow paper interposed before the beam of light, changed the yellow to a lively violet colour, two sheets changed the yellow to a blue shadow to a light green; three sheets of the same glass destroyed the colours of both lights; and four sheets destroyed the colours of both lights; and three sheets changed the shadow which was originally blue, and that which was a purplish yellow colour.

When the beam of day-  
made to pass through a shie-  
glass, the colours of the  
the yellow as well as the b  
improved and rendered in  
est degree clear and brilli-  
when the blue glass was pl  
fore the candle, the colour  
shadows were very much  
ed.

order to see what would be the consequence of rendering the light of a still deeper yellow, I proposed before it a sheet of or rather orange-coloured when a very unexpected and beautiful appearance took

the colour of the yellow was changed to orange, the shadow remained unchanged, a whole surface of the paper seemed to be tinged of a most beautiful violet colour, approaching light crimson or pink; almost the same hue as I have often seen the distant snowy mountain valleys of the Alps to take at sunset. Is it not more than probable, that this hue is in both produced by nearly the same combinations of coloured light? in the one case, it is the white snow illuminated at the same time by the light of the heavens, and by deep yellow rays from the west; in the other, it is the white illuminated by broad day-light, the rays from a burning candle rendered still more yellow by transmitted through the yellow glass. The beautiful violet which spreads itself over the surface of the paper will appear to great advantage, if the pane of orange-coloured glass be held in the same manner before the candle, so that only a part of the paper, half of it, for instance, be affected by it, the other half of it remaining

to make these experiments with convenience, the paper, which should be about 8 or 10 inches square, be pasted or glued down upon a piece of board, furnished with a hole and socket upon the hinder end, and mounted upon a stand; a cylinder should be fastened

to a small arm of wood, or of metal, projecting forward from the bottom of the board for that purpose. A small stand, capable of being higher or lower as the occasion requires, should likewise be provided for supporting the candle; and if the board with the paper fastened upon it be surrounded with a broad black frame, the experiments will be so much the more striking and beautiful. For still greater convenience, I have added two other stands, for holding the coloured glass through which the light is occasionally made to pass, in its way to the white surface upon which the shadows are projected. It will be hardly necessary to add, that in order to the experiments appearing to the greatest advantage, all light, which is not absolutely necessary to the experiment, must be carefully shut out.

Having fitted up a little apparatus according to the above directions, merely for the purpose of prosecuting these inquiries respecting the coloured shadows, I proceeded to make a great variety of experiments, some with pointed views, and others quite at random, and merely in hopes of making some accidental discovery that might lead to a knowledge of the causes of appearances which still seemed to me to be enveloped in much obscurity and uncertainty.

Having found that the shadows corresponding to two like wax candles were coloured, the one blue, and the other yellow, by interposing a sheet of yellow glass before one of them; I now tried what the effect would be when blue glass was made use of instead of yellow, and I found it to be the same; the shadows were still coloured, the one blue,

blue, and the other yellow, with the difference, however, that the colours of the shadows were reversed, that which, with the yellow glass, was before yellow being now blue, and that which was blue being yellow.

I afterwards tried a glass of a bright amethyst colour, and was surprised to find that the shadows still continued to be coloured blue and yellow. The yellow, it is true, had a dirty purple cast; but the blue, though a little inclining to green, was nevertheless a clean, bright, decided colour.

Having no other coloured glass at hand to push these particular inquiries farther, I now removed the candles, and opened two holes in the upper parts of the window-shutters of two neighbouring windows, I let into the room from above two beams of light from different parts of the heavens, and placing the instrument in such a manner that two distinct shadows were projected by the cylinder upon the paper, I was entertained by a succession of very amusing appearances. The shadows were tinged with an infinite variety of the most unexpected, and often most beautiful colours, which continually varying, sometimes slowly, and sometimes with inconceivable rapidity, absolutely fascinated the eyes, and commanding the most eager attention, afforded an enjoyment as new as it was bewitching. It was a windy day, with flying clouds, and it seemed as if every cloud that passed brought with it another complete succession of varying hues, and most *harmonious* tints. If any colours could be said to predominate it was purples; but all the varieties of browns, and almost all the other colours I ever

remembered to have seen, in their turns, and there were colours which seemed to be perfectly new.

Reflecting upon the great variety of colours observed in the experiments, many of which appeared to have the least resemblance to the apparent colours of the objects which they were produced to suspect that the colours of the shadows might, in many cases, notwithstanding their appearance, be merely an optical illusion, owing to contrast, or to the effect of the other neighbouring colours upon the eye. To ascertain this fact by a direct experiment I proceeded in the following manner. Having, by making use of a ruler instead of the cylinder, contrived to render the shadows much broader, I shut out of the room every ray of day-light, and to make the experiment more accurate, I used Argand's lamps, well trimmed, which were both made to burn with the greatest possible brilliancy, having assured myself that the light they emitted was precisely the same colour, by the shadow of a perfectly colourless white object projected upon the white paper. I directed a tube about 1 foot long, and near an inch in diameter, lined with black paper, at the centre of one of the broad shadows, and looking through this tube with one eye, while the other was fixed upon the shadow, I kept my attention fixed upon the shadow, while an assistant continually interpolated a sheet of yellow paper before the lamp whose light was reflected upon the shadow, and as often removed it. The result of the experiment was striking, and fully confirms my suspicions with respect to the

the appearances in the experiments. So far from observing any change in upon which my eye was as not able even to tell yellow glass was before and when it was not; and the assistant often exclaimed of brilliancy and beauty of colour of the very shadows observing, I could not see the least appearance of colour at all. But as soon as I moved my eye from the tube, the shadow with the neighbouring accompanying other shadows rendered low by the effect of the glass, and the white paper I likewise from the same appeared a yellowish hue, the question appeared to me, to my assistant, of a blue colour. I afterwards repeated the same experiment with the same blue shadow producing the experiment with daylight candle-light, and with the same result. In these experiments may account for the appearance of colour of the sky, and the variety of colours which freckle the clouds, as also the useful observations may be made from them, I leave to philosophers, opticians, and painters, to pursue. In the mean time, I think this is a new discovery, at least undoubtedly a very extraordinary one, that the eyes are not to be believed, even with the presence or absence of

it finish this letter without mentioning one circumstance, which is very forcibly in all these experiments upon coloured shadows,

and that is, the most perfect harmony which always appeared to subsist between the colours, whatever they were, of the two shadows; and this harmony seemed to me to be full as perfect and pleasing when the shadows were of different tints of brown, as when one of them was blue and the other yellow. In short, the harmony of these colours was in all cases not only very striking, but the appearances were altogether quite enchanting; and I never found any body to whom I showed these experiments whose eyes were not fascinated with their bewitching beauties. It is, however, more than probable, that a great part of the pleasures which these experiments afforded to the spectators arose from the continual changes of colour, tint, and shade, with which the eye was amused, and the attention kept awake. We are used to seeing colours fixed and unalterable, hard as the solid bodies from which they come, and just as motionless, consequently dead, uninteresting, and tiresome to the eye; but in these experiments all is motion, life, and beauty.

It appears to me very probable, that a farther prosecution of these experiments upon coloured shadows may not only lead to a knowledge of the real nature of the harmony of colours, or the peculiar circumstances upon which that harmony depends; but that it may also enable us to construct instruments for producing that harmony, for the entertainment of the eyes, in a manner similar to that in which the ears are entertained by musical sounds. I know that attempts have already been made for that purpose; but when I consider the means employed, I am not surprized that they did not

not succeed. Where the flowing tide, the varying swell, the *crescendo* is wanting, colours must ever remain hard, cold, and inanimate masses.

I am very sorry that my more serious occupations do not at present permit me to pursue these most entertaining inquiries. Perhaps at some future period I may find leisure to resume them.

I am, &c.

Munich, 1st March, 1793.

*Specification of the patent granted to Joseph Green, of Westhill, in the parish of Wandsworth, Surrey, gentleman; for his invention and method of warming rooms, and buildings, with hot air of a more pure quality than has hitherto been used. From the Repertory of Arts and Manufactures, No. i.*

Dated December 9, 1793.

TO all to whom these presents shall come, &c. &c. Now know ye, that I, the said Joseph Green, in pursuance of, and in compliance with, the said proviso in the said letters patent, do hereby describe and ascertain the nature of the said invention, and in what manner the same is to be performed, as follows, that is to say, the principle on which my invention is founded is the heating air, for the purpose of warming buildings, by means of hollow vessels, or pipes, immersed in hot water or steam, whereby too great a degree of heat is avoided, and the air remains unburnt, and fit for respiration; and I provide a boiler made of iron, copper, or other fit materials, with a cover fastened thereto. Within

the boiler I fix a hollow vessel or worm, and sometimes several such vessels or worms, made of lead, copper, earthen-ware, or other proper materials; and into each of these hollow vessels or worms I introduce the external or open air, by the medium of a pipe, which I make to pass through a convenient part of the boiler, firmly soldered or cemented into it; and which pipe I communicate with the said vessels or worms. The boiler may be fixed in the ordinary manner in any of the lower apartments, or other convenient part of the house or buildings; or it may be fixed behind a stove or grate, so as to be heated by means of a common fire, in any of the rooms, and the size of it should be regulated by the extent of the building proposed to be warmed. From the hollow vessels or worms above mentioned, pipes of any of the above-mentioned materials are fixed and carried, in the most convenient manner, to the different rooms, or parts of the buildings, to which the warm air is to be conveyed. To these pipes are fixed cocks or sliders, in order to admit, or prevent, the introduction of the warm air into any particular room or place: and in some convenient part of the pipes I place a shifting valve, or self-acting cock, to prevent the bursting of the boiler, or pipes, by the force of the steam. The boiler being in part filled with water, a fire is lighted in the furnace, and the water made to boil, or brought to such a degree of heat as may be found necessary; by this heat the air contained in the hollow vessels or worms before-mentioned, being rarified and warmed, will ascend, and is to be admitted, by means of the above-mentioned cocks or sliders,

other convenient mode, several apartments to be

When the rooms are at a distance from the boiler, and by single pipes, then, to prolong the direction of the air, either inclose the pipes, which the warm air is, in larger pipes, to which rises from the boiler, or to convey the warm air into the boiler, and the steam into the flues; by which means the air is prevented from growing cool, as they would do if exposed to the action of the air. I also in certain cases, judge it proper and more convenient, to place my air-vessel or a vessel distinct from the boiler, it still having a communication with for the steam from the boiler, and thus heat the air, or worm by means of the steam; by the above process, a degree of heat is avoided, the air remains unburnt, and respiration. In witness &c.

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*Method of making instruments of gutta serena, with the bottles that are brought from Brazil, by M. de la Chirly. From the Annales Chimie.*

**GUTTA SERENA**, or elastic gum, is a substance which has attracted the attention of philosophers since it has been known. Its great elasticity, its flexibility, its little action most substances on it, have caused it to be esteemed as very valuable for various purposes, particularly in the surgery. But it has hitherto been impossible to procure instru-

ments of this substance, inasmuch as almost the whole quantity of gutta serena brought into Europe comes from Brazil already fashioned into bottles, birds, or other figures; this has rendered its use extremely circumscribed.

It is known that these are made, in that country, by means of moulds, with the juice of a tree of the order of Euphorbiæ. The liquid is drawn from the tree by incision, and it thickens in the manner of resinous juices. It would be easy, could we procure it in its original state of fluidity, to give it all the forms under which it might be useful to us; but the communications with Brazil are very difficult for the greatest part of Europe; and the necessity of passing the line, in bringing it to our parts, is another obstacle to the juice arriving in a proper state for our purposes; as it is decomposed by heat in the same manner as milk, exhaling at that time an extremely fetid odour, and having no longer its original properties, sir Joseph Banks, president of the royal society of London, so well-known by the voyage round the world, which his attachment to the sciences prompted him to undertake, told me he had had a bottle of it in its original state, but which after a little time became decomposed: since which he had not been able to procure any more from Lisbon, although he had offered even to the value of fifty guineas for a second bottle.

Most of the persons to whom the liquid has been sent, whether from Cayenne, or from the Isle of France, (where the tree that furnishes this liquor is also known,) have never received it but in a decomposed state. I had for some time about a



pint of it in that state; it was given to me by M. d'Arcet, to whom some had been sent from the Isle of France. It was kept several winters in a room without a fire; but, after the hard frosts of 1788-9, I found the bottle broke. I think it may be useful to take notice of this accident, as the like, most probably, has not been recorded. I am not able to point out, either at what degree of temperature the decomposed liquor passed to the solid state, or in what manner it crystallised; because I did not go into the place where it was kept until the weather had become much milder.

The difficulty of procuring the juice unaltered in this country is evident; and the distance of the places where the trees grow; the necessity of having agents there to see the necessary articles properly executed; the length of time we should be obliged to wait before we could receive what was ordered; all concur to render it an object of desire both to philosophers and artists, that they might be able to use the bottles of caoutchouc, which we have here in abundance, so as to make from them the various instruments they may have occasion for. Many persons have employed themselves in this research, but I know not that as yet any one has succeeded.

It was soon discovered, that it was not possible to employ liquefaction by means of heat: caoutchouc indeed melts as easily as other resins, but when cooled it remains liquid and adhesive. Alcohol, or spirits of wine, the usual solvents of resinous substances, did not act upon it, nor was it dissolved in water, as gums are. It was then tried to dissolve it in drying oils, and it was found that by the aid of heat the

caoutchouc was dissolved, and formed an excellent varnish, supple, impervious to air or water, and resisting a long time the action of acids. With this varnish Messrs. Charles and Robert covered their balloons; and an ingenious artist, M. Bernard, and afterwards the brothers Durand, made with it several instruments useful in surgery. Their catheters are much used, and are known by the name of catheters of elastic gum; they are flexible, and have a sufficient elasticity; they are, however, nothing but tassetj, covered with a solution of elastic gum in some kind of drying oil. This covering after some time cracks, and falls off in scales, and they then become unserviceable. They have not the property of lengthening, and again recovering their former dimensions, like a tube of caoutchouc; perhaps there may be cases where, for this very reason, these instruments may be preferable to those which might be made of the pure elastic gum.

Macquer also made some researches on this subject, and to him I believe it was first known that ether dissolves caoutchouc without altering its nature. He proposed to apply the solution, layer upon layer, on a mould, and to let the ether evaporate; this process was however too long, and too expensive, to be of much use: moreover, the very fact of the dissolution has been contested by many chymists, who have not succeeded in repeating the experiments of Macquer; respecting which, there is not at present any manner of doubt, although it is not yet determined whence arose the different results in the experiments of those who were occupied on this subject. A well-known fact, the publica-  
tion

we owe to Mr. Cavel-  
 ups explain the matter.  
 before being washed  
 the caoutchouc swell,  
 with ease after it has  
 with a large quantity  
 necessarily loses, by  
 a, that acid, of which  
 are frequently found,  
 itself with water.  
 may, it is easy at pre-  
 in, by means of this  
 ution which, after the  
 of the solvent, is pure  
 yet this mode of ma-  
 nents, though possible,  
 racticable, as it is not  
 ensive, from the loss of  
 rich evaporates, and of  
 taken up by the wa-  
 also very inconvenient  
 e concentrated solution  
 ic, because it adheres  
 g that it touches, and  
 r are apt to be retained  
 icles of elastic gum,  
 rmed by the evapora-  
 ther.  
 lential oils, as those of  
 ne and lavender, act  
 aoutchouc, even when  
 making use of them,  
 ner already explained,  
 ceed still less than with  
 r in obtaining pure elat-  
 in forming instruments.  
 e, in a memoir read in  
 1790, at the royal soci-  
 culture, in which he  
 l the facts known in re-  
 tchouc, and adds many  
 experiments, has ex-  
 wishes, and given his  
 manner by which the  
 e caoutchouc may be  
 us without alteration.  
 a philosopher so worthy  
 nd the little probability

there exists of seeing his wishes ful-  
 filled, made me recur to some ideas  
 I had formed upon the subject; and  
 I have succeeded in making, with  
 the bottles of elastic gum, the tubes  
 which are now presented to you.  
 My work is indeed very imperfect;  
 yet, being certain that my ideas, by  
 being made known, will sooner ac-  
 quire in the hands of artists the per-  
 fection of which they are suscep-  
 tible, I shall not keep back, from  
 selfish motives, the knowledge of a  
 process which may be useful in  
 many arts.

The following is the path I have  
 pursued, and the methods I have  
 employed; it may be easy to substi-  
 tute better, but those of which I  
 am about to give an account may  
 certainly be of some advantage, in-  
 asmuch as they may prevent others  
 who may employ themselves in  
 such researches from making useless  
 trials.

It appeared, even in my first ex-  
 periments, that I was attempting  
 too much, and giving myself useless  
 trouble, in searching for a manner  
 of completely dissolving the elastic  
 gum, so that it might be again made  
 up in new forms. I then thought  
 that it would be easier to find out a  
 method, as it were, of soldering it,  
 and of not acting upon it more than  
 might be necessary to cause its  
 softened parts to reunite. Experi-  
 ence has shewn me that a strong  
 pressure made upon two pieces of  
 caoutchouc (when brought to that  
 state of softness) and continued un-  
 til they are intirely dry, caused them  
 to contract so strong an adhesion,  
 that the piece, being pulled out till  
 it broke, often broke, not at the  
 united part, but by the side of it.

By means of ether I immediately  
 succeeded in making these tubes;  
 the

the method which appears to me to succeed the best is, to cut a bottle circularly in a spiral slip of a few lines in breadth. It is very easy to cut a bottle in such manner as to form a single long slip, and thus unnecessary joinings are avoided.

The whole slip is to be plunged into ether, until it is sufficiently softened, which comes to pass sooner or later, according to the quality of the vitriolic ether that is employed. Half an hour frequently suffices; but I have already observed, that there is a great diversity in the manner in which different sorts of vitriolic ether act, and of which the cause is not yet, so far as I know, determined.

The slip being taken out, one of the extremities is to be taken hold of and rolled, first upon itself at the bottom of the tube, pressing it; then the rolling is to be continued, mounting spirally along the mould, and taking care to lay over and compress with the hand every edge, one against the other, so that there may not be any vacant space, and that all the edges may join exactly. The whole is then to be bound hard with a tape of an inch in width, taking care to turn it the same way with the slip of elastic gum. The tape is to be tied over with packthread, so that by every turn of the packthread joining another, an equal pressure is given to every part: it is then left to dry, and the tube is made.

The bandage is to be taken off with great care, that none of the outward surfaces, which may have been lodged within the hollows of the tube (of which the caoutchouc takes the exact impression) may be pulled away. I delay the application of a tape before the packthread,

because, especially in the thin tubes, we should run the risk cutting the caoutchouc, if the packthread were applied immediately upon it.

It is easy to take off the tube elastic gum which has been formed upon a solid mould of one piece if the mould be made rather convex it may be made to slide off by the smaller end: at the worst, it is easily accomplished by plunging into hot water, for it is softened by the heat, and is distended; with this precaution it would be sometimes difficult to draw it off dry, because, having been applied upon the mould whilst it had its lumen augmented by the interposition of the ether, the parts of caoutchouc are drawn nearer together by the evaporation of the interposed body.

The great affinity between the two bodies is seen by the length of time that the odour of the ether remains, notwithstanding the great volatility of the latter, and that apparent dryness of the tube seems to shew that there is none remaining; nevertheless, after a certain time the odour disappears entirely. Of those tubes which are now before you, and which was made with ether, after the method here described, does not retain the least trace of the solvent. It is needless to say, that it is easy to make tubes as thin, or as thick, as may be judged proper.

Although the process that I am now describing is but very little expensive, yet I have tried to employ other solvents in lieu of ether, because it is not to be had in every place, and requires particular care in its preservation. I have employed, with some success, the esse

of lavender, and of turpentine of them speedily dilate the caoutchouc, and are of no great

The disagreeable smell of turpentine becomes, in the process of time, less disagreeable than that of lavender. It is dearer, but the difference is not so great as it appears at first; we may make some advantage of the oil of lavender that is used, by the following operation: plunging into alcohol an elastic tube prepared with oil of lavender, the alcohol charges with the oil, and forms a very good lavender-water; the same may be made by an immediate mixture of oil of lavender with wine. Immersion in this also serves to hasten the drying of the caoutchouc instruments, made by means of essential oils. We have made tubes with the turpentine and of lavender; they dry much slower in evaporation in ether. The oil of turpentine particularly appeared to me always to leave a kind of stickiness, now not as yet, that we have not found whereby to get speedily rid of its smell.

Nevertheless there is a solvent without that inconvenience; cheaper, and may easily be had by every one; this solvent is water. I conceive it will appear to mention water as a solvent for elastic gum, that liquid has been always supposed to have no action upon it. I myself received this idea; but, reflecting that water being saturated with water would be better enabled to act on caoutchouc, and that this gum when plunged into boiling water becomes transparent at the edges, I tried that this effect was not  
 . XXXVI.

due simply to the dilatation of its volume by the heat. I thought that, at that temperature, some action might take place, and that a long continued ebullition might produce more sensible effects. I was not disappointed in my expectations, and one of those tubes was prepared without any other solvent than water and heat. I proceeded in the same manner as with ether; the elastic gum dilates but very little in boiling water, it becomes whitish, but recovers its colour again, by drying it in the air and light. It is sufficiently prepared for use when it has been a quarter of an hour in boiling water; by this time its edges are somewhat transparent. It is to be turned spirally round the mould, in the manner we described before, and replunged frequently into the boiling water, during the time that is employed in forming the tube, to the end that the edges may be disposed to unite together. When the whole is bound with packthread, it is to be kept some hours in boiling water, after which it is to be dried, still keeping on the binding.

If we wish to be more certain that the connection is perfect, the spiral may be doubled; but we must always avoid placing the exterior surfaces of the slips one upon the other, as those surfaces are the parts which most resist the action of solvents. This precaution is less necessary when ether is employed, on account of its great action upon the caoutchouc.

It might be feared, that the action of water on caoutchouc would deprive us of the advantages which might otherwise be expected; but these fears will be removed if we consider that the affinities differ according to the temperatures; that it

is only at a very high temperature that water exercises any sensible action upon caoutchouc. I can affirm that at the hundred and twentieth degree of Reaumur's thermometer, [302 of Fahrenheit] this affinity is not such as that the water can give a liquid form to caoutchouc; and it does not appear that we have any thing to fear in practice from a combination between these two bodies, which, though it really is a true solution, does not take place in any sensible degree but at a high temperature. It is therefore, at present, easy to make of caoutchouc whatever instruments it may be advantageous to have of a flexible, supple, and elastic, substance, which is impermeable to water at the temperature of our atmosphere, and resists the action of acids, as well as that of most other solvents. As to the durability of these instruments, few substances promise more than this, because it may be soldered afresh in a damaged part. Any woven substance may be covered with it, it is only required that the substance should be of a nature not to be acted upon, during the preparation, either by ether or by boiling water; for these two agents are those which appear to me to merit the preference. Artists will frequently find an advantage in employing ether, as it requires less time; so that a person may make, in a single day, any tube he may have occasion for. The expence of ether is very little, since it is needful only to dispose the caoutchouc to adhere; and, being brought into that state, the caoutchouc may be kept in a vessel perfectly well closed. It would also diminish the expence of the ether, if, instead of washing it with a large

quantity of water, there should be added to it only as much water as can take up.

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*On a method of ascertaining a universal and invariable standard measure, by Mr. Robert watch-maker, of London. A Repository of Arts.*

**T**HROWING together the equalities of solar day, mean interval, or day, has been found, and divided, by very good consent, into eighty-six thousand four hundred equal parts.

A pendulum, vibrating in equal arcs, may be so adjusted in its length, as, by its vibrations, make this division of the motion into eighty-six thousand four hundred equal parts, called seconds of mean time.

Such a pendulum then becomes itself a measure of determinate time to which all others may be referred as to a standard.

But even the pendulum is without its uncertainties.

First, the difficulty of adjusting in practice its centre of oscillation, as depending on the position of the bob, and its distance from the point of suspension; a variation of the weight of the suspending wire, towards the displaced centre of oscillation, (that being seated within the body of the bob, and therefore inaccessible to measurement), are sources of considerable uncertainty.

Secondly, both theory and experience prove that, to preserve isochronism, it must be shown towards the equator, and long way from the poles.

Thirdly, to continue the same equal vibrations, through

gth of time, and to count vibrations, machinery and a re necessary, which may small but constant effort to the waste of motion; and ity is, so to apply these as shall neither retard nor ac- he vibrations.

er to avoid the uncertain- h respect the centre of of-

I have substituted an uni- ndrical rod, without a bob, ndulum.

the diameter of such a rod ely small, the centre of of- ould be exactly at two- the whole length, mea- m the point of suspension. it a diameter which shall

sufficiently inflexible, the ill be displaced indeed, a second rod, not the 20th part of its length, and undredth part so much as nd pendulum with a bob. placement is so infinitely en, that we may consider re of oscillation, for all

purposes, as residing at ls of the length from the uspension. The distance these two centres might be l accurately ascertained in

e whole rod is better for a than any portion of it, be- sibly defined at both its es.

certainty arising from the e of length requisite for the endulum or rod, in differ- ides, may be avoided by some one latitude, to which ard shall refer.

re an uniform impulse to re renew the waste of mo- sioned by the friction and : of the air, I have made

an improvement on the scape- ment of the common clock, which effec- tually prevents any irregularity, that might otherwise be occasioned by the unequal action of the wheels.

To make the experiment, nothing more is necessary than such a clock, and a piece of straight iron wire, of about the diameter of a common goose-quill; and the length that will be found to vibrate seconds, will be about fifty-eight English inches, from the point of suspension to the end of the rod. The most certain way of proceeding in the experiment is, to have the rod at first too long, and to continue cut- ting small portions off the lower end, till the clock is brought to time.

The advantage that the above has over all other pendulums, for ascer- taining an universal standard of mea- sure, are,

First, that it can be regulated with more certainty.

Secondly, that it is one-third lon- ger, and therefore can be divided with more certainty.

And, thirdly, its simplicity, which puts it in the power of any person to make the experiment with the great- est accuracy, even without the use of figures; the whole (after the clock is regulated) being ascertain- ed by one single measurement of a straight line.

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*A method of preparing a sulphureous medicinal water, by the reverent Edward Kenney. From the Irish Transactions.*

CHEMISTS differ in opinion concerning the process of na- ture in the formation of sulphureous waters. Whilst all agree, that sul- phur by itself is not soluble in wa-

ter, some consider sulphureous waters as impregnated by the fumes only of sulphur: others assert, that these waters contain sulphur combined with an alkali: and each party thinks, and possibly justly, that its opinion respecting particular waters is supported by the analysis of them. Artificial sulphureous waters have often been prepared on the former of these principles; and they have been prepared on the two principles combined by M. Le Roy, of Montpellier, who applied a strong and continued heat to water mixed with small quantities of sulphur and magnesia, until the fumes of the sulphur had strongly impregnated the water.

My method is founded on the second principle. Its simplicity, and the probability, that it is similar to that pursued by nature in the formation of some of the most powerful sulphureous waters, induced me to make trial of it. The same considerations may possibly be deemed, by gentlemen of the medical faculty, a recommendation of this artificial medicinal water for trial in the course of their practice.

The method is this: mix sulphur and magnesia, in the proportion of four drachms of each with one quart of cold water. Care must be taken, that every particle of the sulphur and magnesia be made so wet as that none can float. Pour this mixture into a vessel in which it may be conveniently shaken several times every day, during the space of three weeks. Let it then settle for two days, and rack off the liquor. This, first racked off from the sulphur and magnesia, will be of the colour of water, and free from any bad smell. If a like

quantity of water be poured into the vessel in which the sulphur and magnesia remain, and frequently shaken, it will in a short time be found to be as strongly impregnated as the former; in like manner, many other mineral waters impregnated with sulphur, but they will differ from this in having a yellow tinge, and emitting a fetid odour. However, their component parts and natural properties, all these impregnated liquors seems to me, from the trials I have made of them, to be nearly the same. They will only to agree. These liquors instantly change the colour of the water. They are most effectually composed by powdered nutgall, alum, the alum being added a few minutes after the nutgall. The process a very copious precipitation ensues.

Flowers of sulphur and iron filings are to be mixed with water in the proportion of four drachms to a quart of water. The sulphur is to be previously ground together in a glass mortar, for the purpose of breaking all the small lumps of sulphur which would otherwise settle on the water. They are to be gradually wetted with water, and worked up with the hand. When so mixed, the whole is to be poured into a glass vessel, in which it may easily be shaken two or three times every day for three weeks; that time, it is to settle for a few days, and then the liquor is to be racked off fine. The same process will impregnate the liquor with a quantity of water two or three times as much, and to the same degree of strength in the same space of time somewhat less than the first.

ave not found that the white, magnesia, succ as a darker and hea-

I thus racked off, con- ion what may be named liver of sulphur.

ndered nutgalls being this liquid, and after- alum, the water is by quality rendered inca- olding the magnesi- ac- shur in solution: the before precipitated, but sed.

ce of this solution of liver of sulphur, mixt t of pure water, free ptic or acid mixture, dicinal sulphureous wa- :. If an acid be added composes the liver of ting with the magnesia catharticus amarus.— ould therefore be an dition to this medicinal

person may take of this water, at first, half a e in the day; and gra- se the quantity to three the day. I have not cause the head-ach in except myself; and I been immediately re- king six grains of cam- drops of ether in honey

d ample experience of of this medicinal water, of those disorders which es called the land fear- etimes said to proceed ties of the blood; such as on the head; the ens; a white, dry, scaly those various infectious hich in Scotland, are

named the fibbens; and amongst the common people of this country, pass under a variety of names.

The itch is also effectually cured by this water.

It has had remarkably good effect in the few cases of scrofula, in which I have had opportunity of trying it.

In every case of worms, in which I tried it, and they have not been few, it has destroyed them; those particularly called ascarides. In some of those cases, the patients were in a state of high fever when they took this medicine. This is the only case in which I give this water, whilst symptoms of fever are perceivable.

I have also found this water to be very successful in the cure of the chronic rheumatism.

I have thus, my dear sir, noted down the particulars which you wished me to commit to writing for you, and am

Your very affectionate

humble servant,

EDWARD KENNEY.

The method of preparing the medicinal sulphureous water, from this strongly impregnated liquor is very simple, being as follows, viz.

Mix one ounce of the impreg- nated liquor with twelve ounces of cold water.

This medicinal water should be used with caution. Two ounces at a time may be, in general, a proper quantity for a person to begin with.

The strongly impregnated liquor, and the medicinal water prepared from it, may be kept a long time unimpaired

EDWARD KENNEY.

*Morridy, Cork, Jan. 28, 1793.*

A a 3

On



*On the improvement of coppices, by the bishop of Llandaff; from Prince's General View of the Agriculture of the county of Westmoreland.*

**I**N some parts of Westmoreland, considerable portions of land are covered with coppices, consisting principally of oak, ash, elder, birch, and hazel. These underwoods are usually cut down every sixteenth year: the uses to which they are applied are chiefly two—hoops and charcoal. The hoops are sold in the wood at 5*l.* a thousand; they are generally manufactured in the country, and sent by sea to Liverpool; the charcoal is sent to the iron-furnaces in the neighbourhood. The value of a statute-acre of coppice-wood, of sixteen years growth, is variable from 10*l.* to 15*l.*; and if it consists altogether of oak, its price may amount to twenty guineas; 6*l.* for the charcoal, and 15*l.* for the bark; it being the custom here to peel the bolls, and all the branches of the oak, which are equal to the thick-ness of a man's thumb.

It is an extraordinary thing to see any trees left to stand for timber in these underwoods; the high price of bark is a temptation to cut the whole down. Fine saplings, from nine to twelve inches in circumference, at five feet from the ground, and with bark as splendid as polished silver, are felled by the unfeeling proprietor with as little regret, as if they were thorns or briars. Of late, indeed, some few owners of underwoods have left standards, and if they consult their interest, the practice will become general. As this is a point denied by many proprietors of coppices,

it may be of use to explain the principles on which the observation is founded.

Suppose a statute-acre of underwood to be, in the spring of 1794, sixteen years old, and that the whole is then cut down and sold for 14*l.* This sum will, in sixty-four years (reckoning compound interest at 4 per cent.), amount to 172*l.* In 1810, another fall of underwood, of the same value, will be made; the 14*l.* then arising, improved from forty-eight years, in the same way, will produce 91*l.* In 1826, another 14*l.* will arise from another fall of the underwood, this sum improved for thirty-two years, will amount to 49*l.* In 1842, another fall will produce 14*l.* which, in sixteen years, will become 26*l.*—And, lastly, in 1858, or in sixty-four years from 1794, another fall will produce 14*l.* The amount of the value of the five falls, thus estimated and improved, will be 352*l.* Let us now calculate the profits which would result, in the same time, from the same acre of underwood, if it was managed in a different way. Instead of cutting the whole down in 1794, let us suppose that 150 of the best young oaks are left to stand for timber; the then value of these, at 2*d.* a tree, is 25*s.* this being subducted from 14*l.* the value of the whole coppice, leaves 12*l.* 15*s.* 0*d.* This sum, improved as before, will amount, in sixty-four years, to 156*l.* (shillings and pence in these calculations being neglected). The next fall in 1810, ought not to be valued at more than 10*l.* as 150 trees, then of thirty-two years growth, will do some injury to the underwood; 10*l.* in forty-eight years, will amount to 65*l.* The next fall

6, may be valued at 8l. and at time seventy-five trees be taken down; these trees may be forty-eight years old, worth 15s. a tree, or 56l. in whole; this added to 8l. the value of the then underwood, makes 224l. Without estimating the underwood in 1842, and 8s. at any thing, or the value of pasturage for thirty-two years of any thing, let us suppose the five remaining trees to be worth in 1858, being then 48 years old, and that they, one with another, be worth 300l. in the whole. Sum of the profits, thus arising, 1l. or more than double the amount.

As a general opinion in this, we believe, in other countries, it is more profitable to fell oak at fifty or sixty years growth, than let it stand for navy-timber or a 100. According to the value which is now paid for that quality, either by the navy or the East-India company, I have the opinion to be founded on this. The following observations contain the reason for this

If profit is considered, every tree of any kind ought to be cut down as soon as the annual increase of the tree by its growth, is more than the annual interest of the money it would sell for: this being settled, we have only to inquire what the annual increase of the value of oaks of different ages.

In the Philosophical Transactions 1759, there are some useful tables respecting the growth of trees, by Mr. Martham; from these tables,

the two following inferences may be drawn.

1. That it is highly profitable to let young thriving oaks, which are not worth above 30s. a tree, continue standing.

2. That it is not profitable to let oaks of 80 or 100 years growth continue standing.

Three oaks marked in the tables, No. 8, 11, 12, in April, 1743, before they began to shoot, contained eleven and one-half feet of wood, and were altogether worth, at 18d. a foot, bark included, 17s. and 3d. The same trees, sixteen years afterwards, contained thirty-four and one-half feet, and were worth 2l. 11s. 9d. Now, if 17s. and 3d. had been improved at the rate of 7 per cent. at compound interest for sixteen years, it would not have amounted to 2l. 11s. 9d. and of consequence the proprietor, by letting such oak stand, improves his property in as high a degree, as if he put out his money to interest, at near seven and a half per cent.

Three oaks, No. 2, 3, 5, in 1743, contained 100½ feet of timber, and were worth 7l. 10s. 9d. The same trees, sixteen years afterwards, contained 132½ feet, and were worth 9l. 18s. 6d. Now, 7l. 10s. 9d. the value of the trees in 1743, improved at the low rate of interest at two per cent. would in sixteen years amount to a sum exceeding 9l. 18s. 6d. The proprietor then, by letting such trees stand, does not improve his property at the rate of 2l. per cent.

The oak, No. 1, in the third table, was worth 1l. 2s. 6d. in 1757, it gained in one year one foot, or 1s. 6d. in value; if it has been worth 30s. and had gained one foot,

foot, there would have been no profit in letting it stand, as the interest of 30s. at 5 per cent. would have produced 1s. 6d. in the year; and it is for this reason that I have fixed upon 30s. as the value of trees which should be cut down; if they are cut sooner or later, the proprietor will be a loser. It must not be supposed, however, that great precision can attend this observation; since particular soils, or the greater or less thriving condition of the wood, may render it useful to cut down trees before they are worth 30s. or to let them stand a while longer. It ought to be remarked also, that large trees sell for more per foot than small ones do, yet the usual increase of price is not a compensation to the proprietor for letting his timber stand to a great age. This may be made out from the following experiment.

In the 27th of October, 1792, I measured, at six feet from the ground, the circumference of a very fine oak of eighty-two years growth, from the time of its being planted, and found it to be 107 inches; on the same day of the month, in 1793, it measured 108 inches. There is not one oak in fifty (at the age of this) which gains an inch circumference in one year. The length of the boll of this tree was about eighteen feet, it contained about eighty-four feet of timber, and was worth, at 3s. a foot, 12l. 12s. It gained in one year very little more than one foot and a half of timber, or 4s. 6d. in value; but the interest of 12l. 12s. at 4 per cent. amounts in one year, to above twice the value of the increase, even of this tree, which is a singularly thriving one.

I have been the more particular on this subject from a public consideration. Many men are alarmed, lest our posterity should experience a scarcity of oak-timber for the use of the navy; and various means of increasing its quantity have been recommended with great judgement. In addition to these means, the making a much greater than the ordinary increase of price on timber of a large scantling, might be improperly submitted to the consideration of those who are concerned in the business. If the navy-board would give 8l. or 9l. a load for timber trees containing 100 cubic feet or upwards, instead of 4l. or 5l. every man in the kingdom would have a reasonable motive for letting his timber stand till it became of a size fit for the use of the navy; whereas, according to the present price, it is every man's interest to cut it down sooner.

In the neighbourhood of Ambleside, there is found a stratum of grey lime-stone, which, though it contains a little clay, might be as serviceable as the purest sort for agricultural purposes; but, unfortunately, for the improvement of this part of the country, coal is so dear, that very little of this lime-stone is burned. The lime which is used in the culture of the lands being either fetched from Kendal, or brought up Windermere-lake at a great expence. As there is great plenty of coppice-wood in the district here spoken of, it may be useful for the farmers and land-owners to consider, whether the burning of lime with faggots in a flame-kiln, as is practised in Suffex, may not be a more beneficial application of the underwoods, than the converting them

them into charcoal. Even the spray-wood, here called chats, which is too small to be made into charcoal, and which is now sold for sixpence a cart, or more generally left on the ground, might be made into fagots, and mixed with wood of a larger size, so that no part of the coppice would be lost. In Suffex, they use 600 fagots, cut in the winter, and weighing, when dry in the spring, thirty-six pounds each, for the burning of 480 Winchester bushels of lime.

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*On the manufacture of Indigo at Ambore, by lieutenant-colonel Claude Martin; from the Transactions of the Asiatic Society, vol. 3.*

**I** Present the society with a short description of the process observed in the culture and manufacture of indigo, in this part of India. The Ambore district is comprised within a range of surrounding hills of a moderate height: the river Pallar, declining from its apparent southerly direction, enters this district about three miles from the eastward, washes the Ambore Pettah, a small neat village, distant three miles to the southward of the fort of that name, situated in a beautiful valley; the skirts of the hills covered with the Palmeira and Date trees, from the produce of which a considerable quantity of coarse sugar is made. This tract is fertilized by numerous rills of water, conducted from the river along the margin of the heights, and throughout the intermediate extent; this element being conveyed in these artificial canals (three feet deep), affording a pure and crystal current of excellent water for the supply of

the rice-fields, tobacco, mango, and cocoa-nut, plantations; the highest situated lands affording indigo, apparently without any artificial watering, and attaining maturity at this season, notwithstanding the intenseness of the heat, the thermometer under cover of a tent rising to 100, and out of it to 120; the plant affording even in the driest spots good foilage, although more luxuriant in moister situations. I am just returned from examining the manufacture of this article.—First the plant is boiled in eathern pots of about eighteen inches diameter, disposed on the ground in excavated ranges from twenty to thirty feet long, and one broad, according to the number used. When the boiling process has extracted all the colouring matter ascertainable by the colour exhibited, the extract is immediately poured into an adjoining small jar fixed in the ground for its reception, and is thence ladled in small pots into larger jars, disposed on adjoining higher ground, being first filtered through a cloth; the jar, when three-fourths full, is agitated with a split bamboo extended into a circle, of a diameter from thirteen to twenty inches, the hoop twisted with a sort of coarse straw, with which the manufacturer proceeds to beat or agitate the extract, until a granulation of the scum takes place, the operation continuing nearly for the space of three-fourths of an hour; a precipitant composed of red earth and water, in the quantity of four quart bottles, is poured into the jar, which, after mixture, is allowed to stand the whole night, and in the morning the superincumbent fluid is drawn off through three or four apertures, practised in the side of the

jar

jar in a vertical direction, the lowest reaching to within five inches of the bottom, sufficient to retain the fecula, which is carried to the houses and dried in bags,

This is the whole of the process recurred to in this part, which, I think, if adopted in Bengal, might in no small degree supersede the necessity of raising great and expensive buildings; in a word, save the expenditure of so much money in dead stock, before they can make any indigo in the European method; to which I have to add, that indigo thus obtained, possesses a very fine quality.

As I think these observations may be useful to the manufacturers in Bengal, I could wish to see them printed in the Transactions of the Asiatic Society.

*Ambore, 2d April, 1791.*

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*Extract from a treatise on the manufacture of indigo, at Ambore, by Mr. De Cossigny; from the same.*

**T**HIS experiment (the Indian process) infallibly shews, that indigo may be produced by different methods, and how much it is to be regretted, that the European

artists should remain constantly wedded to their method or routine, without having yet made the necessary enquiries towards attaining perfection. Many travellers on the coast of Coromandel having been struck with the apparent simplicity of the means used by the Indians in preparing indigo, from having seen their artists employed in the open air, with only earthen jars, and from not having duly examined and weighed the extent of the detail of their process, apprehend that it is effected by easier means, than with the large vats of masonry, and the machinery employed by Europeans: but they have been greatly mistaken, the whole appearing a delusive conclusion from the following observation, viz that one man can, in the European method of manufacture, bring to issue one vat, containing fifty bundles of plant, which, according to their nature and quality, may afford from ten to thirty pounds of indigo; whereas, by the Indian process, one employed during the same time, would probably only produce one pound of indigo: the European method is, therefore, the most simple, as well as every art where machinery is used, instead of manual labour. \*

\* Experience alone must decide between the opposite opinions of Colonel Martin and Mr. De Cossigny.

# ANTIQUITIES.

*py of a scarce-printed paper, being the resolutions of the loyal gentry of Lincolnshire, 1642.*

THE resolution of the gentry of Lincolnshire, to provide 168 horse for the maintenance and defence of his majesty's just prerogative, and the preservative of the public peace; the said horse to be disposed within the county of Lincoln for three months, after the 10th of this instant July, at such rate, and in such way, as his majesty shall by his commission direct.

F. Fane, 4.  
 Per. Bertie, 4.  
 John Monson, 12.  
 Edward Hussey, 6.  
 George Hencage, 6.  
 John Bolles, 5.  
 William Felham, 3.  
 William Thorold, 6.  
 Ch. Hussey, 2.  
 Daniel Deligne, 3.  
 Robert Thorold, 3.  
 Jervase Scrope, 4.  
 Jervase Neville, 2.  
 John Burnell, 2.  
 Chris. Beresford, 2.  
 Robert Tredway, 2.  
 Ralph Ewes, 4.  
 Edm. Ellis, 1.  
 Arthur Redhed, 1.  
 George Walker, 1.

Hustwait Wright, 1.  
 William Stone, 1.  
 William Langton, 1.  
 John Fornery, 4.  
 Charles Bolles, 3.  
 Ch. Dallyson, 4.  
 Anth. Meres, 1.  
 William Saltmarsh, 2.  
 Ste. Anderson, 2.  
 Thomas Ogle, 2.  
 Thomas Reid, 1.  
 George Bradley, 1.  
 William Quadring, 1.  
 William Cony, 3.  
 William Tyrwhit, 2.  
 Robert Tyrwhit, 2.  
 Edward Heron, 1.  
 Thomas Monson, 1.  
 Robert Markham, 4.  
 Robert Bellese, 1.  
 Thomas Rands, 1.  
 Jo. Columbell, 1.  
 Jo. Stutt, 1.  
 Th. Herington, 2.  
 William Dallyson, 4.  
 N. Smith, 1.  
 Jo. Oldfield, 2.  
 And. May, 3.  
 Edward Tournay, 1.  
 Anth. Butler, 2.  
 Anth. Topham, 4.  
 Hamlet Marshal, 3.  
 Robert Meres, 3.  
 Morgan Winne, 2.  
 Thomas Hurst, 2.  
 Robert Sanderfon, 1.

Robert

# 364 ANNUAL REGISTER, 1794.

Robert Halsewood, 1.  
Adam Cranwell, 1.  
Ste. Primet, 1.  
Ch. Harrington, 1.  
Henry Pigg, 1.  
Davy Williamson, 1.  
John Chapel, 1.  
William Welby, 2.  
Edward Middlemore, 1.  
William Disney, 2.  
Fran. Welby, 1.  
John South, 3.  
Hen. Fiennes, 1.  
Robert Mathew, 1.  
Richard Parke, 1.  
Richard Fancourt, 1.  
Mont. Cholmeley, 1.

## *Pensions granted by king Charles the Second, 1673.*

**M**ONEYES frankly given away, since the beginning of May, to Christmas, 1673, as it was taken out of the signet-office.

	£	s.	d.
A warrant for the earle of Arlington	10,000	0	0
A warrant for the duke of Bucks	2,030	0	0
Given to the earle of Berkshire	3,000	0	0
To the earle of St. Albans	2,500	0	0
To the lord Buckhurst	4,400	0	0
To the privy purse	29,000	0	0
To the lord Grandison	500	0	0
To the earle of Briftoll	2,120	0	0
To the earle of Arlington	5,338	0	0
To the duke of Lauderdale	1,000	0	0

	£	s.	d.
To the lady Falmouth	11,289	0	0
To the earle of Oxford	2,000	0	0
To the marquis of Worcester	1,200	0	0
Granted to the duchesse of Cleaveland and her children, out of the wine-licence-office 3,300l. per ann.	20,340	0	0
To the duchesse of Cleveland's eldest daughter; in case it could not be ready paid out of the exchequer, then to be charged out of the remaining part of wood of the forrest of Deane	20,000	0	0
To the lord Clifford and his heirs male fee farm rent, payable out of the Norch at Exeter 14 l. per ann.	2,610	0	0
To the earle of Anglesey a pension during life, 3,000l. per annum by the treasury-office	21,000	0	0
To sir Jo. Woorden	1,090	0	0
To Thomas Lott	6,000	0	0
To sir Rob. Rye	900	0	0
To Mr. Harbert	9,000	0	0
To sir Rob. Holmes	690	9	4
To sir John Duncombe	2,000	0	0
Default of sir George Cartwright	16,336	0	0
A pension to the lady Falmouth, 1000l. per ann.	7,000	0	0
A pension for sir Jo. Holmes, 500l. per ann.	2,500	0	0
	A pen-		

	£	s.	d.
A pension to the earle of Arlington, 200l. per ann.	1,400	0	0
A pension to the duke of Monmouth, 6000l. per ann.	42,000	0	0
A pension to the lord Obryen, 100l. per ann.	700	0	0
A pension to Henry Savile, 500l. per ann.	3,500	0	0
- A donative to the earle of St. Albans, in trust for Sir Rich. Talbotsonn	14,000	0	0
A pension to James Hamilton	2,450	0	0
More to the earle of Oxon and his lady, 200l. per ann. during their lives, payable out of the first fruits	20,000	0	0
The totall summe is	791,255	9	4

*Account of the remains of Pompeii and Herculaneum; from Gray's Tour through Germany, &c.*

AT our first slight descent at the entrance, we see the soldiers' quarters, with the names of some ancient Romans, inscribed above seventeen centuries ago, on the walls; the platform and proscenium of two theatres; some rooms of a private house, with a human skull that once was animated with the features of Roman genius; the impression of a foot sunk in yielding lava; the perfect form of the temple of Isis, built of fractured brick; its columns, its altars; the cana-

bulum of the priests, in which the bones of some fish were found; the slaughter-house with the still-existing ring to which the generous and struggling victim was tied, and the canal by which the blood was conducted away.

If, ascending by the Appian way, we proceed across the vineyard to a suburb of the town, we behold two narrow streets, each about ten feet wide, entirely cleared: we have a perspective view of both at the same time diverging obliquely from a fountain at a sharp angle. We see the rows of houses on each side unroofed, indeed, and with walls dilapidated, and presenting the appearance of buildings half destroyed and cleared away after a fire. The pavement, the narrow trottoir, and the channels worn by the wheels, are still perfect. We enter into the houses, which, excepting one distinguished by its colonnade and double stair-case, are very small, and generally built with a portico enclosing a court, into which fountains were usually introduced. The apartments, particularly those of the surgeon's house, where chirological instruments and manuscript rolls were found, as also those supposed to have belonged to the vestals, are painted with figures, many of which have been removed, but a few still remain and look beautiful, when their colours are freshened by water thrown upon them. In some rooms are the remains of Mosaic pavement. The utensils now used by soap-boilers were found at the house of one of the business. The stain of a heated cap is still visible on the front of a tavern; and the indecent symbol of a brothel bears testimony to the gross manners of the people who were destroyed



destroyed in the town. The walls of the sepulchre, at the outside of the city, are sculptured with ancient masks.

Some ruins in the neighbourhood exhibit a specimen of an ancient villa with the whole plan of the house, its out-houses, and its garden, which is about, perhaps, half an acre, and divided into compartments, in one of which was a pond. The walls of the rooms retain some delicate painting. The cellars still contain Amphoræ, with wine, encrusted by ashes to a solid substance. In the cellars of this villa the skeletons of some unhappy sufferers were found, who had fled there for shelter from the shower of ashes which buried the district.

At Herculaneum the remains of a theatre still may be seen, with its seats, its orchestra, and several departments, all much more below the surface of the ground than are the ruins of Pompeii. The ruins of Stabia have been so little cleared, that we were told it was not worth while to visit them.

If afterwards we turn to Portici, we find a display of every article which can illustrate the private and domestic economy of the ancients. In one museum is collected almost all the furniture useful and ornamental of a Roman house. The lectisternia, the side-board, the culinary utensils, and even the eatables are preserved. The weights and scales and steelyards are scarce excelled by modern improvements. The caldavia with heaters first suggested the idea of tea-urns. The implements of agriculture, which resemble those used in our own time, prove that necessity always operates by the most simple contrivances, and suggests nearly the

same means. The tops, and different representations of ancient amusements, prove the antiquity of many games, as well as do the lines of Horace, that speak of riding on sticks, and playing at odd and even. The toilet and its furniture unfold the decorations of female taste. The chirurgical instruments here are not sufficient in number to illustrate much of the state of surgery at the time when they were used. Among the musical instruments is an uncommon trumpet, which Dr. Barney conceives to be the ancient clangor tubarum. The altars and the sacrificial vessels exhibit the parade of Paganism. The lacrimatories and amulets of indecent superstition expose the artificial and credulous follies of the people.

The paintings, which fill rooms, sometimes engage our admiration by the display of elegant figures and descriptions, of Bacchanals and Fauns dancing on the tight rope, of Chiron teaching Achilles, of Dido abandoned, of the victory of Theseus over the Minotaur, of Genii with their attributes. These, being found on the walls of private houses, demonstrate the high perfection to which the art of painting was advanced, while the filthy representations which painting and sculpture sometimes exhibit, argue the coarseness and corruption of ancient taste, and disgust us with the idea of a people, among whom superstition consecrated unnatural conjunctions, and female delicacy was not shocked by the most unchaste ornaments. He that sees them cannot but marvel much at the affected refinement of some modern advocates of natural religion, who pretend to extract from the emblems of a loose and popular credulity,

, a pure and elevated philosophy and instructive intimations import.

rolls of the Papyrus, hard resembling rolls of portable parchment particularly struck us; four have been explicated by an process: but, instead of and regretted books of Tacitus, they unfold a life on the Epicurean philosophy; work or two on morality; and a dissertation on Philodemus, containing, say, a vindication of the moral proportions, in confutation of the system of Aristoxenus, hers state, some reflections and effects of music in a re-

Two only of these works believe, yet been published. treatise is soon to appear, examiners will, I hope, till we recover some of us of which we regret the some of equal value with which we possess.

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from Robert Taughan, the noted Welch antiquary, to archdeacon Usher.

most reverend James Usher, archbishop of Armagh.

and father,

performance of your request my promise, I have at last the annals of Wales, as, out of an ancient copy which you saw, I did faithfully translate into the English tongue, as I could, word by word; (knowing my weakness) I do not so much to render a harmony of speech, as the

plain and simple phrase of that age wherein it was written, which I thought would please you best, though haply with others it will not so well relish. Be pleased to receive it as a token from him who honours your worth. As you read it, I pray you correct it, for I know it hath need. There was a leaf wanting in my book; which defect (viz. from 900 to an. 950), and some passages besides, I was fain to make up out of other ancient copies, whereof though we have many in Wales, yet but few that agree *verbatim* with one another. And I believe some mistakings will be found in the times of some transactions in this book, if they be narrowly examined, as in the very frontispiece of this author we find.

In most copies we find that Cadwalader went to Rome *anno* 680, or the year after, as it is in my copy; nevertheless, it is confessed and granted by all of them, that the great mortality happened in that year that he went to Rome; but I find no mention of any great mortality of people that happened about *anno* 680, and therefore I think it not very likely that Cadwalader's going to Rome was deferred to that year. Moreover, venerable Bede, and other ancient writers, do affirm, that the great mortality fell about 664, about the 22d year of king Oswi's reign over Northumberland, in whose time Cadwalader lived and reigned, as is manifest from the tract which is added to some copies of Nennius (if I may give credit to that corrupt copy of it which I have) in the words following: "Osguid, filius Edelfrid, regnavit 28 ann. et sex mensibus, dum ipse regnabat, venit mortalitas hominum, Catgualater regnante apud Brittones, post patrem

patrem suum, et in ea periit." This evidence doth persuade with me, that Cadwalader went to Rome far before ann. 680. But if in *ea periit* be meant of Cadwalader, for king Oswi ruled five or six years, unless we grant that the plague endured twelve years, as our Welsh historians do aver, it maketh such breach in the history, that I (for my own part) knew not how to repair it; for, if it be true that Cadwalader died of that plague, then he went not to Rome; and to deny his going to Rome is no less than to deny our British and Welsh antiquities in general.

Therefore, I desire you will vouchsafe not only to give me your sense of Cadwalader's going to Rome, and the time (whereby I may rest better satisfied than at present), but also the loan of your best copy of Nennius, with the tract before cited, which is added to some copies thereof. And, if I be not over-troublesome to your patience already, I have another request unto you, which is, that you will select all the notes and histories that you have that treat of the affairs of Wales, and princes thereof, and that you will candidly impart them unto me by degrees; as I shall have done with one piece, so be pleased to send another, and you may command any thing that I have, or can come by; for, it is not labour, pains, or expence of money (to my power), shall retard me in your service. My love and zeal for my poor country, and desire to know the truth and certainty of things past, moves me sometimes to a passion, when I call to mind the idle and slothful life of my countrymen, who, in the revolution of a thousand years, almost afford but only Caradoc of Lancarvan, and the continuance

thereof, to register any thing to purpose of the acts of the prince of Wales that I could come by or of (some few piecemeals except Dr. Powel, in his *Latin History of the Princes of Wales*, citeth *Thomas Maelorinus de Regibus Gethicis* (North Wales); but I have not hitherto meet with that, and I am persuaded he lived much before Henry the VIth's periodadventure you have seen it. I do not remember that he is any other author of our country; it may be, there are some yet, though I had not the felicity hitherto to see them. I hope your good means hereafter, I may attain to some hidden knowledge of antiquity. But I am too tedious to pardon me, I pray you, reveal to your father; think of my request, and me not off with excuses any longer, and my prayer shall be for your health, peace, and prosperity in this world, and everlasting felicity in the world to come.

Your friend and servant,

ROBERT VAUGHAN  
*Hengurt, near Dolgellen, in the county of Merioneth, April 14, 1651*

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*An account of the game of Chess played by the Chinese, in a letter from Eyles Irwin, esq. to the honourable the earl of Charleston. P. R. I. A. from the Irish Transactions.*

My lord,

I Consider no apology needful for this intrusion on the position in which your talents and reputation have placed you. Whatever tends to the accession of knowledge, or the illustration of a

cannot prove unacceptable to your lordship, when adding a new chapter to the Transactions of the academy, which is distinguished by your attendance.

I have addressed a subject of great importance to the Irish academy, where is a society existing, who are to have a title to it from its name—or why the first offering of researches should proceed from the remote empire of China, are, I think, questions that are not necessary to me to resolve. If a patriot would promote the spirit of invention in my country, by the exertion of my mean abilities, be not to me, I am indifferent to censure or praise on this occasion.

I must premise to your lordship, that during a long residence in the Indies, where the game of Go is generally supposed to have originated, I had often heard of its existence in China, though on a distant footing, as well in respect to the powers of the king, as to the extent of the field of battle. The Bramins, who excel in this game, and with whom I used frequently to play for improvement, in tradition of this nature, which is rather argument in behalf of the game about to advance. But, as all my enquiries from persons who had been there, and from the traditions relative to China, I never obtain any confirmation of the game being ever known in that country, except that Chambers, in his Dictionary, mentions it to be a favourite pastime of the Chinese, who cites no authority for the statement.

In the unlooked-for circumstances of the late year, it was brought me to the quarter, I had once wished, but never

expected, to visit. I need not say, that among other objects of curiosity, I was eager to ascertain the reality of the Bramins story. And if the difficulty of acquiring information here, not more from the want of interpreters, than the jealousy of the government, were not well known in Europe, I should be ashamed to tell your lordship that I despaired of success for some time. A young Mandarin, however, of the profession of arms, having an inquisitive turn, was my frequent visitor; and, what no questions could have drawn from him, the accidental sight of an English chess-board effected. He told me, that the Chinese had a game of the same nature; and, on his specifying a difference in the pieces and board. I perceived, with joy, that I had discovered the desideratum of which I had been so long in search. The very next day my Mandarin brought me the board and equipage; and I found, that the Bramins were neither mistaken touching the board, which has a river in the middle to divide the contending parties, nor in the powers of the king, who is entrenched in a fort, and moves only in that space, in every direction. But, what did I not before hear, nor do I believe is known out of this country, there are two pieces, whose movements are distinct from any in the Indian or European game. The Mandarin, which answers to our bishop, in his station and sideling course, cannot, through age, cross the river; and a rocket-boy, full armed in the Indian manner, who is stationed between the pieces of each party, acts literally with the motion of the rocket, by running over a man, and taking his adversary by the other end of the board.

Except that the king has his two sons to support him, instead of a queen, the game, in other respects, is like ours.

As the young man who had discovered this to me was of a communicative and obliging disposition, and was at this time pursuing his studies in the college of Canton, I requested the favour of him to consult such ancient books as might give some insight into the period of the introduction of Chefs into China; to confirm, if possible, the idea that struck me of its having originated here. The acknowledged antiquity of this empire, the unchangeable state of her customs and manners, beyond that of any other nation in the world; and more especially the simplicity of the game itself, when compared to its compass and variety in other parts, appeared to give a colour to my belief. That I was not disappointed in the event, I have no doubt will be allowed, on the perusal of the translation of a manuscript extract, which my friend Tinquā brought me, in compliance with my desire; and which, accompanied by the Chinese manuscript, goes under cover to your lordship. As the Mandarin solemnly assured me that he took it from the work quoted, and the translation has been as accurately made as possible, I have no hesitation to deliver the papers as authentic.

In the pursuit of one curiosity I flatter myself that I have stumbled by accident on another, and have gone some length to restore to the

Chinese the invention of gun-powder, so long disputed with them the Europeans; but which the evidence on their chess-board, in action of the rocket, seems to establish beyond a doubt. The situation of the game is likewise discovered to form the principal era in the Chinese history since, by the conquest of Shē the kingdom was first connected in its present form, and the monarch assumed the title of emperor, as may be seen in the extract which I have obtained from their annals.

From these premises I have therefore ventured to make the following inferences:—That the game of Chefs is probably of Chinese origin. That the confined situation of powers of the king, resembling that of a monarch in the earlier part of the world, countenance this supposition; and that, as it travels westward, and descended to later times, the sovereign prerogative tended itself, until it became limited, as in our state of the game. That the agency of the prince in lieu of the queen, bespeaks for the nature of the Chinese custom which exclude females from power or influence whatever; whereas princes, in its passage through Asia, were changed into a vizier, or minister of state, with an enlarged portion of delegated authority that exists there; in which, the European nations, their usual gallantry, adopt a queen on their board.\* That the river between the parties is ex-

\* That on the acquisition of so strong a piece as the vizier, the Paö were supplied this as possessing powers unintelligible, at that time, to other nations; and three added, in consequence, to make up the number of men; and that as discipline proved, the lines, which are straggling on the Chinese board, might have been on ours.

ie general face of this coun-  
re a battle could hardly be  
without encountering an in-  
n of this kind, which the  
was here taught to over-  
out that, on the introduction  
me into Persia, the board  
with the dry nature of the  
nd the contest was decided  
*firma*. And, lastly, that in  
int of the origin of Chefs,  
we read, has the tale been  
teristic or consistent as that  
have the honour to offer to  
academy. With the In-  
was designed by a Bramin,  
the melancholy of the  
r of a Rajah. With the  
, my memory does not assist  
ace the fable; though, if it  
ore to the purpose, I think  
d have retained it. But,  
Chinese, it was invented  
experienced soldier, on the  
es of war. Not to dispel  
vapours, or instruct a fe-  
a science that could neither  
or inform her; but to quiet  
murs of a discontented sol-  
to employ their vacant hours  
s on the military art, and to  
the spirit of conquest in the  
of winter quarters. Its age  
d by them on record near  
turies before the Christian  
nd among the numerous  
or this noble invention, that  
Chinese, who call it, by  
distinction, Chong Kè, or  
yal Game, appears alone to  
putable.

e the honour to remain,  
My lord,  
ur lordship's obedient,  
Humble servant,  
EYLES IRWIN.  
March 14, 1793.

*Translation of an extract from the  
Concum, or Chinese annals, respect-  
ing the invention of the game of  
Chefs, delivered to me by Tinquan,  
a soldier mandarin, of the province  
of Fokien.*

Three hundred and seventy-nine  
years after the time of Confucius,  
or one thousand nine hundred and  
sixty-five years ago, Hung Cochu,  
king of Kiangnan, sent an expedi-  
tion into the Shenfi country, under  
the command of a mandarin, called  
Hansing, to conquer it. After one  
successful campaign, the soldiers  
were put into winter-quarters;  
where, finding the weather much  
colder than what they had been ac-  
customed to, and being also depri-  
ved of their wives and families, the  
army, in general, became impa-  
tient of their situation, and clamour-  
ous to return home. Hansing,  
upon this, revolved in his mind the  
bad consequences of complying with  
their wishes. The necessity of  
loothing his troops, and reconciling  
them to their position, appeared  
urgent, in order to finish his opera-  
tions in the ensuing year. He was  
a man of genius, as well as a good  
scholar; and having contemplated  
some time on the subject, he in-  
vented the game of Chefs, as well  
for an amusement to his men in  
their vacant hours, as to inflame  
their military ardour, the game be-  
ing wholly founded on the princi-  
ples of war. The stratagem suc-  
ceeded to his wish. The soldiery  
were delighted with the game;  
and forgot, in their daily contests  
for victory, the inconveniencies of  
their posit. In the spring the gene-  
ral took the field again; and, in a  
few months, added the rich coun-  
try of Shenfi to the kingdom of  
Kiangnan,

Kiangnan, by the defeat and capture of its king, Choupayuen,\* a famous warrior among the Chinese. On this conquest Hung Cochu assumed the title of emperor, and Choupayuen put an end to his own life in despair.

*Explanation of the position, powers, and motives of the pieces on the Chinese chess-board, or Chong K' (royal game).*

As there are nine pieces instead of eight, to occupy the rear rank, they stand on the lines between, and not within, the squares. The game is consequently played on the lines.

The King, or Chong, stands in the middle line of this row. His moves resemble those of our king, but are confined to the fortrels marked out for him.

The two Princes, or Sou, stand on each side of him, and have equal powers and limits.

The Mandarins, or Tchong, answer to our bishops, and have the same moves, except that they cannot cross the water or white space in the middle of the board to annoy the enemy, but stand on the defensive.

The Knights, or rather Horses, called Māā, stand and move like ours in every respect.

The War-chariots, or Tchè, resemble our rooks or castles.

The Rocket-boys, or Pao, are pieces whose motions and powers were unknown to us. They act with the direction of a rocket, and can take none of their adversary's men that have not a piece or pawn intervening. To defend your men from this attack it is necessary to open the line between, either to take off the check on the King, or to save a man from being captured by the Pao. Their operation is, otherwise, like that of the rook. Their stations are marked between the pieces and pawns.

The five Pawns, or Ping, make up the number of the men equal to that of our board. Instead of taking sideways, like ours, they have the rook's motion, except that it is limited to one step, and is not retrograde. Another important point, in which the Ping differs from ours, is, that they continue in *statu quo*, after reaching their adversary's head-quarters. It will appear, however, that the Chinese pieces far exceed the proportion of ours; which occasions the whole force of the contest to fall on them, and thereby precludes the beauty and variety of our game, when reduced to a struggle between the pawns, who are capable of the highest promotion, and often change the fortune of the day. The posts of the Ping are marked in front.

EVES IRWIN.

\* The same romantic tales are circulated of the prowess of Choupayuen as of our celebrated Guy Earl of Warwick.

*Unpublished letters respecting Dr. Walton's translation of the Bible, transcribed from the common place book of Mr. John Dwight, secretary to bishop Wallis.*

" To the right honourable the counsell of state the humble petition of Brian Walton, D. D.

" Humbly sheweth,

" **T**HAT, whereas sundry editions and translations of the Holy Bible (the divine treasury of living truth) have been formerly made in divers learned languages, which have highly tended to the honour of God, and advancement of religion, especially those great and famous editions of the Complutense, the Antwerpe, and the late Paris, Bibles: and whereas, your petitioner having perused the said editions, and compared the same with sundry others, and finding that a more compleat and perfect edition than any of them may be made, which may be more useful, and withall afforded at a fifth part, or thereabouts, of the price of those of Paris, whereby the same will become more common, and great encouragement be given to the study of those tongues which conduce most to the understanding of the text, hath, with the advice of sundry learned men, drawn up a form of an edition in the original languages, with the most accurate translations, according to better and more authentic copies than those of the former editions, with addition of sundry things needful, which are wanting in them all; and hath digested the same in such order, whereby the several languages may be represented to the reader's view

at once, and the whole may be printed in a few ordinary volumes, and sold at the price aforesaid; a draught whereof, with a printed proof, and the suffrage and approbation of eminent learned men, is herewith exhibited: your petitioner, therefore, humbly prayeth, that your honours will be pleased to take the premises into your grave and serious consideration, and (as those former editions, though less perfect, have been furthered by public authority) so you would be pleased to give your approbation of this work, with such furtherance, by recommendation or otherwise, as in your wisdoms shall be thought fit, whereby your petitioner, and those that shall join with him herein, may be the better enabled and encouraged to go on in so great a work, so much conducive to the public good and honour of this nation. And your petitioner shall ever pray," &c. &c.

[Not delivered.]

" To his excellency the lord general Cromwell, the humble petition of Brian Walton, of London, D. D.

" Humbly sheweth,

" That, whereas your petitioner, with the advice of divers learned men, hath drawne up a form of an edition of the Bible in the original and other learned languages, which the late count of Arden, by their order of July, have desired to be an honourable work, and have given encouragement, which your petitioner and others have subscribed, and are of more towards the completion thereof, than a work of this nature, the honour of which your petitioner humbly prays



that, in regard the power and authority of the said counsell is now ceased, your excellency would be pleased, for the encouragement of the petitioner and others employed in the said design, to declare your approbation of the said work, whereby it may go on without lett or disturbance, and your petitioner shall ever pray," &c. &c.

"I think fit that this work of printing the Bible, in the original and other languages, go on without any lett or interruption.

"O. CROMWELL."

"May 16, 1653."

Certificate of my lord primate and Mr. Selden about the Bible.

"Whereas, there hath been presented to us a draught of an edition of the Bible in the original and other languages, with a proof, or printed paper, wherein the same are, in several columns, represented at once to the reader's view; which (as is suggested) are according to better copies and editions than are used in those famous editions of the Complutense, Antwerp, and Paris, Bibles, besides sundry needful additions which are wanting in them, whereby this edition will become more perfect, and fitter for use, than those formerly mentioned, and yet the price very much lessened; we, whose names are subscribed, having viewed and well considered the said design, and being desirous to give our judgements and opinions thereof, do conceive that, both in regard of the said editions and copies, which are more exact than those followed in the other Bibles, and also of the various readings and other addi-

tions, as of the method and order wherein the several languages are digested, this work will be more complete and perfect, and also more useful, than any that hath been hitherto published in that kind; that the printing thereof will intend to the glory of God, and public honour of our nation; and therefore, we do heartily desire that it may receive all due encouragement and furtherance from whom it may concern.

"JA. ARMACHAN  
"JOHN SELDEN."

*The Greek fire; an ancient mode of warfare; from Andrews's History of Great Britain, A. D. 1191.*

AT the celebrated siege of Acre both parties made use of the 'Greek fire,' a diabolical species of flame, which burnt fiercer for the application of water. It is thus sung by a Leonine ha-

Pereat, O, utinam! ignis hujus venal!  
Non enim extinguitur aquâ sed arenâ;  
Vixq' vinum acidum arctat ejus frons,  
Et urina stringitur ejus vix habena.  
Ignis hic conficitur tantum per Paganos  
Ignis hic exterminat tantum Christianos  
Incantatus namque est per illos propheta  
Ab hoc perpetuo, Christe! libera nos!

MON: FLOR: de EXPUL:  
ACCONENSI.]

Imitated.

May the fiend fly away with this of  
Greek fire!  
Not water to quench it but sand we  
qu shore;  
Then vinegar's acid its power must  
us,  
And lye, in its turn, too, must help  
defend us.  
The Pagans alone by this pest are  
tested,  
'Gainst the Christians alone are its power  
directed.

By the Pagans 'tis armed by most foul incantation,  
Oh save us, kind Saviour, from such conflagration!

L. P. A.

The idea which the French knights formed of this destructive fire seems to have been almost unutterable. "Each man" said Gauthier de Cariel, an old and experienced warrior, "should throw himself on his elbows and knees when that fire is thrown, and beseech the Lord (who alone can help him) to avert the dreadful danger." This counsel was practised, and Philip himself, as often as he heard the Greek fire discharged in the night, raised his body from his bed and with uplifted hands prayed, "Lord preserve my people!" Beau fire, &c.

Joinville (a gallant officer who was present) thus describes the Greek fire. "It was thrown from a 'Petrarie.' It was as large as a barrel of verjuice, had a flaming tail like a broad sword, made a report like thunder, and appeared like a dragon flying through the air; giving such a light that, in the camp at midnight, one might see as well as at noon-day."

G. de Vinceluf (a brave and learned French baron) thus expresses his horror at this destructive pest. "This fire has a most fetid smell with livid flames, and consumes even flints and iron. Water quenches it not; sand checks its force; but vinegar alone can extinguish it."

To complete the story of the Greek fire we will foretell the order of time. Philip of France, finding a quantity of this odious ammunition ready prepared at Acre, took it with him to Europe and meanly made use of it (so says Pere

Daniel) against the fleet of England at Dieppe. It was used afterwards in France; and one Gauthert, of Mant, gained the secret of making it; but with him it expired. In 1380, the warlike bishop of Norwich and his army in Flanders suffered great annoyance from a composition of this inflammatory kind. And it is asserted by the most diligent of antiquaries, Grose, that a chymist still enjoys an annuity from government, on condition of keeping secret a composition of the same destructive cast.

This species of fire is perhaps very ancient. In his history of the Goths, Procopius speaks of an infernal mixture, called "Medea's oil," which had much the same properties. And the Kilan Tartars are said to have introduced it to China in 917, under the name of "The oil of the cruel fire."

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*Account of the first newspapers established in England. From Lord Mountmerre's History of the Irish Parliament, vol. ii.*

**J**ULY 9, 1662, a very extraordinary question arose, about preventing the publication of the debates of the Irish parliament in an English newspaper called "The Intelligencer;" and a letter was written from the speaker to sir Edward Nicholas, the English secretary of state, to prevent these publications in those diurnals, as they call them. The "London Gazette" commenced Nov. 7, 1665. It was at first called the "Oxford Gazette," from its being printed there during a session of parliament held there on account of the last plague. Antecedent to this period, sir R. H. C.

B b 4

range

trange published the first daily new-paper in England.

From the following passage in Tacitus, it appears that somewhat like newspapers were circulated in the Roman state: "*Diurna populi Romani, per provincias, per exercitus, curatius leguntur: quam ut non noscatur, quid Thrasea, fecerit.*"

In a note of Mr. Murphy's excellent translation of Tacitus he laments that none of these diurnals, or newspapers, as he calls them, had been preserved, as they would cast great light upon the private life and manners of the Romans.

With the long parliament originated appeals to the people, by accounts of their proceedings. These appeared periodically, from the first of them, called "*Diurnal Occurrences in Parliament*," Nov. 3, 1641, to the restoration.

These were somewhat like our magazines, and they were generally called "*Mercuries*;" as "*Mercurius Politicus*," "*Mercurius Rusticus*"; and one of them, in 1644, appears under the odd title of "*Mercurius Fumigofus*; or the Smoking Nocturnal."

The number of these publications appears, from a list in an accurate, new, and valuable, piece of biography, from 1641 to 1660, to have been 156.

These publications of parliamentary proceedings were interdicted after the restoration, as appears from a debate in Grey's Collection, March 24, 1681; in consequence of which, the Votes of the House of Commons were first printed by authority of parliament.

From the first regular paper, the above-mentioned "*Public Intelligencer*," commencing Aug. 31, 1661, there were, to 1688, with

the "*Gazette*," which has continued regularly, as at present, from Nov. 7, 1665, 70 papers, some of a short, and others of a longer duration.

The first daily paper, after the revolution, was called "*The Orange Intelligencer*;" and thence to 1692 there were 26 newspapers.

From an advertisement in a weekly paper, called "*The Athenian Gazette*," Feb. 8, 1696, it appears, that the coffee-houses in London had then, exclusive of the Votes of Parliament, nine newspapers every week; but there seems not to have been in 1696 one daily paper.

In the reign of queen Anne, there were, in 1709, 18 weekly papers published; of which, however, only one was a daily paper, "*The London Courant*."

In the reign of George I. in 1724, there were published three daily, six weekly, and ten evening papers, three times a-week.

In the late reign there were published of newspapers in London, and in all England,

	in 1753	7,411,757
	1760	9,464,790
and in the present		
reign	in 1790	14,035,639
	1791	14,794,153
	1792	15,005,760

In 1792 there were published in London 13 daily, 20 evening, and nine weekly papers. In the country 70; and in Scotland 14 country papers.

Though Venice produced the first Gazette in 1536, it was circulated in manuscript long after the invention of printing, to the close of the 16th century, as appears from a collection of these Gazettes in the Magliabechian library at Florence, according

g to Mr. Chalmers, in his and entertaining Life of in, p. 114.

Chalmers observer, that it ify our national pride to be t we owe to the wisdom of b, and the prudence of , the circulation of the first newspaper, "The English e," printed during the time ipanish armada. The first preserved still in the British is marked 50; it is dated of July, 1588, and con- following curious article: Yesterday the Scotch ambassa- a private audience of her and delivered a letter from ; his master, containing the dial assurances of adhering majesty's interests, and to the Protestant religion; young king said to her minister at his court, that all our he expected from the ds was, the courtesy of Po- as to Ulysses, that he should ured the last."

publications were however e long after, published in e of small pamphlets; and were called in a tract of one in 1614: "If any one ow-a-days, it is a play-book hlet of newes," for so the as originally spelled.

1588 to 1622, and during ific reign of James I. few of ublications appeared; but years war, and the victories great king Gustavus Adol-aving excited the curiosity countrymen, a weekly pas-alled "The Newes of the

Week," was printed by iel Butter, in 1622, which stinued afterwards in 1626, another title, by Mercurius

Britannicus; and they were suc-ceeded by "The German Intelli-gencer" in 1630, and "The Swe-dish Intelligencer" in 1631, which last was compiled by William Watts, of Caius college, who was a learn-ed man, and who thus gratified the public curiosity with the exploits of the Swedish hero, in a quarto pamphlet.

The great rebellion in 1641 was productive of abundance of those periodical tracts above-mentioned, as well as of all those that have been published since the first newf-paper that appeared in the present form, "The Public Intelligencer," published by sir Roger L'Estrange; Aug. 31, 1661.

Mr. Chalmers subjoins to these curious researches the account of the first paper printed in Scotland, in February, 1622, "The Edinburgh Gazette," which was accompanied afterwards, in 1705, by "The Edinburgh Courant;" and, at the period of the Union, Scotland had only three newspapers.

The publication of "The Caledonian Mercury," by Ruddiman, April 28, 1720, led this curious and entertaining biographer to this minute and laborious investigation; from which it appears, that England had, in 1792, 35 town and 70 country papers; Scotland, 14 newf-papers, published at Edinburgh and in the country.

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*An essay on the invention of printing.  
From the Gentleman's Magazine,  
vol. lxiv.*

**A**BDALLA's Chinese History, 1517, mentions wooden tab-lets engraven to print intire pages. Trigault asserts, that the Chinese practised

perfected the art of printing five centuries before his time. Count Terre Rezzonico found at Lyons plates with words and names engraved by a Nuremberger, 1380. The Chinese way of stamping a whole page with one intire block, Costar used at Harlem, about the year 1480. He used single types of wood before the year 1440; when these characters were spirited away to Mentz, either directly or by degrees; probably by the elder Gensfleisch; who, with his brother John Gutenberg, cut metalline types under the patronage of John Faust, whose son-in law, Scheffer, cast the type. Costar's earliest known impressions were, a book of eight pages, containing an alphabet, the Lord's prayer, and three other prayers; a little Catholicon, or vocabulary; confessionals; Donatus printed before 1440; and, probably, the Art of Memory, and a Treatise of Antichrist; both with figures; likewise, Christ's History, and the *Speculum Salutis*, kept in a silver chest at Harlem; that, in Dutch, has (like the Donatus) capitals; see Meerman. The Latin *Speculum* (at Wilton) was partly printed with fixed types, partly with moveable. John Naucier and Olric Zell, who printed at Cologne, 1467, the book *De Singularitate Clericorum*, now at Blenheim-house; and the Bible, 1458, in Daly's late collection; wrote that "printing was invented at Mentz, 1440, and improved till 1450, when a Latin Bible was printed; yet the Donatus at Harlem led the way." The Latin Bible was printed, with cut metalline types, at Mentz, 1450. The Chronicon of Mat. Palmer, of Pisa (born 1423) asserts, that printing was invented 1440, and gene-

rally propagated 1457. Seein tells us, that "John Baptist Fulgencius Dux Ianuensium 1487 dixit, Liberar' imprimendar' Artem 1440 inventam." That Laurence Costar, 1436, cut single letters of lead; and, 1438, invented a method of casting single types; and printed the Dutch *Speculum*, also Donatus. Gutenberg printed an alphabet; also Alexandri Galli de Villa Dei Doctrinale sive Grammaticam, and Petri Hispani Logicalia, with wooden types, 1442. Gutenberg and Mentel, 1446, printed *Bible Latina*. An edition of the Bible by Faust's Artists appeared 1462, price five marks; see Fenn's *Lectura*. Peter Scheffer, 1452, *Matrices formandi Artem excogitavit*. The Psalms were printed, by Faust, at Mentz, with the date 1437; but many of the earliest books were not dated. He printed the *Officium Durandi* with cast types, 1459. The Clementine constitutions are at Neustadt, in Tyrol, 1400. At an eminent London bookseller's in Fleet-street, was on sale, Dec. 1790, the Latin Lexicon, styled Johannis de Janua Summa, Catholicon dicta, impressa Moguntiae, 1460. Peter-sheim printed at Francfort, 1459, when Hen. Bourcher, archbishop of Canterbury, introduced the art into England. Mariangel Accursius saw with Aldus a Donatus by Faust, printed with copper types (says Fabricius) in 1450; as was the Confessional. Accursius wrote thus: Joh. Faust et Joh. Schaeffer admoniti ex Donato Hollandiae prius impresso Donatum et Confessionalia, 1450, imprimebant. The Chronicon of Cologne, printed 1490, informs us, "the art of printing was cultivated at Mentz, on the Rhine, from the year 1440." But although

sent method was invented  
 yet the sample of printing  
 gained from the Dutch edi-  
 Donatus. Polydore Vergil  
 us: "Joh. Gutenberg Teu-  
 equestri vir dignitate, ut  
 civibus accepimus, primus  
 in Monguntio Germaniæ  
 imprimendar' Literar' artem  
 avit; decima sexto de'nc  
 ui fuit A. Sal. 1458). Con-  
 homo itidem Germanus, arte  
 a' attulit." Hadrian Junius  
 as printing at Mentz, 1442;  
 th Costar's types. Caxton  
 erman notes) 1482, set the  
 on of the art in 1455; about  
 re, indeed, it became public  
 neral; as Palmer of Pisa, Po-  
 Vergil, and Werner's Fal-  
 Tempor' evince. It ensued  
 separation of Faust's Artists.  
 in Mentel exercised the art  
 burg about 1444. Wint-  
 (who died 1528) says, that  
 berg had an imperfect know-  
 of printing at Strasburg;  
 Peter Scheffer's son John af-  
 that "Gutenberg invented  
 founded) printing at Mentz,  
 where his father and John  
 nproved it." Elsewhere, he  
 is this of types. John Scott,  
 attributes the invention to  
 Mental 1444. And Spiegel,  
 peror Maximilian's secretary,  
 that "John Mental, at Stras-  
 in the year 1444, invented  
 t of printing;" see Seiz.  
 the year 1458, both Gu-  
 g and Mental could stamp  
 ets daily. But I think that  
 berg's eldest brother was a  
 an with Costar, and fled to  
 ther at Strasburg, but after-  
 repaired to Mentz. This  
 is for the report that the art  
 ought from Strasburg thither.

How else could Gutenberg, who  
 resided at Strasburg, from 1434 to  
 1444, learn the art from his elder  
 brother? except, indeed, he visited  
 him at Harlem, or both brothers  
 served Costar, and about 1434 re-  
 moved with the types first to Stras-  
 burg; for Seiz quotes an old manu-  
 script, that says, they resided there,  
 1444; whence the eldest brother  
 retired to Mentz about 1440. John  
 Dun, a goldsmith, attested that he  
 sold to Gutenberg, articles useful  
 in printing about 1436. Thus at  
 Harlem were invented wooden  
 types, both fixed and moveable,  
 about 1430; cut single letters of  
 lead about 1433; and cast leaden  
 types about 1438. Gutenberg in-  
 troduced the art at Strasburg  
 about 1435. His elder brother at  
 Mentz about 1440; he printed un-  
 der Faust's auspices in 1442. Af-  
 terwards Gutenberg came thither;  
 and metalline types were cut for  
 the Bible, 1450; and used for the  
 Psalter, 1457; when the art as  
 afore said became general. Scheffer,  
 Faust's son-in-law, invented, or at  
 least improved, cast types; with  
 which Durandus was printed, 1459.  
 Therefore, considering the early  
 account of printing at Strasburg,  
 given by Scott and Spiegel, and  
 that the book *De Misericordia Lotharii*  
 was dated 1448, why doth Blain-  
 ville (who recites an epigram, dated  
 1454, attributing the invention of  
 printing to Germany) suspect, after  
 Misson, the date of the book on  
 Predestination, at Spire, which is  
 1446; the date of the *Leonard de*  
*Utino*; a book whose type greatly  
 resembles the specimens of Mental's  
 press, in Meerman; and bears  
 every mark of a most ancient per-  
 formance in that art. The large  
 introductory capitals are not print-  
 ed.

ed. Neither pages nor folios are numbered, even though the *e* is a table referring to the folios. The sheets have no marks; nor are there any catch-words, or *cusjodes*, at the bottom of the pages; the small capitals are in a very simple style. The letters are of unequal size; and the lines are uneven. The sentences have no distinguishing marks, except quadrangular points. No labels adorn the heads of the pages, as in the Nuremberg Chronicle, 1493. It is probable, a religious society would have embraced the earliest opportunity to honour a member of their own body by committing his book to the newly invented press, which must have been much admired as soon as understood. Therefore, Leonard's work appears as old as its date, maugre any opinionated Frenchman's positive *ipse dixit* to the contrary. The admirable Tully afforded a plain hint towards the invention; where (on the nature of the gods) he speaks of collecting and arranging a great number of separate letters; which, says he, could never fortuitously compose any intelligible or coherent treatise.

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*Conference between bishop Gardiner and sir James Hales, 1553; copied verbatim from a scarce specimen of early printing in the possession of the late Mr. Ames. From the same.*

*Chauncelor.* **M**ASTER Hales, ye shall understand that like as the quenes highnes hath heretofore receivid good opinion of you, especiallie, for that he stonde both faithfullie and lawfulli in hir

cause of just succession, refusing to set your hande to the booke, among others that were against hir grace in that beholfe; so now, through your owne late desertes, against certain hir highnes dooinges, ye stande not well in hir graces favour. And therefor, before ye take anie othe, it shal be necessarie for you to make your purgation.

*Hales.* I prairie you, my lorde, what is the cause?

*Chauncelor.* Information is given, that ye have indicted certain priests in Kent, for saying of masse.

*Hales.* Mi lorde, it is not so. I indicted none; but, indeede, certaine indictments of like matter were brought before me at the last assises there holden, and I gave order therein, as the lawe required. For I have professed the lawe, against which, in cases of justice, will I never (God willinge) procede, not in anie wise dissemble, but with the same shewe forth mi conscience, and, if it were to do againe, I would do no lesse than I did.

*Chauncelor.* Yes, master Hales, your conscience is knowne wel ipough. I know ye lacke no conscience.

*Hales.* Mi lorde, ye maie do wel to serch your owne conscience, for mine is better knowne to myself than to you; and to be plaine, I did as well use justice in your saide masse case bi mi conscience as bi the lawe, wherein I am fulli bent to stand in trial to the uttermost that can be objected; and if I have therein done anie injuri or wrong, let me be judged bi the lawe, for I will seek no better defence, considering chiefly that it is mi profession.

*Chauncelor.* Whi, master Hales, although ye had the rigour of the lawe

your side, yet ye might have regard to the quene's highnes dooinges in that case. And

although ye seme to be en precile in the lawe; yet, ye wolde be veri loth to the extremitie of suche ad- as might be gathered your proceedinges in the ye have some time taken you in place of justice. it wer well tried, I be- shud not be well able to onestlie thereto.

My lord, I am not so but I may erre for lacke of dge; but, both in consci- end such knowledge of the God hath given me, I wil ing but I wil maintain and n it. And if mi goodes, that I have, be not able to poise the case, mi bodie redi to serve the turne, for all at the quenes highnesse

Ah! sir, ye be very and stoute in your answers; it shoulde seme, that which was more of a will, favour- : opinion of your religion the service nowc used, then occasion or zeale of justice, he quenes highnesse doeth fet ie, as yet wishinge all hir subjects to imbrace it ac- li; and where ye offer both nd goods in your triall, there

is no such matter required at youre handes, and yet ye shall not have your owne will neither.

*Hales.* My lord, I seke not wil- ful will, but to shew myself as I am bound in love to God, and obedi- ence to the quenes majestie, in whose cause willingly, for justise sake, al other respectes set apart, I did of late (as your lordship knoeth), adventure as much as I had. And as for my religion, I trust it to be such as pleaseth God, wherein I am redy to adventure as well my life as my substaunce, if I be called there- unto. And so in lacke of mine owne power and wil, the Lordes wil be fulfilled.

*Chauncelor.* Seing ye be at this point, master Hales, I wil present- ly make an end with youe. The quenes highnes shall be informed of youre opinion and declaration. And as hir grace shal therupon deter- mine, ye shal have knowledge; un- til which tyme ye may depart as ye came without your oth, for, as it appeareth, ye are scarce worthe the place appointed.

*Hales.* I thanke your lordship, and, as for my vocation, being both a burthen and a charge, more than ever I desired to take upon me; whensoever it shall please the quenes highnes to ease me thereof, I shal most humbly, with due contentation obei the same.—*And so this upright judge departed from the bar.*



## MISCELLANEOUS ESSAYS.

*The Land of Ninereh, a fragment; addressed to the farmers of Great Britain and Ireland, by a friend to husbandry; from the Annals of Agriculture.*

AND there lived a king in the land of Nineveh, who ruled the country in peace, and he distributed his favours among his people, giving to one great authority, and to others situations of emolument; but no man was oppressed thereby, for he gave but his own, and what the laws of the land permitted.

And his nobles confederated together and said, "Why suffer we this thing? This man placeth over us whom he listeth, and giveth away what he pleaseth to others, and pays no proper respect to our claims: Let us endure it no longer: Let us displace him: Let us divide his possessions and authority amongst us, and we shall be happy." And they did so, and the king fled, and lived in another country, and the nobles returned triumphing each to his own home.

And the husbandmen of the country heard this, and they assembled together, and said, "Behold the king that reigned over us has fled, and his nobles have seized every thing he had, and they claim the inheritance of the land. What giveth them a right to do so?

What mattereth their wax or their parchments? The land is ours, for we till it, and we will pay them their heavy exactions no more." And the nobles were few in number, and no man could trust another, and they fled, and the husbandmen took each man the land he possessed, and he kept it as his own, and he lived in his own house rejoicing.

And these husbandmen had many servants, who were employed in tilling the land; and the servants said unto one another, "Whence cometh this? The king that reigned over us has fled, and his nobles are driven from their estates, and the husbandmen possess the soil, and they claim the whole land as their own; but what right have they to do so? Where are their deeds or parchments? Are their titles better than ours? Surely not. Let us then join together, let us drive these wicked men from our bounds, and let us divide the land among us." And they did so, and the husbandmen fled every where, and none of them retained a spot of the land they had formerly possessed, and the servants said, "There is none now to contest with us, we shall soon become rich and happy, we formerly tilled the land of others, we shall now cultivate our own."

And

behold in the cities of that  
 , there dwelt persons pro-  
 different occupations; and  
 ersons met together, and said,  
 t is this that we hear? The  
 at reigned over us has fled,  
 s nobles are banished from  
 d, and the husbandmen are  
 from amongst us, and their  
 s are now possessors of the  
 Why should this be suffered?  
 ve in crowded cities; we  
 e unwholesome air; we toil  
 ers more than for ourselves;  
 n procure but a bare sub-  
 . Let us join and act to-

Our enemies are scattered  
 he face of the land. We  
 on drive them before us, and  
 their possessions in peace.”  
 hey assembled together, and  
 rms, and went against the  
 ts of the husbandmen, and  
 them out of the country, and  
 who resisted they put to

l the men of occupation now  
 ed the whole land, and they  
 “Let us divide it equally  
 ft us, that none may have  
 than his neighbour, and that  
 ay share alike.” And they  
 elled about the division, and  
 in was satisfied with what he  
 nd they had no means of cul-  
 ig the soil, and they had no  
 o do it, and famine spread  
 the land, and they wept bit-  
 and said, “When we had no  
 we got what it produced in  
 lance, and now we have land,  
 ldeth us nothing,” and they  
 “Give us some bread to

d the Lord saw what the  
 e suffered, and how much they  
 ted of their transgressions, and  
 d compassion upon them, and

he sent a prophet to announce to  
 them the way in which they should  
 walk, and the prophet said unto  
 them, “Let the men of occupation  
 return to their professions, by the  
 exercise of which they obtain their  
 share of the produce of the soil. Let  
 the servants labour for their masters,  
 that the earth may be duly culti-  
 vated. Let the husbandmen hire  
 their land, from those who lawfully  
 inherit it, for no man must possess  
 the territory of another without his  
 consent. Let the nobles be restored  
 to their property, and they will  
 watch over the interests of the state.  
 Let the king be re-established on  
 his throne, that he may protect his  
 people from injury. And let prop-  
 erty be held sacred, the sure basis  
 of the prosperity of a state, AND  
 ALL SHALL BE WELL.” And  
 it was so; and the people blessed  
 the Lord, and said, “Now we see  
 what is good for us, and how alone  
 a multitude of people can dwell to-  
 gether.” And they lived happily,  
 and increased in numbers, and all  
 the neighbouring nations rejoiced  
 with them.

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*On planting, by Arthur Young, esq. ;  
 from the jame.*

**T**HERE can hardly be a more  
 interesting question in political  
 agriculture, than that of the national  
 benefit resulting from plantations of  
 the many sorts of trees which are  
 made to occupy various soils and  
 situations,—some good, some bad.  
 Great merit is assigned, by many  
 writers, to such works; and socie-  
 ties have confirmed the opinion, by  
 offering numberless premiums for  
 the encouragement of similar under-  
 takings.

takings. Upon questions of such importance to the national interests, it is much to be wished, that the very best intelligence may be procured, and that the most deep and careful attention be given, to ascertain the comparative utility to the public, of the different modes of applying the soil.

It seems, at first sight, a little singular, that the conversion of the soil to a state of nature, should be esteemed so great an improvement, as to call for premiums to reward those who are the readiest to take these retrograde steps towards changing the corn, cattle, and sheep of Britain, into the savage robe of an American wilderness. Every acre we have in England, if securely enclosed, would, in the process of no long lapse of time, become a forest: it is the residence of people, with their flocks and herds, and prosperity in their train, that proves the destruction of all forests. What an odd policy, to be solicitous, to drive back the natural progress of all that creates wealth, and cover our lands with those woods, which the creation of wealth has extirpated. One great reproach of the Venetian government in Istria, is, that the state is more anxious to preserve the woods than the people; that they have, by severities, driven away the inhabitants, as animals very noxious to woods, with such success, that their aim is answered; the people are gone, and the forests flourish. We are anxious for the same effect, but by different means: we would not drive away the people, but we would occupy those lands with timber, which at present produce some mutton, and, with the expence of planting,

would produce a great deal: this is pretty much the same thing, as the way to have people, is to be able to feed them; and what food is yielded by a well-preserved wood I am yet to learn.

This fact is so clear, that we may safely accept it for a maxim, that the more wood there is in the kingdom, the fewer people there must necessarily be fed on the produce of our own soil. This is demonstration. It is a poor reply to say, that some soils *may* be planted, which will not yield food for man; there are, I confess, that yield little, but all yield some; I know no waste lands that do not feed either sheep or rabbits, or cattle; and the black moors and mountains, where the soil is peat, feed great numbers, are well adapted to sheep, and, with very obvious improvements, would feed an infinitely greater number. Thus, in every case of planting, the food of man is excluded in favour of something else. *To be sure—food for man is excluded for fuel for man; the one is as necessary as the other.* This reply is more obvious than true.—Coals are so inexhaustible in this island, that every man in Britain may be warmed by them for ten centuries to come. Such plenty, points out the palpable policy, that the bowels of the earth *should* warm, and its surface feed us. To plant with a view to firing, is to reject the beneficence of nature, and to encumber those fields with a commodity which can be spared, to the exclusion of others which cannot. The same observation is exactly applicable to timber for naval and building uses: it is infinitely cheaper to buy, than to raise such; so many countries yet remain in a waste

waste and desert state, *being fully wanted*, that we need not have the least apprehension of a supply.—That the royal navy is safe in this respect, we have the highest authority to assert; for we learn, by the report of the commissioners of the crown-lands, that the price of oak, in the king's yards, has risen nothing in the last thirty years. This is, of all others, the most decisive proof, either that the quantity has not declined, or that the foreign supply is fully adequate. He, who is viewed as much of France as I have done, will know, that a country may support a great navigation and an immense navy without growing oak, which is scarcely seen in that kingdom of a capital size.

It is sometimes contended, that timber is such a necessary of life, that it ought to be raised at home. I grant that it is a necessary, but that does not prove, that we ought to produce it at home; facts speak a directly contrary language; for let it be remembered, that, from one end of the kingdom to the other, all buildings, of any consequence, are erected of fir, imported from the Baltic, the scantlings of which are cut to so little loss, as to be much cheaper than any products of our own. The kingdom has been, for more than fifty years, and, in a good measure, for a hundred, using foreign wood; or, to adopt the common language, dependant on foreigners for this undoubted necessary; and who has yet found any inconvenience in so doing? Why then affect such fears and alarms at

situation which we have actually been in a constant habit of for so long a time, without the smallest inconvenience?

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No doubt can be entertained of the superiority of well-inclosed and well-managed plantations, when compared with wastes fed, *in common*, by a wretched breed of starved sheep. But this is ever a most idle comparison: the parallel ought to be drawn between such wastes enclosed, improved to the amount of the expence of planting, and fed with the best breed of sheep the land then would carry; in which case, I believe the superiority would be found on the other side of the question.

All these reasonings, therefore, of a supposed want of timber, or fuel, are founded upon very insufficient data, even for the purpose of a fair argument; but when they are made the basis of propositions, that must affect the greatest and most important interests of the nation, they surely ought to be received with abundant caution; they ought to be sifted with the most inquisitive solicitude, and examined with the most close attention to every collateral circumstance.

Forest countries consider wood as a nuisance, and their idea of a well-improved country is one well cleared; perfectly denuded of trees, as Dr. Johnson expressed, rural nakedness: when they are told, that we, on the contrary, look at woods and plantations as capital improvements, they have reason to think, that we act on principles which to them appear marvellous.

At first sight, the contrast of the application of the soil to feed people, or to raise wood, is so strong—the one apparently so important—the other seemingly so inconsiderable,—that the difference should decide the question. But this con-

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traff becomes infinitely greater and more forcible when it is considered, that in this kingdom apprehensions of a want of bread are almost periodical, and that government, on every occasion, manifests an alarm, lest those apprehensions should be founded. That in the same kingdom, there is a constant and immense importation of corn; of wheat to some amount, of oats to a very great one. That in the same kingdom the price of every sort of butcher's meat marks no superfluity; that the products of the dairy have risen in price remarkably; that, within a year, wool had risen, in no long term, 50 per cent. and consequently marked an active demand. In a country thus circumstanced, abounding with the greatest commerce and manufactures in the world, and a population increasing rapidly in every quarter,—in such a country to adopt the forest policy,—to tread back the steps of national improvement,—to bid forests once more breathe their browner horror over scenes applicable to the food of mankind,—and take the same clothing which covered them when Boadicea drew forth her barbarians from their bosoms, must seem a strange exertion of modern politics.

However, if private interest calls for such exertions, by their great profit, it is then in vain to reason against them on public principles. Let us examine shortly the ideas of imaginary profits that are, by some, annexed to woods and plantations.

The expences of planting are all thrown away, if fences are not made most effectively, which is a heavy charge, unless the under-

taking is upon an enormous scale: it has been calculated, that a thousand acres, in one enclosure, may be enclosed and planted so cheaply as for 20s. an acre, provided only five hundred larches are assigned to each acre. This supposes, that the price would not rise with the demand, which possibly might be the case; but it also supposes it right to plant only five hundred on an acre, yet many planters of great experience recommend nearer ten times as many. Many calculations which demand attention, from the great ability of their authors, suppose the land, previous to planting, to be worth an exceedingly small rent, even down to a few pence per acre; but I may observe, that all ideas of the present value of land, derived from the application, unenclosed, and in a state of commonage, must be liable to a good deal of error. In a country where the right of turning ten sheep on a common may be hired for 6d. probably an enclosed moor could not be hired for ten times such a rent. And as a power of enclosure is supposed, before the land can be planted, so ought the same power to be supposed for ascertaining the value of the land previous to planting.

The highest parts of the moors in Knareborough forest, which are chiefly peat moors covered with ling, support a Scotch sheep per acre through the year, and consequently cannot be estimated worth a less rent than 2s. an acre, being enclosed with walls and tithe free; if the *grass* produce (and this is always to be reckoned in a national view) amount only to three rents, it rises to 6s. an acre, but call

it 5s. If you plant such moors, must calculate the progressive ease of 5s. per annum, at compound interest during the term trees are to stand; such a calculation will not turn out any increment to change sheep for timber.

And here some considerations deserve attention, relative to quality and value of planted trees.

Mr Farquharson, of Invercauld, in a very able memoir, printed in Mr. Pennant's *Tour in Scotland*, observed upon the great difference in value between the first growth of natural woods, and those planted artificially. We are in calculations, to estimate a fir or a larch to be worth, fifty or sixty years hence, the price or value of a good larch or fir; but they are out sometimes almost good for nothing, except for the most inferior uses. Larch growing in a state of nature, on the Alps, is found to be the most durable of all timber. The late earl of Orford tried various species of wood in a list of posts and rails, in an exposed situation,—and planted larch was the best that rotted. This tree, which is usually a favourite for its rapid growth, has not yet attained to a maturity in England, sufficient to sustain its merit. As to firs, they have been found, when felled or sold to sale in large quantities, to be entirely unsaleable. Thus the production of inferior sorts of wood, in great quantities, becomes a species of very questionable profit.

As to oak, if felled at early stages of its growth, the value of the wood is small, for no timber is so valuable as sap oak; and if kept to an age, as to become an ob-

ject of national defence, all our authorities agree, that the profit lessens.

I do not offer these considerations as decisive of the question—I only presume to call so much attention to them, that they may be in no danger of being overlooked. The quality of productions that are to occupy the soil for so many years, to the exclusion of man and his food, is a subject of consequence to the individual who plants, and to the nation whose population receives a prohibition.

Convert all our wastes, to the amount perhaps of twelve or fifteen millions of acres, into crops of corn, or mutton, or beef, or hides, or wool; and let the plenty be as great as a sanguine fancy can paint it, the progressive prosperity of the kingdom promises to advance with a celerity, that shall find consumption for the whole.—Turn them to savage forests, producing bad wood, and possibly no timber, or the best if you will, and what comparison can there be between the two applications of the soil? It is commonly said, that any sort of planting would be preferable to the present waste state, while under the torture of common rights; but the comparison is vague: when enclosed and divided, they will be ready for any application, and it surely then becomes a question, what that application should be?

Landlords are apt to consider the benefit of woods and plantations, in a light that tends a little too much to self-love. They receive almost the whole of the gross produce of such—the nation has very little more interest in them than the amount of the landlord's re-

cept; but this is abundantly different with every other production; a plantation of fir or larch, that, at fifty years growth, shall be worth 50*l.* and consequently shall have paid 20*s.* per cent. per annum, may be felled for 20*s.* or 30*s.* and the tops faggotted perhaps for twice as much more. If fenced in large divisions, a mere trifle in repairs for ten or a dozen years; the labouring poor might, therefore, in 20*s.* come in for 1*s.* or 1*s.* 6*d.*; and there ends the statistical account: no farmer—almost no labourer—no artizan—the landlord reigns the solitary lord of the silent desert, as unconnected as the roaming savage, and as free from the support of human industry, as the Siberian or the Tartar. To raise his produce; demands little assistance; to work up and consume it, affords still less employment. Such is the state of the soil to which so many would, *by way of improvement*, reduce us! Such the amelioration for which honorary premiums are offered!

But, however right I may think it to condemn planting, with the views of a crop, much is to be said in its favour, when intended merely for sheltering cattle; I say nothing of ornament; however, plantations with this view, are not usually very extensive, nor do all situations want them; they are entirely removed from the Sussex system of surrounding small enclosures with wood, to a degree that almost excludes the sun and wind from all power of drying wet soils, and renders critical seasons at harvests doubly pernicious. Such a system

is destructive to the tenant; a circumstance of some consequence to a landlord when he lets a farm.

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*The comparative authenticity of Tacitus and Suetonius, illustrated by the question, "whether Nero was the author of the memorable conflagration at Rome," by Arthur Browne, L.L.D. S.F.T.C.D. and M.R.I.A. From the Irish Transactions.*

SO much has been said of the candour of Suetonius, and of his work being the most accurate narration extant of the lives of the emperors, that it is worth the pains to enquire, how far their praises are due. Others are said to have been actuated by hatred, or slaves to adulation; he is represented alone as fair and unbiassed.\* For my own part, I do much differ from this opinion, that I have ever considered the rank allotted to Suetonius, in the scale of historical merit, as elevated much beyond his deserts. I am not inclined to trust either his candour or his accuracy, particularly when opposed to, or compared with, his rival historian. We are accustomed, I know not how, at an early age, from contemporary studies, to unite the names of contemporary historians, and from thence perhaps insensibly to infer a similarity of excellence. The authors perused treat of the same facts, they are read at the same time, and the mind is yet too young for accurate discrimination. May not such associations have had some effect with respect to Suetonius and Tacitus?

\* See the eucnemiums collected by Pitiscus, in the preface to his edition of Suetonius.

exercise of maturer judgment separates such unions, as the apparent parallel-jects, which, sufficiently will be found in time ino diverge. This judgment, however, is in many cases exercised at all.

nature perusal of the classical prevents a subsequent fall of their beauties and merits, impels the man to the subjects of the studies as trifling and disgusting, indolently to acquiesce in effusions, rather than retrace such appeared unpleasant, involuntary. But he who, in years, is led, by taste or reason, to examine and contemplations of antiquity, will be led at their numerous detections his errors first imbibed, actions of the implicit faith : has put in some of its and perhaps no where find less reason for confidence in the secretary of Augustus (such was Suetonius), high his post, or good his information.

title of this essay, indicates a caution to confine my obser-

vations to the comparative fidelity in narration, of the celebrated writers therein-mentioned, without touching on their other relative perfections or imperfections. The instance which I have selected to illustrate this point (for abundance of them might be found\*) may to some appear trifling; and it may be asked, who, in the eighteenth century, can be interested in the question, whether Rome, in the first, was burnt by the hand of her natural protector, or of what utility is the discussion which tends to wash away one spot from the bloody garb of Nero? The objection should not come from the theoretic lover of truth, never despising enquiry and discrimination; nor will the expulsion of falsehood from history ever appear trifling to its practical admirers. The question too, is not totally unconnected with the well-known controversy in morals, on the existence of gratuitous malevolence, as any alleged motives for this supposed conduct of the tyrant, are utterly unsatisfactory to the rational mind:† But its chief importance rests on the grounds I have premised. If we detect an historian in any one instance, in a pe-

as Suetonius's assertion, that Tiberius abolished the privilege of sanctuary, contrary, which is asserted by Tacitus, is proved beyond a doubt, by coins to his reign; his making Germanicus conquer a king of Armenia, when had no king, and was not at war with Rome; his representation of the character, in many respects differing from the traits given by Tacitus and others; missing the loss of an army in Asia, when from Tacitus it appears, it was only a loss of such a loss. Surely, these variances would not have appeared trifling, who took such pains to reconcile these authors, when differing in the point, that Crispus Posthumus was killed by a centurion or a tribune of the soldiers. Jo-annes, that no man's character has been more misrepresented, from adulation, flattery, and prejudice on the other, than Nero's.

desire of seeing the resemblance of Troy in flames, is too childish to be imputed to the fantastical mind of Nero, and the design of burning a great city, to improve and rebuild it, if indeed necessary, in the plenitude of his power, for it (while under our moderate government similar improvement is without dissimulation on valuing the houses pulled down) does not seem to be confirmed by recent actions.



remptory and dogmatical assertion of a disputed, nay, improbable, charge, have we not cause to view his writings with general suspicion, and scrutinize with jealous eye his accuracy or his candour? And we cannot select a better example than that of a direct and unqualified allegation of a plain and simple fact, into which, if false, the writer could not from any circumstances be supposed to be innocently or unwittingly betrayed.

Suetonius, then, directly and circumstantially ascribes the conflagration at Rome, in the time of Nero, to that detested emperor, while Tacitus only says, *forte an dolo imperatoris incertum*. The authority of the former seems to have prevailed, and few traditions have been more strongly believed, or sayings more frequently applied, than "that Nero fiddled while Rome was burning." I apprehend, therefore, that the following arguments to the contrary will have at least the recommendation of novelty, as the opposite opinion has never been hinted by any writer whom I have met, except the Abbé Millot, who annexes no reasons for his doubts.

The reader, who recollects the idle calumnies, which, upon a similar occasion, were thrown out against a prince of our own, Charles the Second, and the numberless insinuations of opposite parties at that period, branding each other with the name of incendiaries, will not incautiously assent to the rumour bred by inflamed imaginations, ascribing to malice the offspring of accident.

Whoever has implicitly believed, that Rome was burnt by Nero, will find, to his surprise, on the first peep into Tacitus, this passage, *Hoc*

*tempore, Nero Antii agens*, the paragraph which first indeed, by citing my wonder, drew my attention to this subject. The who is depicted as sitting on a tower of his palace, attuning to harp the poet's numbers on the destruction of Troy, in the midst the imperial city, with whose his eyes were feasted, was not their commencement, at least Rome at all. This should seem most to terminate the question, but, no! the critic will say, Antium was only ten miles from Rome and the emperor had ample time arrive there long before the extinction of the flames; in fact he did so, when he found that most vigorous orders which he issued from Antium had no effect. Such orders he had issued, and shews his alacrity in trying to have the fire extinguished before his rival. Let us see then how he acted after his arrival. During very confusion and terror of conflagration, it may have been difficult to ascertain the conduct of the prince; and it is during this period, that Suetonius charges him with encouraging the flames, and cherishing the incendiaries. "Vox of men," says he, "were heard exclaiming, that they acted by orders from the emperor, and emissaries from his very household might have been apprehended in the act of spreading the flames." That emperor should have been able enough to furnish incendiaries with the authority of his name is incredible; but let us remember, that within three years past, the destroyers of the castles of the nobility of France, pleaded authority from the king, whose throne they were the point of overturning. To the

idle tales, I oppose the acknowledged behaviour of Nero, after the extinction of the fire, when it stands unveiled by that cloud of confusion and rumour, which always attends present calamity. He opened his gardens for the sufferers, he pitched tents for them, he laboured to provide them with necessities, he cheapened the price of corn; such are the testimonies of Tacitus. On his previous absence, on his subsequent conduct, I might perhaps, then rest his innocence; but it is confirmed by some other strong arguments, to which I now proceed.

The emperor is charged with setting fire to the city, that he might enjoy the beauty of the light. It appears, from Tacitus, that so far from coveting the spectacle, his fault was, indolent reluctance to move from Antium. He issued from thence the most rigorous orders for extinguishing the flames, but he refused to stir till his own palace was on fire. It was in this situation, that he must be supposed to have run up with his harp, immediately on his arrival, to the top of the tower of Mæcenas; a station where he stood a very reasonable chance of being broiled for his pains. The supposition is too ludicrous to admit a doubt of its falsehood; and this being as confidently asserted as any circumstance, must make us doubt of the truth of all the rest. Let us combine, then, the absence of the emperor from the capital when the fire began, his active orders before he left Antium, his unwillingness to leave it, the situation of the city on his arrival, and his behaviour after the conflagration, and see where we can find the least probable trace of the tale of Suetonius.

The spot, where the fire broke out, affords another very strong argument of want of design: *In prædiis Tigellini Æmiliani proruperat*, says Tacitus. He observes, indeed, that *plus infamie incendium habuit*, for that reason, that is, because it was on the estate of Tigellinus; but where were these Prædia? in the district called the Æmiliana. Now this district was quite without the city, as any one will find upon consulting the plan of ancient Rome. *Eorum ædificia qui habitant extra Portam Frumentariam, aut in Æmilianis*, says Varro, lib. iii. *De re Rustica*. What could have induced the emperor, whose ability does not seem to have been contemptible, to have adopted such an extraordinary method of firing the city, by kindling the flame in its remotest suburbs? "He was accused," says Tacitus, "of having been actuated with a desire of founding a new city, and calling it by his name." Did he do so? And what prevented him? The consequence did not follow, and the imputed means were absurdly disproportionate to the motive.

That the fire in the Æmiliana was accidental, will become more than probable, when we find, that it was a quarter where dangerous and extensive conflagrations had happened before. It appears from Suetonius, in his account of the reign of Claudius, chap. 18. that one had obstinately raged in this region during the life of that prince: *Ubi Æmiliana pertinacius arderent*. And it appears, that it was of consequence enough to call for the presence and incessant labour of the emperor himself and his whole court: we may reasonably conjecture, therefore, that it was a part

of the suburbs, for some reason or other, perhaps by being the site of hazardous manufactures, particularly exposed and obnoxious to these calamities.

It is true that Tacitus, in another place, says, with a seeming contradiction, *Initium in ea parte Circi ortum, quæ Palatino Calioque Montibus contigua est*; and Fleury, in his Ecclesiastical History, founding the assertion on this passage, says it broke out in some shops about the Circus, without taking notice of the other alleged site of its commencement.

The commentators on Tacitus have endeavoured to reconcile the difference, and insist that it broke out in two places, the Circus and the *Æmiliana*. Now, as to the Circus, Tacitus himself accounts for its rise and progress there, *Ubi per tabernas, quibus id Mercimonium inerat quo flamma alitur ceptus ignis*. The fire began in certain shops filled with inflammable materials, and naturally calculated to originate and diffuse the flames. Where they could so easily be accounted for, who would have seen, reflected by their light, the deadly visage of the tyrant, but those whose horrors of his crimes and terror of his wickedness raised on every occasion the imperial phantom before their alarmed imaginations. Let us not fear that by deducting this little burthen of guilt we shall leave too small a portion of infamy to satiate resentment and deter imitation. The bloody roll of Nero's crimes will scarcely appear diminished by expunging this inferior title to abhorrence.

It is an inferior circumstance, yet not entirely unworthy of note, that the rumours which had reached the

ears of the two historians, as to Nero's conduct, essentially varied. To the one he had been represented as going openly and publicly to the summit of Mæcenas's tower to sing the fate of Troy, while to the other he was depicted as retiring into his private apartments (*in domesticam scenam*), there secretly to enjoy the devastation of his groaning country. Uncertainty and contradiction are the sisters of unfounded report.

From the account given us of the event by Tacitus, we find that the emperor's object, in at length leaving Antium to go to Rome, was to save his palace. Now in this he did not succeed. The palace was destroyed, and yet he is afterwards accused of constructing a new palace of wonderful magnificence, out of the ruins of his country (*Ufus patriæ ruinis*, says Tacitus), not without insinuation that such might have been partly the object of the antecedent devastation. There is nothing in his previous conduct to support the suspicion, for he was anxious to save his former residence, and to prevent the necessity of erecting a new one.

The anxiety of Nero to avoid the charge is utterly incompatible with the narration of Suetonius. *Incendit urbem tam palam*, says that historian, *Ut plerique Consulares, Cubicularii ejus, cum supa tedaque, in prediis suis deprehensos non attigerint*. Is it credible that he, who so much dreaded the imputation, should have committed the fact without disguise. That he used every exertion to avert the charge appears from Tacitus—by anxious and active care to expedite the rebuilding of the city—by princely largesses to the sufferers—by supplications and atoning sacrifices to the gods, he laboured to extricate

himself from the infamy. He was not successful. He was the odium against him. *humana, non largitionibus aut deum placamentis decemnia.* He then endeavoured to remove the suspicion on the emperor, since he found the world inclined to ascribe the event to him—with equal want of success. But all which I infer is, that this extreme censures the notion of his guarded promotion of the emperor; and that he was particularly distressed at this rumour against his known character, as, in general, to despise flattery, *Nihil patientius quam et concilia hominum tulit.* s, p. 258.

Extent of the power of prejudice against this miserable prince. The period cannot be more exemplified than in the reign of which Tacitus mentions, and by his opening the city to the people, because, as he alleged, the old narrow and lofty houses contributed largely to the salubrity of the city by protecting the passenger from the heat of the sun. I will now draw an argument from the words of Suetonius. "He would not suffer," says the writer, "the bodies of the dead, who perished in the fire, to be burnt by their families, nor the ruins of the edifices to be removed by the owners; but he took the charge upon himself, for the sake of plunder." Of those who were burnt he required to be burnt again; but does not the ill-natured remark proclaim the intention of the author? Is it not natural to suppose, that the

fear of pestilence, from the exposure of bodies left to the random care of individuals, in a time of general distraction, required the interposition of government and the adoption of public regulations, to prevent the possibility of private negligence? And was it not right in the governing power of the state to refuse to trust to the weakness or indolence of the subject, the office of removing rubbish and ruins, whose immense heaps forbade improvement and postponed renovation?

The truth is, when Suetonius wrote, invective against the race of Cæsar opened the way to honour and preferment. Abuse of the Augustan family was the fashion of succeeding times, and the instrument of flattery with succeeding emperors. With infinite caution, therefore, are we to admit the adulatory invective of the writers of the age of Trajan. The fidelity of history was made to bow to the etiquette of courts and the interests of historians.

This propensity to blacken the Cæsars, received, in the particular instance of Nero, additional height in later times, from the enmity of the Christians. His cruel persecution of Christianity, and his inordinate wickedness, in averting upon its votaries the calumny thrown upon himself, with the signal martyrdom of St. Peter and St. Paul, under his dominion, have stamped him with the most sanguinary dye in the annals of religion. It was natural to surmise that the man who so unjustly accused others, had not been unjustly accused himself. His innocence was supposed to include their crimination; and as the empire became Christian, it became

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in a manner impious to doubt his guilt.

On whom does the authority of this legend rest? As appears to me, on the authority of Suetonius alone. The careful peruser of Tacitus will, I think, agree with me, that he did not believe the tale; he wrote before Suetonius, and possessed earlier and better channels of enquiry. Suetonius was secretary to Adrian, whose reign was preceded by the death of Tacitus.\* The next author who mentions the charge with confidence is Dio Cassius, who lived in the reign of Alexander Severus, two hundred years after the event; no testimony can go beyond its first original; the tribe of servile copyers add not a jot of weight to the evidence.

Aurelius Victor, Eutropius, Marcus Aurelius Cassiodorus, and Jornandes, the only subsequent Latin writers who repeat the clamour, merely echo the assertions of Suetonius and Dio. They could not be much better judges of the matter than we at this day, had they even taken the trouble to weigh the evidence. Aurelius Victor and Eutropius lived at a period three hundred years distant from the time of the conflagration, in the reigns of Julian and Valentinian; Cassiodorus was consul under Theodoric, and born in 476; and Jornandes, in Justinian's age, was secretary to a king of the Goths. As to the principal modern writers who assert and insist on the fact, and particularly the ecclesiastical historians, Xiphilinus, Vitranus, and Sulpicius, though they lived earlier than Fleury, who in the present century

supports their opinion, their assertions can have no more weight than his, nor their knowledge of the facts be greater than ours. Xiphilinus was the professed abridger of Dio Cassius. Dio repeated from Suetonius, and upon the foundation of Suetonius's authority the whole fabric must ultimately depend. If any thing has been added, it has probably been the work of exuberant imagination, like that of Karholtus, of Hamburgh, a modern ecclesiastical writer, who represents the emperor at a banquet sending forth troops of incendiaries, and sitting to hear at intervals the triumphant tale of their horrid exploits, a picture of which he could not have found the least trait in any ancient historian. It remains only to observe, that Suetonius, the father of this tale, could not have been unwittingly deceived into this assertion.

Thus have I endeavoured to scrutinize, in this instance, the accuracy and authenticity of Suetonius, which may be a clue to his general character as a writer, the only object perhaps which could have justified my calling the attention of this revered assembly to a question so remote, and seemingly so uninteresting. Always, as I have said, has that historian appeared to me to be over-rated; the indecency of his descriptions has been often condemned, and it was well observed, that Suetonius wrote the lives of the emperors with the same licentiousness with which they lived. Were I to compare Suetonius with any writer of our own time, in point of credit due to his narration, I would

\* As is generally supposed.

scarcely assign him a place superior to Smollet's; I mean not with respect to composition, but as to authenticity and materials. Both of them seem to have compiled from the *actus diurni*, or newspapers of the day, and to merit equal authority with those crude and hasty chronicles. If the one has lived for eighteen centuries, while the other possibly may not for one, it has perhaps been owing to the charms of his composition, not to the dignity of his history.

If these remarks shall in any degree tend to ascertain the rank of this famed historian in the scale of history, or rather by calling the attention of more accurate observers to the general complexion of his works, to induce them to ascertain it, they will have an importance which at this remote time they could not borrow from the subject itself. They may, perhaps, also derive some additional claim to attention, from the circumstance of a celebrated attack having been lately made by Mr. Whitaker, of Manchester, on the authenticity of his rival historian, in a comparison between Tacitus and Gibbon.

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*Extract from the Looker-on, a periodical paper, by the rev. Simon Olive Branch, A. M.*

**I** Regard it as the most fortunate occurrence of my life, that I am surrounded by a worthy set of parishioners, who all study to make my residence among them the most agreeable in the world. It is true, indeed, I had the advantage of succeeding to a rector who was not of the same contented turn, and was more frequently at issue with his

brethren on a point of law, than a point of doctrine. My placid temper was no sooner discovered, than it gained me the hearts of most of my flock; and I observe that this friendly disposition towards me is hourly improving in them, as they find they can reckon upon a continuance of this content and tranquillity on my part.

I have often thought that a small augmentation of tithes is dearly purchased by the sacrifice of this mutual cordiality and confidence. There is something in the consciousness that others share our joys and enter into our feelings, and that our health and happiness are a real concern to our neighbours, which cherishes the soul, and seems to dilate its capacities: I glow with satisfaction, when, after some days confinement, I see sincere congratulations in the looks of every one I meet: methinks at that moment I love myself the more for their sakes; and the delight of my honest parishioners is multiplied into my own.

Since I have been settled here, we have been gradually forming ourselves into a society that has something novel in its principle and constitution. Our number is sixteen, and includes many of the principal gentlemen in the neighbourhood. We have a discipline among us, the object of which is, to promote the ends of company and conversation, by maintaining the most perfect order, sobriety, and peace. My quiet behaviour, and known habits of complacency, have raised me, though with some reluctance on my part, to the place of perpetual president.

The fundamental article of our constitution, is the prohibition of every

every species of noise; for, as long as this is inadmissible, we think ourselves out of all danger of quarrelling, from which a degree of noise is inseparable: and though nonsense is not statutable among us, yet we are not afraid of its going to any great lengths under the evident disadvantages of order and tranquillity. There is a certain severity in silence, which will often check the course of an idle argument, when opposition and ridicule are employed in vain. I remember hearing a plethoric young man run on with surprising volubility, for an hour and a half, by the help only of two ideas, during the violence of a debate; till a sudden pause in the rest of the company proved clearly that he was talking about a matter which bore no relation to the point in dispute. The attention of the company being now wholly turned towards him, he began to totter under the mass of confusion he had so long been accumulating; when with one spring he cleared the present difficulty, and leaped from Seringapatam into the minister's budget: here, however, being nearly smothered, he made a violent effort; and before we could turn about to assist him, he was up to his neck in tar-water. He was, twice after this, in danger of being lost in the Southern ocean; but an African slave-vessel took him up each time, and landed him, some how or other, at Nootka Sound. If I remember right, he held out till the siege of Otschakof, where he was put out of his misery by a summons from Tartary to the tea-table. Thus a great deal of precious time is husbanded by this rule of silent attention among the members of our society; and many an idle

speech falls to the ground ere it can get three sentences forwards, and is strangled like a Turkish criminal by dumb executioners.

Any elevation of voice, above a certain pitch, is highly illegal, and punishable accordingly; and to ascertain this proportion as fully as possible, we have taken a room for our purpose, in which there is a very distinct echo, which must not be roused from its dormant state under very heavy penalties. Any man provoking it to repeat his last word, is judged to be defeated in the argument he is maintaining, and the dispute must be abandoned altogether; the echo pronounces his sentence, from which there is no appeal. The abuse of superlatives is also cognizable among us; and no man is allowed to say, that his house is the pleasantest in the neighbourhood, that his dogs run the best, or that his crops are the most plentiful. Whatever carries the notion of a challenge with it, or can lead to a wager, we are pledged to discountenance. We admit neither toasting nor singing upon any pretext; and it would be as great an offence to raise a horse-laugh in a Quaker's meeting, as to encourage any rude expression of joy among us. An ancient gentleman, lately admitted, was bound over last Saturday, for an eulogy upon old Mr. Shapely's fresh countenance, and a hint at his maid Kitty's copulency, accompanied with a wink to Mr. Barnaby, the churchwarden.

We admit no betts upon any question whatever; and gaming is proscribed by the most solemn inhibitions. The merits of our neighbours is a topic we are forbid to descant upon; and it was a question at our last meeting but one, whether

he mention of Mr. Courtly's  
 cle was not unconstitutional.  
 are all old fellows, and have  
 well lived over the petulance  
 eyday of passion, these re-  
 s bear less hard upon us, and  
 s become every day less fre-  
 among us; insomuch that we  
 kely soon to be forced upon  
 egular contributions, in place  
 : fines from which we have  
 to drawn our support. I am  
 es we shall at last bring our  
 o that state of perfection, that  
 ach of any statute will stand  
 our records as a remarkable  
 tence.

a first visit of a new member  
 ectacle diverting enough, and  
 enerally a full half year before  
 in shape him and clip him to  
 indard. It is now about three  
 since 'quire Blunt bought a  
 estate in our neighbourhood;  
 luring the first twelve months,  
 eard of nothing but this gen-  
 n's quarrels and litigations.  
 Sometimes walk in his chesnut  
 s to meditate upon matter for  
 entertainment of my worthy  
 rs, I have been twice indicted  
 trespass, and for breaking  
 his pailings in pursuit of  
 ; and, happening one day to  
 a telescope out with me, I was  
 tened with a prosecution for  
 ing a gun on his manor.

it is looked upon as some ho-  
 to be of our society, this rough  
 eman was suddenly seized with  
 accountable inclination to be-  
 a member; and it was asto-  
 ng to every body, that after  
 ; well apprised of the inconve-  
 ne and rigour of our institution,  
 his own inability to perform the  
 gement of it, his ambition  
 ed no wise discouraged, and

he still persisted in his design of  
 proposing himself. As we have a  
 certain term of probation, we rarely  
 refuse to any body above the age of  
 fifty (which is the age of admission),  
 the favour of a trial. The follow-  
 ing is a list of Mr. Blunt's forfeits in  
 the black book.

1st day—Endured his own silence  
 so long, that he fell asleep.  
 On being awakened at the  
 hour of separation, swore a  
 great oath, and paid a guinea.

2d day—Had three shillings worth  
 of superlatives, and a sixpenny  
 whistle; besides paying a  
 crown to the echo.

3d day—Offered to lay a bottle  
 that he would eat two hundred  
 oysters, and paid five shillings:  
 —went to sleep for the rest  
 of the evening.

5th day—Called for a song, and  
 paid a shilling instead; nine  
 shillings and six-pence for dis-  
 turbing the echo; paid thirty  
 shillings and six-pence for con-  
 tumacy, and swore himself to  
 Coventry.

Here there was an interval of  
 some months, during which our no-  
 vice absented himself. We were  
 surprized, however, one day, with  
 his company, after we had given  
 him up as irreclaimable. He ap-  
 peared indeed to bring with him a  
 disposition greatly corrected, and  
 actually incurred only two forfeits  
 the whole evening; namely, for  
 bursting into a horse-laugh on Mr.  
 Sidebottom's misting his chair, and  
 giving Mr. Barnaby a slap on the  
 back that raised the echo, and a  
 violent fit of coughing. Since this  
 time he has been twice off and on,  
 but



but has at last so far accommodated himself to the conditions of the society, as to be counted a valuable member. Having made a great progress in the science of self-correction, his understanding has obtained its proper poise; his reason has had room to exert itself, and has given life and energy to a mass of much good meaning, that lay buried at the bottom of his mind.

The fame of this mighty cure hath brought us a great accumulation of credit and power; and it hath actually been in speculation among the freeholders and other voters in the county, to elect their representatives in future from our society: a rule that would ensure to them men of ripe understandings, and regular habits. We are subject (as every good institution is) to ridicule from without: the young gentlemen are very pleasant upon us; and we pass under a variety of names among them, as, the Automats, the Quietists, the Meeting, the Dummies, the Whig Club, the Rough Riders' Company, the Bearded Magdalens, the Grey Friars, the Court of Death, and the House of Correction. Such as have not quite turned the corner of fifty, and want a few months of being eligible, are very severe upon our age, call us the Antediluvians, and talk much of an opposition club of young fellows. While we have daily proofs, however, of the good effects of our institution, we are indifferent to attacks of every kind. We have the sensible pleasure of finding that the operation of our system is spreading; our married men return with sober spirits to their homes and hearths; and adopt, in part, our peaceful regulations into the bosom of their families; and it is not un-

common to see one of our oldest chelors preferred by the ladies to beaux of five and twenty.

But the advantages resulting from these our institutions are not merely of a moral kind: topics of literature and criticism come frequently under our consideration, which will necessarily flourish under circumstances of peace and good order.

On points of religion and politics it is but rare that we allow ourselves to expatiate: Religion being throughout a connected and amplexing system, is never fairly viewed but when we take in the whole, and therefore can never properly become the object of broken and desultory conversation: Politics being a question that produces much heat and little satisfaction, where obliquity of views and attractions of interest are sure to falsify the balance of our minds, we have almost entirely proscribed it; and, if it be by accident introduced, it is presently condemned by the spiritual censures of the infallible echo.

But although we place great dependence on the efficacy of this regimen of tranquillity and order, for the cure of a great many complaints in our social system, yet there are some which we are obliged to abandon to severer modes of chastisement.

An avowed party-man is utterly inadmissible, whatever may be his other pretensions:—we set a higher value upon truth and temper, than upon the finest philippic in the world.

We have no room for atheists, or idiots, or any such enemies to rule, especially as we hear that they have a club of their own, which meets sometimes in one place, sometimes in another, as chance directs, but  
very

very often in a street called Pall-Mall, or Pell-Mull, from some analogy in the name, which association, in strict conformity to their principles and confusion, is composed of all sorts except the good, and includes princes, and lords, and jockies, who are jumbled together like their world of atoms.

We admit no man who keeps a woman, while he is kept by his wife.

We admit no notorious parasites or hangers-on. Mr. Sykes, the curate of the next parish, has been refused for having the run of the Squire's kitchen, and the combing of my lady's lap-dog. Mr. Barnaby, the church-warden, has complained of fleas, and the smell of parsnips, ever since he came to propose himself. When this gentleman is disposed to be facetious, he suggests the idea of a Parasitical club, on the plan of one that was formerly established among the turn-spit-dogs, when this fraternity was in its full glory and consequence, who were observed to meet every morning in the Grove, at Bath, for the sake of business, friendship, or gallantry, and then distribute themselves about the town according to their different destinations.

We have a rooted abhorrence of all gamblers, liars, and debauchees; we are therefore particularly on our guard against all such as have aspired to the infamy of certain great connections. Bad husbands and sons, and all those who sin against the sacred duties and charities of life, we include under one solemn sentence of proscription.

We are very shy of a man who, after the age of fifty, continues to be called Dick or Jack such-a-one: such men have probably sacrificed

too much to notoriety to deserve respect.

We have also a prejudice against a description of persons, who are called ingenious gentlemen, who have in general no other claim to this title than what is derived from the solution of an enigma in the *Lady's Magazine*, or a contribution to the poet's corner. A rage for riddles and impromptues, were it to get footing among us, would be a mighty hindrance to the flow of conversation. It creates a kind of scramble in the mind of one that has a turn for these pleasantries, and scatters abroad his ideas like a ruined ant's nest; while those who are used to reason right forward, and to keep a steady point in view, are forced to sit in vacant silence, with their faculties bound up in a stupid thralldom.

I shall conclude my paper of to-day with informing my readers that the gentleman who had the principal share in drawing up our code of laws, is a Mr. Anthony Allworth, a most valuable member of this our society, of whom I shall have frequent occasion to speak in the course of my speculations, when I wish to hold up a more animated picture than ordinary of sublime virtue, and practical religion. This gentleman is now in his seventieth year, and keeps himself in health by the diversion of his mind, and the exercise of his body, in his unwearied search after objects for his benevolence. He was one of our earliest members, and still offers no weather to prevent his constant attendance. As he passes through many houses in the course of every day, he never fails to introduce some agreeable or pathetic story, that tends to awaken more cheerful or more religious

His example and admonitions are principally instrumental in conciliating new members, and rendering them more docile and tractable; he has completely won Mr. Blunt's esteem, and has never been known to raise the echo himself, but in the cause of unprotected innocence, or forsaken truth.

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*Extracts from Mrs. Piozzi's British Synonymy.*

Narration, account, recital.

IN order to give a good *account* of the fact (say we) it is necessary to hear a clear *recital* of the circumstances; but if we mean to make a pleasing *narration*, those circumstances should not be dwelt on too minutely, but rather one selected from the rest, to set in a full light. Whoever means to please in conversation, seeing no person more attended to than he who tells an agreeable story, concludes too hastily that his own fame will be firmly established by a like means; and so gives his time up to the collection and *recital* of anecdotes. Here, however, is our adventurer likely enough to fail; for either his fact is too notorious, and he sees his audience turn even involuntarily away from a tale told them yesterday perhaps by a more pleasing narrator; or it is too obscure, and incapable of interesting his hearers. Were we to investigate the reason why narratives please better in a mixed company, than sentiment; we might discover that he who draws from his own mind to entertain his circle will soon be tempted to dogmatize, and assume the air, with the powers of a teacher; while the man, who is ever ready to tell one somewhat unknown before, adds an idea

to the listener's stock, without forcing on us that of our own inferiority—he is in possession of a fact more than we are—that's all; and he communicates that fact for our amusement.

*Party, division in the state, faction.*

These cannot be supposed naturally and necessarily synonymous, whilst each *party* in its turn calls the opposite one a *faction*, with intent to disgrace it in the eye of such as lament those *divisions in a state* which force them into the lists on either side. When England was rent with commotions in the latter end of king Charles I. the first appellative of scorn was thrown by those who flocked round the royal standard, at their republican opponents, who the cavaliers now first called round heads, from their manner of wearing their hair cut short, or at most curled in one row about the neck behind; and it is observable, the rigid Protestants of Germany still hope some merit may be claimed by being free out of powder, with sleek round heads, and for the most part a bright brass comb stuck behind; while gentlemen in Italy and Spain are yet going by the name of cavalieri since the holy war, to which they went on horseback, while plebeians walked on foot. But a new distinction soon broke out in Britain, were the last mentioned called themselves petitioners, and the loyalists, abhorrent, from their repeated expressions of the abhorrence they felt against men who disturbed their sovereign's and the public's tranquillity. Into the abusive names whig and tory, however, all others soon dropped, and by these names the aristocrats and democrats of our country have till now been known. Of these

Rapin

says, "the moderate tories true Englishmen—have preserved the state, and will save it (prophetic may his words be) whenever it shall be in either of despotism from the one or of the very violent tories, or of republicanism from the very whigs; for," continues he, "moderate state-whigs with more than to maintain with undivided attention the privileges of parliament, and only lean in dispute to the popular side; the tories watch with equal eye the royal prerogative, re-assert its rights, and jealous of encroachments. Episcopalians and dissenters in like manner softened their distinctions, and were drawn in the succeeding reigns of high and low church—the first being most strenuous for the hierarchy; the second, to prevent any stretch of official power." Till these times, however, anarchists, falsely so called, were never met in any church or state. Bolingbroke, who will not be sold easily, I imagine, of a hypothesis in regard to our holy religion, in this manner: "Some men, the pests of society I think who take every opportunity aiming against that church government which is received in; and just so the other men, whom I have been speaking, kindness for liberty in general dislike so much the system established here, that they flatter in their endeavours to do the plainest thing in the world and to refine and distinguish his life and strength of our nation in favour of the little momentary turns which they

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are retained to serve. And what would be the consequence, I would know, if their endeavours should succeed? I am persuaded," continues he, "that the great politicians, divines, philosophers, and lawyers, who exert them, have not yet prepared and agreed upon the plans of a new religion, and of a new constitution in church and state. We should find ourselves therefore without any form of religion, or any civil government. The first set of these missionaries would hasten to remove all restraints of religion from the governed, and the latter set would remove or render ineffectual all the limitations and controls which liberty has prescribed to those that govern, and thus disjoint the whole frame of our constitution. Intire dissolution of manners, confusion, anarchy, or, at best, absolute monarchy, must follow; for it is probable that in a state like this, amidst such a rout of lawless savages, men would chuse that government, rather than no government at all." Thus far the elegant and spirited dissertation upon *Parties* bears testimony to a necessity for religious and civil subordination, in these days openly denied and combated, to the terror of every sect, to the astonishment of every party. Against the present *Faction*, then, let all modifications of Christianity and civilization hasten to unite; when even this last quoted infidel would, were he now alive, lend his assistance to crush these professors of atheism and violence, these traitors to human kind, who under a shew of regard rob them of their dearest right, and render the royal, the parental, the martial, authority—for each is connected with the other—a jest for fools, a shadow of a shade.

*Rural and rustic*

Must necessarily seem synonymous to foreigners, who see them used perpetually for each other in our best authors—or think they do—because the words are commonly appropriated with a selection exact enough. England, say we, affords more situations that one may justly term *rural*, than any nation or country in Europe; for in France, Italy, and Germany, at least, you are always too near (to), or too far from, a great city; so that the prominent features of every landscape exhibit either wildness approaching to barbarity, or else cultivation resembling a garden more than fields;—whereas in Great Britain, where opulence is more diffused, and knowledge less concentrated, nature accepts the character of individuals, and every place possesses some agreeable ornaments, which tend to its embellishment—though no spot is by the accumulation of such ornaments made more splendid than beautiful. *Rural* elegance is the pride and pleasure of our happy island, whence *rustic* grossness and rough scenery are so nearly expelled, that you seek for them in vain at a great distance from the capital, among the lakes of Westmoreland, or along the sea-coasts of Devonshire. Whence our fastidious travellers, perhaps,

Tir'd of the tedious and disagree'd good,  
Seek for their solace in acknowledg'd ill,  
Danger, and toil, and pain.

GRAHAM'S TELEMACHUS.

we climb the Alps of Switzerland and Savoy, or journey round the Hebrides, in search of contrast and variety, delighting to penetrate the hidden recesses of nature, and

Call her where she sits alone,  
Majestic on her craggy throne.

Such views produce magnificent ideas in the mind, but they are ideas of God, not man. He always seems debased on such a theatre, and, to say true, generally acts his part upon them with *rusticity* enough: while foreigners are often heard to admire our peasantry both in the north and west of England, each with his watch, his little shelf of books, trimmed hedge, clean shirt, and planted garden; enjoying that *rural* simplicity, and elegant competence—glory of Britons!—great and enviable result of equal laws and mild administration!

Let them remember then those laws, those rights,

That generous plan of pow'r deliver'd down  
From age to age by their renown'd fore-  
fathers,

So dearly bought, the price of so much blood.

ADDISON'S CATA.

*Taste, intellectual relish, nice perception of excellence, fine discernment.*

The first is the true word, which, in a breath, expresses what all the rest, although synonymous, describe by circumlocution.—The first is the word profaned by so many coxcombs, who, repeating opinions from men wiser than themselves, profess a *taste* for what they do not even understand—poetry, painting, or the beauties of nature, which it is the peculiar province of poets and painters to describe. Italians have, however, little need of counsel here: they never, I think, pretend to have a *taste* for any thing they do not sincerely delight in, and have no notion of valuing themselves on their nice *perceptions* of Raffaele's excellence,

excellence, or Petrarch's sonnets; and they wonder, rationally enough, how Englishmen become endowed with such fine *discernment* of matters which depend exceedingly upon habits of life, on customs peculiar to every country: they do not think it necessary to admire Pope or Shakespeare as a proof of their *taste*, and they are in the right. Pope gives them no real pleasure as a poet; and they think, truly enough, that, as a moralist, Seneca gives better precepts. Shakespeare is intelligible to them only in the parts they like least. A man with bad eyes looking at a picture of Rembrandt, is on the footing of a foreigner reading our historical plays—Whatever is brightly illuminated, says he, seems coarse, and the rest I cannot discern. A British reader, were he equally honest, would confess that Dante he does not understand, and that Petrarch gives back to his mind no image of his own, but one as romantic and grotesque as that of *Amadis de Gaul*; where the love is no more unnatural (as he would call it), and the adventures more diverting. A Tuscan meantime is entertained by the one, and enchanted by the other, only because he understands and feels both, as we understand the *Dunciad* and feel the invocation—Oh for a muse of fire! &c. even into our very bones.

Consult the genius of the place in all.

It is folly to fix any other criterion of true *taste*: for although many people from many places may agree in praise of one poet, one painter, one style in music, dress, or gardening—it is still some accident directs the congress, because, on a strict scrutiny, you will find all their opi-

nions instinctively different. National character admits modification doubtless, yet is it never altered fundamentally; you see the indelible impression made by the hand of nature at the beginning scarce ever totally effaced. Laws may unite kingdoms in one common interest,

But minds will still look back to their own choice;

nor can adventitious circumstances destroy the germ of difference. This germ is most visible in *taste*, I think. A Scot or Frenchman will no more think like the Englishman, within thirty miles of whom he was born and bred, than will the salt of one plant be mistaken for that of another growing close to it, even after they have both been tortured into various forms and shapes by the operations of chymistry.

Even from the tomb the voice of nature  
cries,  
Even in our ashes live their wonted fires.

The native of a warm climate delights to loiter in a vast but trim garden, where a full but gentle river glides slowly down a broad green slope, into a dark oblivious lake at the bottom, almost without appearing to disturb it; while such a tranquil scene soothes the suspended faculties of reason, and induces a disposition towards calming all restless thoughts from the consideration of Time's eternal flux—and the sweet verse

*Labitur et labetur in omne volubilis ævum*

is the only poetry capable of deepening the impression of such a landscape.

Meantime Mr. Gilpin would soon tell us, and truly too, that the characteristic

characteristic beauty of a waterfall is not its glossy smoothness:—"no; a rapid stream broken by rocks," says he, "and forcing its way through them with impetuous and ill-restrained fury, is the interesting feature in a scene removed from mortal tread. A cascade like that described but now, has no merit at all; the lake would be better without it, and every painter would be of my opinion." He would no doubt, Mr. Gilpin; but the inhabitant of that warm climate I was mentioning, did not retire there with an intent to paint the view, but to enjoy it. Descriptions vary according to the describer's turn of mind; whilst each arraigns the *taste* of him who spoke last upon the subject, though perhaps all are right.

*Variety, diversity, fluctuation, change, mutability, vicissitude.*

Among these words, though analogy may be found, synonymy can hardly be sought: the propriety depends upon the place in which they stand: we may therefore, in order to bring them close together, observe, how through the numberless *vicissitudes* in nature and in life, there is yet less real *change* than *fluctuation* of events, less true *diversity* perhaps than unremarked revolution. Even in the billows of that sea, whence the third substantive upon our list is derived, I have thought there was not so much *mutability* as a light observer would imagine. The same waves probably for many years wash the same coast.—The shells they leave behind them exhibit no *variety*. Fish of the same kind haunt the same shores, and no slight of

time brings turtle to the bay of Dublin, or salmon to Genoa:—I mean, not in sufficient quantity to disprove this observation; for now and then an extraordinary thing will happen, and flying-fishes from the Pacific Ocean are at this hour digging out of a mountain near Verona. Pennant will tell us, that the same swallow occupies the same nest every year; and doctor Johnson said, that no poet could invent a series or combination of incidents the *præcognita* of which might not be found in Homer: and should we claim an exception or two in favour of Shakespeare and Ariosto, those exceptions would only prove the rule.

Herschel informs us, that all nature's works are rotatory: if then each star, however firmly fixed, has in itself a motion round its own axis, the solid contents of every such globe may be supposed to participate this spirit of rotation. In our own we see truth and error, land and sea shifting their stations with more *vicissitude* than actual *change*; and while the natural sun rises to one-half of us mortals, while it sets to the others, we discern in like manner whole regions immersed in darkness at beginning, now brightly illuminated with Revelation's beam; and the tracts of country first irradiated, sunk into sad opacity.

This seems indeed the evening of our earth's natural day—

Night succeeds impervious night.  
What those dreadful glooms conceal,  
Fancy's glass can ne'er reveal:  
When shall light the scene improve?  
When shall time the veil remove?  
When shall truth my doubts dispel?  
Awful period! who can tell?

HAWKESWORTH.

World.

ld, earth, globe, universe,

so far from being philosophical, that conversation, admitting of incredible le, would say the very *earth* ed with books written to heir difference. Popularly r, however, we say that a knowledge of the *world*, his acquaintance with the forms and ceremonies of t ill called by Frenchmen, *voir vivre*, since he who is t of the *world* even in this ense, will soon be in a figure warned to go out of it; pensably necessary is that ge, to every day's observational practice; nor have I often more humorous picture of s, than in some play of Mr. land's—I forget its name—two brothers disputing upon of propriety, one says, truly as I remember, “Dear ! you know nothing of the —“ Will you tell me that?” his incensed antagonist, I have traversed the *globe* ! crossed the line twice, t the frosts within the arctic a man bred in London, and dways in its environ, has an ole assurance when he uses pression to me, who have recked on the coasts of Barnd stuck fast in the quick-f Terra del Fuego, &c. &c.” station is from memory, and -five years at least have since I looked into the copy mere chance in a bookshop at Brighthelmston. But asantry of two men taking rd *world* in a different way, me degree of right on both struck me as comical and

pretty, because within the bounds of credibility. That grace alone is wanting to a dialogue once shewn to me in manuscript, written by the learned James Harris, of Salisbury, who makes one of two friends, walking in St. James's Park, say of a third that passes by,—“There goes a man eminent for his knowledge of the *world*.” To which the other replies, “Ay, that indeed is a desirable companion, a person whose acquaintance I should particularly value, as he no doubt could settle the point between Tycho and Riccioli, concerning the sun's horizontal parallax, in which those two so great astronomers contrive to differ, at least two minutes and a half. He too could perhaps help us to decide upon the controversy, whether this *universe* is bounded by the grand concaementation or firmament forming a visible arch, or whether it is stretched into an immensurable space, occupied however at due distances by a variety of revolving *globes*, differing in magnitude: some brilliant, as suns, rich in inherent fire; some opaque, and habitable, as *earths*, attended by satellites of inferior lustre and dignity.” When his companion stopping him, protests that the man in question knows nothing of these matters. “Oh then,” replies the other, “he confines his knowledge perhaps merely to our own planet, where doubtless much matter is afforded for reflection.—There, however, master of the historical, geographical, and political *world*, he can give account of all the discoveries, revolutions, and productions, contained in those four continents at least, which compose this terraqueous *globe*; and leaving out marine enquiries—it is from him we must hope to obtain the



clearest reasoning upon the distinctions made by nature and education betwixt man and man; the cause of their different colours, and their frowns, or sometimes silent, lapses from perfection to decay. His information now would be above all times desirable, as we are yet much perplexed concerning some customs of the old inhabitants of China; and it would be well for him at his leisure hours, to collate some obscure passages of the *Veidam* with the *Edda*, &c." When this topic is exhausted, and others examined in turn, and the friend finds out that the gentleman passing by knew the *world* only as a fruiterer in St. James's Street is capable of knowing it—from repeatedly hearing the debts, intrigues, connections, and situations, of a few fashionable gentlemen and ladies, he ends the dialogue in disgust, that a creature superior, as he observes, in no mental qualification to the chairman who carries him home from his club of an evening, should thus be celebrated for so sublime a science as knowledge of the *world*.

Let me not close this article without protesting that I never read the dialogue in my life but once, above thirty years ago, and that I only quote the turn of it, and must not be expected to remember words, or even periods. My imitation would be then too great a disgrace to his name whom I was early instructed to hold in the highest veneration: the design was too striking to be ever forgotten, and for the design alone do I mean to be answerable;—it was done by me merely to gratify my recollection of past times and studies, whilst it served well

enough besides to bring in our synonymy.

Mr. Harris delighted much in writing dialogues. Those at the end of *David Simple* are his, and exquisite are they in their kind. There are some in the world of his and Floyer Sydenham's both, I believe, which have never been printed certainly—perhaps never destroyed.

*To wrest, to distort, to pervert.*

If meant of language naturally enough follow the last article\*, yet will ignorance often shew powers of this kind as plainly as science herself. Newspapers, magazines, and other periodical publications, are surprizingly skilful in the art of *distorting* metaphor, and *perverting* in its turn every figure of grammar and rhetoric; nor would it be difficult to *wrest* all their common places into a short passage by less violence than they are daily doing to their mother tongue, were we to say in imitation of a herd of novel-writers, Ricardo was a young fellow of fine hopes, and made it his point to cut a figure in the treasury line. His uncle being a man who saw things in a right light, undertook to put his boy upon as respectable a foot as any of his young companions of the same stamp;—on this head therefore, little more needs be understood, than that Ricardo, under such circumstances, was very happy, and soon drew aside the bright eyes of Miss Julia, daughter to his uncle's friend, a man of the same description—a rough diamond, but who, &c. Of such twisted, such *distorted*, such dislocated language, every morning's literary hash pre-

\* On wrangling.

an example: nor is it ne-  
look in print for these  
allusions; every counting-  
ibits choice o' metaphor,  
I that Sancho's proverbs  
nd to; and I once was  
a conversation of that  
ere a string of disjointed  
sent me out of the room  
when I had heard what

is expected to become a  
soon,—have you endea-  
get that money from him  
wing to our house?"

Why, sir, that fellow  
on a rope to be sure, till  
he came to a stand-still;  
say, will now very soon  
he mud: when I heard  
g determined to strike a  
ke, you may be sure I  
t proper to purge him  
kly; but finding that the  
was the better horse, I  
wait till this morning,  
egin to plough with the  
ich I shall most certainly  
lirely tooth and nail."

gon, which I defy a so-  
lar to construe, meant  
Milo had been expensive,  
consequence of his ex-  
expected to stop pay-  
t the clerk had tormented  
e money, but that Milo  
pecuniary affairs in the  
s wife, the clerk resolved  
her next morning, and  
it or persuade her to dis-  
debt, by every method  
er.

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*of the state of the body and  
old age, with observations  
cases, and their remedies;  
dical Inquiries and Obser-*

*vations, by Dr. Rush, of Philadel-  
phia.*

**M**OST of the facts, which I shall  
deliver upon this subject,  
are the result of observations made  
during the last five years, upon per-  
sons of both sexes, who have passed  
the 80th year of their lives. I in-  
tended to have given a detail of  
their names, manner of life, occu-  
pations, and other circumstances of  
each of them: but, upon a review  
of my notes, I found so great a  
sameness in the history of most of  
them, that I despaired, by detail-  
ing them, of answering the inten-  
tion which I have proposed in the  
following essay. I shall, therefore,  
only deliver the facts and principles,  
which are the result of enquiries and  
observations I have made upon this  
subject.

I. I shall mention the circumstan-  
ces which favour the attainment of  
longevity:

II. I shall mention the phenome-  
na of body and mind which attend  
it: and,

III. I shall enumerate its peculiar  
diseases, and the remedies which are  
most proper to remove, or moderate  
them.

I. The circumstances which fa-  
vour longevity, are,

1. *Descent from long-lived ances-  
tors.*

I have not found a single instance  
of a person who has lived to be  
eighty years old, in whom this was  
not the case. In some instances, I  
found the descent was only from  
one, but in general it was from  
both parents. The knowledge of  
this fact may serve, not only to assist  
in calculating what are called the  
chances of lives, but it may be made

useful to a physician. He may learn from it, to cherish hopes of his patients in chronic, and in some diseases, in proportion to the capacity of life they have derived from their ancestors.

2. *Temperance in eating and drinking.*

To this remark, I found several exceptions. I met with one man of eighty-four years of age, who had been intemperate in eating; and four or five persons who had been intemperate in drinking ardent spirits. They had all been day-labourers, or had deferred drinking until they began to feel the languor of old age. I did not meet with a single person who had not, for the last forty or fifty years of their lives, used tea, coffee, and bread and butter, twice a-day, as part of their diet. I am disposed to believe, that those articles of diet do not materially affect the duration of human life, although they evidently impair the strength of the system. The duration of life does not appear to depend so much upon the strength of the body, or upon the quantity of its excitability, as upon exact accommodation of stimuli to each of them. A watch-spring will last as long as an anchor, provided the forces, which are capable of destroying both, are in an exact ratio to their strength.—The use of tea and coffee in diet seems to be happily suited to the change which has taken place in the human body, by sedentary occupations, by which means, less nourishment and stimulus are required than formerly to support animal life.

3. *The moderate use of the understanding.*

It has long been an established truth, that literary men (other circumstances being equal) are longer-lived than other people. But it is not necessary that the understanding should be employed upon philosophical subjects, to produce this influence upon human life. Business, politics, and religion, which are the objects of attention of men of all classes, impart a vigour to the understanding, which, by being conveyed to every part of the body, tends to produce health and long life.

4. *Equanimity of temper.*

The violent and irregular actions of the passions tend to bear away the springs of life.

Persons who live upon annuities, in Europe, have been observed to be longer-lived, in equal circumstances, than other people. This is probably occasioned by their being exempted, by the certainty of their subsistence, from those fears of want which so frequently distract the minds, and thereby weaken the bodies of all people. Life-rents have been supposed to have the same influence in prolonging life. Perhaps the desire of life, in order to enjoy, as long as possible, that property which cannot be enjoyed a second time by a child or relation, may be another cause of the longevity of persons who live upon certain incomes. It is a fact, that the desire of life is a very powerful stimulus in prolonging it, especially when that desire is supported by hope. This is obvious to physicians

cians every day. Despair of recovery is the beginning of death in all diseases.

But obvious and reasonable as the effects of equanimity of temper are upon human life, there are some exceptions in favour of passionate men and women having attained to a great age. The morbid stimulus of anger in these cases was probably obviated by less degrees, or less active exercises of the understanding, or by the defect or weakness of some of the other stimuli, which kept up the motions of life.

### 5. *Matrimony.*

In the course of my enquiries, I met with only one person beyond 80 years who had never been married. I met with several women who had bore from ten to twenty children, and suckled them all. I met with one woman, a native of Herefordshire, in England, who is now in the 100th year of her age, who bore a child at 60, menstruated till 80, and frequently suckled two of her children, (though born in succession to each other) at the same time. She had passed the greatest part of her life over a washing-tub.

6. I have not found sedentary employments to prevent long life, where they are not accompanied by

intemperance in eating or drinking. This observation is not confined to literary men, nor to women only, in whom longevity without much exercise of body has been frequently observed. I met with one instance of a weaver, a second of a silver-smith, and a third of a shoemaker, among the number of old people, whose histories have suggested these observations.

7. I have not found that acute, nor that all chronic, diseases shorten life. Dr. Franklin had two successive vomicas in his lungs, before he was forty years of age.\* I met with one man beyond eighty, who had survived a most violent attack of the yellow fever; a second, who had several of his bones fractured by falls, and in frays; and many who had frequently been affected by intermittents. I met with one man of 86, who had all his life been subject to syncope; another who had been for fifty years occasionally affected by a cough†; and two instances of men who had been affected for forty years, with oblique head-achs.‡ I met with only one person beyond eighty, who had ever been affected by a disorder in the stomach; and in him it arose from an occasional rupture. Mr. John Strangeways Hutton, of Philadelphia, who died last year in the 100th year of his age, informed me,

\* Dr. Franklin, who died in his 84th year, was descended from long-lived parents. His father died at 89, and his mother at 87. His father had seventeen children by two wives. The doctor informed me, that he once sat down as one of eleven adult sons and daughters at his father's table. In an excursion he once made to that part of England from which his family migrated to America, he discovered in a grave-yard the tomb-stones of several persons of his name who had lived to be very old. These persons he supposed to have been his ancestors.

† This man's only remedy for his cough was the fine powder of dry Indian turnip and honey.

‡ Dr. Thiers says, he did not find the itch, or slight degrees of the leprosy, to prevent longevity. "Observations de Physique et de Médecine faites en différents Lieux de L'Espagne," vol. ii. p. 171.

that he never had puked in his life.— This circumstance is the more remarkable, as he passed several years at sea when a young man.\* These facts may serve to extend our ideas of the importance of a healthful state of the stomach in the animal economy, and thereby to add to our knowledge in the prognosis of diseases, and in the chances of human life.

8. I have not found the loss of teeth to affect the duration of human life, so much as might be expected. Edward Drinker, who lived to be one hundred and three years old, lost his teeth thirty years before he died, from drawing the hot smoke of tobacco into his mouth through a short pipe.

Dr. Sayre, of New Jersey, to whom I am indebted for several very valuable histories of old persons, mentions one man aged 81, whose teeth began to decay at 16, and another of 90, who lost his teeth thirty years before he saw him. The gums, by becoming hard, perform in part the office of teeth. But may not the gastric juice of the stomach, like the tears and urine,

become acrid by age, and thereby supply, by a more dissolving power, the defect of mastication from the loss of teeth? Analogies might easily be adduced from several operations of nature that go forward in the animal economy, which render this supposition highly probable.

9. I have not observed baldness, or grey hairs, occurring in early or middle life, to prevent old age.

In one of the histories, furnished me by Dr. Sayre, I find an account of a man of 80, whose hair began to assume a silver colour when he was only eleven years of age.

I shall conclude this head by the following remark.

Notwithstanding, there appears in the human body a certain capacity of long life, which seems to dispose it to preserve its existence in every situation; yet this capacity does not always protect it from premature destruction; for among the old people whom I examined, I scarcely met with one who had not lost brothers or sisters in early and middle life, and who were born under circumstances equally favourable to longevity with themselves.

\* The venerable old man, whose history first suggested this remark, was born in New York in the year 1684. His grandfather lived to b. 101, but was unable to walk for thirty years before he died, from an excessive quantity of fat. His mother died at 91. His constant drink was water, beer, and cyder. He had a fixed dislike to spirits of all kinds. His appetite was good, and he ate plentifully during the last years of his life. He seldom drank any thing between his meals. He was intoxicated but twice in his life, and that was when a boy, and at sea, where he remembers perfectly to have celebrated, by a *feu de joye*, the birth-day of Queen Anne. He was formerly afflicted with the head-ach and giddiness, but never had a fever, except from the small-pox, in the course of his life. His pulse was slow but regular. He had been twice married. By his first wife he had eight, and by his second seventeen children. One of them lived to eighty-three years of age. He was about five feet nine inches in height, of a slender make, and carried an erect head to the last year of his life.

## P O E T R Y.

ODE for the NEW YEAR, 1794. By Henry James Pye, *esq.*  
*Poet Laureat.*

## I.

NURTUR'D in storms the infant year,  
 Comes in terrific glory forth,  
 Earth meets him wrapp'd in mantle drear,  
 And the loud tempest sings his birth.  
 Yet 'mid the elemental strife  
 Brood the rich germs of vernal life,  
 Frore January's iron reign,  
 And the dark months succeeding train,  
 The renovated glebe prepare  
 For genial May's ambrosial air,  
 For fruits that glowing Summer yields,  
 For laughing Autumn's golden fields;  
 And the stout swain whose frame defies  
 The driving storm, the hostile skies,  
 While his keen plowshare turns the stubborn soil,  
 Knows plenty only springs the just reward of toil.

## II.

Then if fell War's tempestuous sound  
 Swell far and wide with louder roar,  
 If stern th' avenging nations round  
 Threaten yon fate-devoted shore,  
 Hope points to gentler hours again  
 When Peace shall re-assume her reign—  
 Yet never o'er his timid head  
 Her lasting olive shall be spread,  
 Whose breast inglorious woos her charms  
 When Fame, when Justice, calls to arms.  
 While Anarchy's infuriate brood  
 Their garments dy'd with guiltless blood,  
 With Titan rage blaspheming try  
 Their impious battle 'gainst the sky,

Say

Say, shall Britannia's generous sons embrace  
 In folds of amity the harpy race,  
 Or aid the sword that coward Fury rears,  
 Red with the widow's blood, wet with the orphan's tears?

## III.

But tho' her martial thunders fall  
 Vindictive o'er Oppression's haughty crest,  
 Awake to Pity's suasive call,  
 She spreads her buckler o'er the suffering breast.—  
 From seas that roll by Gallia's southmost steep,  
 From the rich isles that crown th' Atlantic deep,  
 'The plaintive sigh, the heart-felt groan,  
 Are waisted to her Monarch's throne;  
 Open to mercy, prompt to save,  
 His ready navies plow the yielding wave,  
 The ruthless arm of savage license awe,  
 And guard the sacred reign of freedom and of law.

ODE for his MAJESTY'S BIRTH-DAY, by H. J. Pye, *esq.*

## I.

**R**OUS'D from the gloom of transient death,  
 Reviving Nature's charms appear;  
 Mild zephyr wakes with balmy breath  
 The beauties of the youthful year,  
 The fleecy storm that froze the plain,  
 The winds that swept the billowy main,  
 The chilling blast, the icy show'r,  
 That oft obicur'd the vernal hour,  
 And half deform'd th' ethereal grace  
 That bloom'd on Maia's lovely face,  
 Are gone—and o'er the fertile glade,  
 In manhood's riper form array'd,  
 Bright June appears, and from his bosom throws,  
 Blushing with hue divine, his own ambrosial rose.

## II.

Yet there are climes where Winter hoar  
 Despotic still usurps the plains,  
 Where the loud surges lash the shore,  
 And dreary desolation reigns!—  
 While, as the shivering swain describes  
 The drifted mountains round him rise,  
 Through the dark mist and howling blast,  
 Full many a longing look is cast

To northern realms, whose happier skies detain  
The lingering car of day, and check his golden rein.

## III.

Chide not his stay;—the roseate spring  
Not always flies on Halcyon wing;  
Not always strains of joy and love  
Steal sweetly through the trembling grove—  
Reflecting Sol's refulgent beams,  
The falchion oft terrific gleams;  
And, louder than the wint'ry tempest's roar,  
The battle's thunder shakes th' affrighted shore—  
Chide not his stay—for, in the scenes  
Where nature boasts her genial pride,  
Where forests spread their leafy skreens,  
And lucid streams the painted vales divide;  
Beneath Europa's mildest clime,  
In glowing Summer's verdant prime,  
The frantic sons of Rapine tear  
The golden wreath from Ceres' hair,  
And trembling Industry, afraid  
To turn the war-devoted glade,  
Exposes wild to Famine's haggard eyes  
Wastes where no hopes of future harvests rise,  
While floating corpes choke th' empurpled flood,  
And ev'ry dewy sod is stain'd with civic blood.

## IV.

Vanish the horrid scene, and turn the eyes  
To where Britannia's chalky cliffs arise.—  
What though beneath her rougher air  
A less luxuriant soil we share;  
Though often o'er her brightest day  
Sails the thick storm, and shrouds the solar ray,  
No purple vintage though she boast,  
No olive shade her ruder coast;  
Yet here immortal Freedom reigns,  
And law protects what labour gains;  
And as her manly sons behold  
The cultur'd farm, the teeming fold,  
See Commerce spread to ev'ry gale,  
From every shore, her swelling sail;  
Jocund, they raise the choral lay  
To celebrate th' auspicious day,  
By heaven selected from the laughing year,  
Sacred to patriot worth, to patriot bosoms dear.



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GAFFER GRAY. *By Mr. HOLCROFT.*

**H**O! why dost thou shiver and shake,  
     Gaffer Gray?  
 And why doth thy nose look so blue;  
     " 'Tis the weather that's cold;  
     'Tis I'm grown very old,  
 And my doublet is not very new,  
     Well-a-day!"

Then, line thy worn doublet with ale,  
     Gaffer Gray;  
 And warm thy old heart with a glass.  
     ' Nay, but credit I've none,  
     And my money's all gone;  
 Then say how may that come to pass?  
     Well-a-day!"

Hie away to the house on the brow,  
     Gaffer Gray;  
 And knock at the jolly priest's door.  
     " The priest often preaches  
     Against worldly riches;  
 But ne'er gives a mite to the poor,  
     Well-a-day!"

The lawyer lives under the hill,  
     Gaffer Gray;  
 Warmly fenc'd both in back and in front.  
     " He will fasten his locks,  
     And will threaten the stocks,  
 Should he ever more find me in want,  
     Well-a-day!"

The 'squire has fat beeves and brown ale,  
     Gaffer Gray;  
 And the season will welcome you there.  
     " The fat beeves and the beer,  
     And his merry new year,  
 Are all for the flush and the fair,  
     Well-a-day!"

My keg is but low, I confess,  
     Gaffer Gray;  
 What, then, while it lasts, man, we'll live.  
     The poor man alone,  
     When he hears the poor moan,  
 Of his morsel a morsel will give,  
     Well-a-day!

IMPROMPTU

## IMPROMPTU.

**I**N systems as much out of sense as of season  
 Tom Pain names this age as the true age of reason ;  
 But if right I can judge, or if right I can see,  
 It is treason he means, and he's right to a T.

*Upon the promotion of Mr. GIBBON to the Board of Trade, in 1779.  
 By C. J. Fox, esq.*

**K**ING George in a fright,  
 Lest Gibbon should write  
 The story of Britain's disgrace,  
 Thought no means more sure,  
 His pen to secure,  
 Than to give the historian a place.

But his caution is vain,  
 'Tis the curse of his reign  
 That his projects should never succeed,  
 Tho' he write not a line,  
 Yet a cause of Decline,  
 In the author's example we read.

His book well describes,  
 How corruption and bribes  
 Overthrew the great Empire of Rome ;  
 And his writings declare  
 A degen'racy there,  
 Which his conduct exhibits at home.

*CASIONAL PROLOGUE, written by the right hon. major-general Fitzpatrick, and spoken by Mr. Kemble, on opening of the Theatre-Royal, Drury-lane, with Shakespeare's Macbeth, Monday, April 21, 1794.*

**A**S tender plants, which dread the boist'rous gale,  
 Bloom in the shelter of a tranquil vale,  
 Beneath fair Freedom's all-protecting wing  
 The liberal arts, secure from danger, spring ;  
 Thro' ravag'd Europe now while discord reigns,  
 And War's dire conflicts desolate her plain,  
 O, lest they perish in this boasted age,  
 Once more the victims of barbarian rage,  
 Her shield to guard them let Britannia rear,  
 And fix, in safety, their asylum here !

Here

Here, where mild reason holds her temperate sway,  
 Where willing subjects equal laws obey,  
 Firm to that well-pois'd system, which unites  
 With Order's blessings Freedom's sacred rights.  
 'Mid wrecks of empires, England, be it thine,  
 A bright example to the world to shine,  
 Where Law on Liberty's just basis rear'd,  
 Of all the safeguard, is by all rever'd,  
 And stems alike, when clouds of discord low'r,  
 The storms of faction, and the strides of pow'r.  
 Hence have the muses on the lists of Fame,  
 With pride, recorded many a British name;  
 And on their votaries, in this lov'd abode,  
 Bright wreaths of never-fading bays bestow'd;  
 True to the cause of ev'ry English bard,  
 'Tis your's the just inheritance to guard.  
 What, though his vaulting Pegasus disdain  
 The servile check of too severe a rein,  
 Like untaught courfers of the Arab race,  
 He moves with freedom, energy, and grace;  
 With caution, then, the generous ardour tame,  
 Lest, while you chasten, you repress the flame;  
 Some licence temper'd judgement will permit  
 To Congreve's, Wycherly's, or Vanburgh's wit;  
 Nor, for an ill-tim'd ribald jest, refuse  
 A tear to Otway's, or a Southern's, muse;  
 But chief, with reverence watch his hallow'd bays,  
 To whom this night a monument we raise;  
 Beyond what sculptur'd marble can bestow—  
 The silent tribute of surviving woe—  
 Beyond the pow'rs of undecaying brass,  
 Or the proud pyramid's unmeaning mass;  
 A shrine more worthy of his fame we give,  
 Where, unimpair'd, his genius still may live;  
 Where, though his fire, the critic's rule transgress,  
 The glowing bosom shall his cause confess;  
 Where Britain's sons, through each succeeding age,  
 Shall hail the founder of our English stage,  
 And, from the cavils of pedantic spleen,  
 Defend the glories of their Shakspeare's scene.

EPILOGUE, *written on the same occasion, by George Colman, jun. esq. & spoken by Miss Farren.*

WHAT part can speak—O, tell me, while I greet you—  
 What character expresses my joy to meet you!

But feeling says, no character assume;  
 Let impulse dictate, and the soul have room.  
 Tame glides the smoothest poem ever sung,  
 To the heart's language, gushing o'er the tongue:  
 Cold the address the ablest scholar drew,  
 To the warm glow of crying—welcome; you!  
 Welcome! thrice welcome! to our new rear'd stage!  
 To this new æra of our drama's age!  
 Genius of Shakespeare, as in air you roam,  
 Spread your broad wings exulting o'er our dome!  
 Shade of our Roscius, view us with delight,  
 And hover smiling round your favourite site!  
 But to my purpose here—for I am sent  
 On deeds of import, and of deep intent;  
 Passion has had its scope, the burst is past,  
 And I may sink to character at last.

When some rich noble, vain of his virtù,  
 Permits the curious crowd his house to view;  
 When pictures, busts, and bronzes, to display,  
 He treats the public with a public day,  
 That all the world may in their minds retain them,  
 He bids his dawdling housekeeper explain them;  
 Himself, when each original's inspected,  
 The greatest that his lordship has collected,  
 A house now opens, which, we trust, insures  
 The approbation of the amateurs;  
 Each part, each quality,—'tis fit you know it—  
 And I'm the housekeeper employ'd to shew it.  
 Our pile is rock, more durable than brass,  
 Our decorations, gossamer, and gas.  
 Weighty, yet airy in effect, our plan,  
 Solid, though light,—like a thin alderman,  
 "Blow wind, come wreck," in ages yet unborn,  
 "Our castle's strength shall laugh a siege to scorn."  
 The very ravages of fire we scout,  
 For we have wherewithal to put it out.  
 In ample reservoirs our firm reliance,  
 Whole streams set conflagration at defiance.  
 Panic alone avoid—let none begin it—  
 Should the flame spread, sit still, there's nothing in it;  
 We'll undertake to drown you all in half a minute!  
 Behold, obedient to the prompter's bell,  
 Our tide shall flow, and real waters swell.  
 No river of meandering pasteboard made,  
 No gentle tinkling of a tin cascade,  
 No brook of broad-cloth shall be set in motion,  
 No ships be wreck'd upon a wooden ocean,

But the pure element its course shall hold,  
 Rush on the scene, and o'er our stage be roll'd.\*  
 How like you our aquatics?—Need we fear  
 Some critic, with a hydrophobia here,  
 Whose timid caution Caution's self might tire,  
 And doubts, if water can extinguish fire?  
 If such there be, still let him rest secure;  
 For we have made "assurance double sure."  
 Consume the scenes, your safety yet is certain,  
 Presto! for proof, let down the iron curtain.†  
 Ah ye, who live in this our brazen age,  
 Think on the comforts of an iron stage;  
 Fenc'd by that mass, no perils do environ  
 The man who calmly sits before cold iron—  
 For those who in the Green-room sit behind it,  
 They e'en must quench the danger as they find it;  
 A little fire would do no harm, we know it,  
 To modern actor, nor to modern poet.  
 [But beaux, and ye plum'd belles, all perch'd in front,  
 You're safe at all events, depend upon't:  
 So never rise like flutter'd birds together,  
 The hottest fire sha'n't singe a single feather;  
 No, I assure our generous benefactors,  
 'T would only burn the scenery and the actors!]

Here ends, as housekeeper, my explanation,  
 And may the house receive your approbation!  
 For you, in air, the vaulted roof we raise—  
 Tho' firm its base—its best support, your praise.  
 Stamp then your mighty seal upon our cause!  
 Give us, ye Gods, a thunder of applause!

The high decree is past—may future age,  
 When pondering o'er the annals of our stage,  
 Rest on this time, when labour rear'd the pile,  
 In tribute to the genius of our isle;  
 This school of art, with British sanction grac'd,  
 And worthy of a manly nation's taste!  
 And now the image of our Shakspeare view,  
 And give the drama's god the honour due.‡

\* Here the scene rises, and discovers the water, &c. &c.

† Here the iron curtain is let down.

‡ Here the iron curtain is taken up, and discovers the statue of Shakspeare and mulberry-tree, &c. &c.

\*\*\* These six lines in crotchets were given by a friend.

*! remonstrance to a young heir, just coming of age, by Dr. Johnson;  
from Mrs. Piozzi's British Synonymy.*

**L**ONG expected one-and-twenty,  
Ling'ring year at length is flown;  
Pride and pleasure, pomp and plenty,  
Great \*\*\*\*\* are now your own.

Loosen'd from the minor's tether,  
Free to mortgage, or to sell;  
Wild as wind and light as feather,  
Bid the sons of thrift farewell.

Call the Betseys, Kates, and Jenneys,  
All the names that banish care;  
Lavish of your grandfire's guineas,  
Shew the spirit of an heir.

All that prey on vice or folly,  
Joy to see their quarry fly;  
There the gamester light and jolly,  
There the sander grave and fly.

Wealth, my lad, was made to wander,  
Let it wander as it will;  
Call the jockey, call the pander,  
Bid them come and take their fill.

When the bonny blade caroules,  
Pockets full and spirits high;  
What are cares? what are houses?  
Only dirt, or wet, or dry.

Should the guardian, friend, or mother,  
Tell the woes of wilful waste;  
Scorn their counsel, scorn their pother,  
You can hang, or drown at last.

*ading Mr. Howard's account of Lazarettos, from Poems by the Rev.  
W. L. Bowles, A. M.*

**B**E the sad scene disclosed;—fearless unfold  
The grating door—the inmost cell behold!  
Thought shrinks from the dread sight; the paly lamp  
Burns faint amid the infectious vapour's damp;

Beneath its light, full many a livid mien,  
 And haggard eye-ball through the dust are seen.  
 In thought I see thee, at each hollow sound,  
 With humid lids oft anxious gaze around.  
 But, oh! for him, who to yon vault confin'd,  
 Has bid a long farewell to human kind;  
 His wasted form, his cold and bloodless cheek,  
 A tale of sadder sorrow seems to speak,  
 Of friends, perhaps, now mingled with the dead:  
 Of hope, that like a faithless flatterer, fled  
 In th' utmost hour of need; or of a son  
 Cast to the bleak world's mercy; or of one  
 Whose heart was broken, when the stern behest  
 Tore him from pale Affection's bleeding breast.  
 Despairing, from his cold and stony bed,  
 With fearful muttering he hath rais'd his head:  
 "What pitying spirit, what unwonted guest,  
 "Strays to this last retreat, these shades unblest?  
 "From life and light shut out, beneath this cell  
 "Long have I bid Hope's cheerful sun farewell.  
 "I heard for ever clos'd the jealous door,  
 "I mark'd my bed on the forsaken floor;  
 "I had no hope on earth, no human friend,  
 "Let me unpitied to the dust descend!"  
 Cold is his frozen heart—his eye is rear'd  
 To Heaven no more—and on his sable beard  
 The tear has ceas'd to fall. Thou canst not bring  
 Back to his mournful heart the morn of spring.  
 Thou canst not bid the rose of health renew,  
 Upon his wasted cheek her crimson hue.  
 But at thy look (ere yet to hate resign'd,  
 He murmurs his last curses on mankind),  
 At thy kind look one tender thought shall rise,  
 And his full soul shall thank thee ere he dies.

*Antony and Cleopatra, from Roman Portraits, a Poem in heroic verse, &c.*  
 Robert Jephson, esq.

**B**UT not content with half the world's domain,  
 Cæsar and Antony alone would reign;  
 The first, a steady sceptre born to wield,  
 O'er all his acts extends the public shield;  
 The last, abhorrent from the toils of state,  
 Rots on the Nile, a hoary profligate;  
 While subtle Cæsar sapp'd his eastern throne,  
 He clasp'd his world in Cleopatra's zone.

Not she for whom Dardanian Troy was lost,  
 The pride of nature, and her country's boast;  
 Nor she, who bade the Macedonian's hand  
 Hurl at Persepolis the blazing brand,  
 Nor Phædra, nor Adriadne, still more fair,  
 Cou'd with the Sorcerers of Nile compare;  
 In her, not face and shape alone cou'd please,  
 (Though with unrival'd grace she charm'd by these),  
 But the whole store of Cytherea's wiles,  
 Sighs, gentlest blandishments, and ambush'd smiles;  
 The ready tear, the blush of well-seign'd truth,  
 And the ripe woman, fresh as new-sprung youth.  
 Beneath her roseat palms the lute, compress'd,  
 Chas'd thought and trouble from the anxious breast;  
 In dulcet bonds the imprison'd soul she held,  
 While the sweet chords her warbling voice excell'd.  
 A thousand forms the Syren could put on,  
 And seem as many mistresses in one;  
 Serious or sportive, as the mood requir'd,  
 No whim grew irksome, and no frolic tir'd;  
 Enough of coynels to provoke desire,  
 Of warmth enough to share the amorous fire,  
 All, her delighted lovers could receive,  
 Seem'd but fond earnest she had more to give;  
 Nor with possession was the promise o'er,  
 Love's fruit and flower at once her bosom bore;  
 No languid pause of bliss near her was known,  
 But with new joys new hours came laughing on.  
 By arts like these was wiser Julius won,  
 And Antony, more fond, was more undone.  
 His soul, enamour'd, to the wanton clung,  
 Glow'd at her eyes, or melted from her tongue;  
 Lull'd in the dear Elysium of her arms,  
 Nor interest moves him, nor ambition warms:  
 Sometimes, with short remorse, he look'd within,  
 But kept at once the conscience and the sin:  
 In vain he saw the yawning ruin nigh;  
 Content with her, he bade the world go by;  
 He sought no covert of the friendly shade,  
 'Twas half the zest to have his shame display'd.  
 He deem'd it still his best exchange through life,  
 A melting mistress for a railing wife,  
 Perpetual orgies unabash'd they keep,  
 Wine fires their veins, and revels banish sleep:  
 Timbrels and songs, and feasts of deaf'ning joy,  
 By arts till then unknown, forbore to cloy.  
 See for one banquet a whole kingdom sink,  
 And gems dissolv'd, impearl her luscious drink.



Pleasure was hunted through each impious mode;  
 An Isis she, and he the vine-crown'd god.  
 Old Nile, astonish'd, on his bosom bore  
 Monsters more strange than e'er deform'd his shore;  
 For what so monstrous light beneath the skies  
 As self-created human deities?—  
 But heaven, for vengeful retribution, means  
 The sword and asp should close these frantic scenes.  
 Spectators mute the sorrowing captains stand;  
 While empire moulders from his palsied hand:  
 But rous'd at length, unwilling, to the fight,  
 His star at Actium sunk in endless night.  
 With equal pomp, as when down Cydnus' stream  
 Her burnish'd prow struck back the sun's bright beam,  
 The enchantress bade her bloated train prepare  
 To meet the horrors of the naval war;  
 But the first shouts her trembling spirits quail;  
 She flies, and he pursues her shameful sail:  
 His heart-strings to the harlot's rudder tied,  
 What lust began, his dotage ratified:  
 In Alexandria's towers he veil'd his head,  
 Where, self-expell'd, the vital spirit fled.  
 He tried all vices, and surpass'd in all,  
 Luxurious, cruel, wild, and prodigal;  
 Lavish of hours, of character, and gold,  
 But warlike, hardy, and in dangers bold;  
 His mind was suited to the boisterous times,  
 A soldier's virtues, and a tyrant's crimes,

*A Protestant Uncle to his Protestant Nieces, on their visiting Wardour Castle, in Wilts, the Seat of Lord Arundel, on St. Peter's day, 1794.*

**T**IS not the splendid house of pray'r,  
 The burnish'd gold's well-order'd glare,  
 The altar's beauteous form emboss'd,  
 With marbles from each distant coast,  
 The clouds of incense that arise  
 And waft their fragrance to the skies:  
 'Tis not the flood of burning day  
 The taper's dazzling lights display:  
 'Tis not the lengthen'd notes and slow  
 The organ's diapacons blow,  
 The sounds the pious virgins breathe  
 To the enraptur'd crowd beneath,  
 As they their tuneful voices raise  
 To accents soft of prayer and praise;

'Tis not the priest's, in glittering shew,  
 That at the sanctuary bow,  
 Whilst, offspring of their magic hands,  
 A present deity acknowledg'd stands:  
 'Tis not the young and beauteous band,  
 Before the holy place who stand,  
 Like Samuel's sons of early grace,  
 Th' \* Acolothists' well-nurtur'd race,  
 Who, taught from life's first blushing morn  
 These sacred functions to adorn,  
 With steady step and decent mien  
 Add lustre to the solemn scene;  
 'Tis not each effort to express  
 The charms and grace of holiness,  
 That, to its destination true,  
 This lovely spot can bring to view;  
 'Tis not Ribera's † wondrous art  
 Such power to canvas to impart,  
 As grand in form, and bright in hue,  
 To bring to our astonish'd view  
 The Lord of Life, torn, pale, and dead,  
 Who for vile man's transgressions bled,  
 Whilst weeping angels hovering o'er,  
 The mystery of love explore:  
 'Tis not, my girls, such things as these  
 That for your faith destroy my ease;—  
 Your minds, I know, from earliest youth,  
 So trained to wisdom and to truth,  
 From your externals can command  
 The proper notice they demand.  
 Yet one thing frightens me, I own,  
 Secure of all, but that alone—  
 The noble tenants of the place  
 My fears alarm, my quiet chase;  
 Their piety without pretence,  
 Their goodness, their benevolence;  
 Their minds unspoil'd by wealth or state  
 (Those common tempters of the great);  
 Their charity, that knows no bound,  
 Where man and misery are found,  
 And cherishes, in these sad times,  
 The unfortunate of other climes;  
 Priests, from their native altars torn,  
 Their Russian country's jest and scorn.

\* The attendants on the priests at the altar, so called.

† Spagnolet, so called.

Your hearts, dear girls, so well I know,  
 To sympathize at other's woe,  
 Of worth so fond, so good, so true,  
 So charm'd with Virtue's every view,  
 That I am sure you will enquire  
 What principles such acts inspire?  
 What faith so fervent and so bright  
 Keeps lives so fully in the right?  
 Nay, more, my tortur'd soul to vex,  
 The more to harass and perplex,  
 Of manners kind, demeanour meek,  
 See \* Forrester the pulpit seek,  
 (And on St. Peter's very day),  
 Of Rome's fam'd head the prop and stay,  
 So candidly his subject treats  
 (How fitted for religious heats),  
 That, with attention's well-pleas'd air,  
 Sarum's good prelate's self might hear.  
 At Wardour then no longer stay,  
 There all we meet will fears convey.  
 Then fly, ye couriers fleet as air,  
 To † Bemerton we must repair, —  
 Fam'd long for pastors of good learning,  
 Of great acuteness and discerning,  
 Who in polemics deep and strong,  
 Rome's faith have labour'd to prove wrong;—  
 Where Herbert, Norris, Homes, and Coxo,  
 Have giv'n the Catholics some knocks.  
 'Tis this will save ye from the lurch,  
 And keep ye true to mother-church.

S.

*Verses, translated from the Persian, by Sir William Jones.*

**H**EAR how yon reed, in sadly-pleasing tales,  
 Departed bliss and present woe bewails—  
 “With me, from native banks untimely torn,  
 Love-warbling youths and soft-eye'd virgins mourn!  
 Oh! let the heart, by fatal absence rent,  
 Feel what I sing, and bleed when I lament;—  
 Who roams in exile from his parent bow'r,  
 Pants to return, and chides each ling'ring hour!

\* Domestic chaplain to lord Arundel.

† Bemerton, near Salisbury. Its incumbents have been occasionally very distinguished persons, as Mr. Herbert, the poet, the ideal Norris, the learned Mr. Homes, and celebrated traveller, Mr. Coxo.

My notes, in circles of the great and gay,  
 Have hail'd the rising, cheer'd the closing, day:  
 Each in my fond affections claim'd a part,  
 But none discern'd the secret of my heart;—  
 What though my strains and sorrows flow combin'd,  
 Yet ears are slow, and carnal eyes are blind.  
 Free thro'gh each mortal form the spirits roll,  
 But sight avails not; can we see the soul?  
 Such notes breath'd gently from yon vocal frame:  
 Breath'd, said I?—no: 'twas all-enliv'ning flame.  
 'Tis love that fills the reed with warmth divine!  
 'Tis love that sparkles in the racy wine.  
 Me, plaintive wand'rer from my peerless maid,  
 The reed has fir'd, and all my soul betray'd.  
 He gives the bane, and he with balsam cures,  
 Afflicts, yet soothes; impassions, yet allures.  
 Delightful pangs his am'rous tales prolong,  
 And Laili's frantic lover lives in song.  
 Not he who reasons best this wisdom knows;  
 Ears only drink what rapt'rous tongues disclose;  
 Nor fruitless deem the reed's heart-piercing pain;  
 See sweetness dropping from the parted cane.  
 Alternate hope and fear my days divide,  
 I courted grief, and anguish was my bride.  
 Flow on sad stream of life, I smile secure;  
 Thou livest—thou the purest of the pure.  
 Rise, vig'rous youth, be free, be nobly bold;  
 Shall chains confine you, though they blaze with gold;  
 Go, to your vase the gather'd main convey,  
 What were your stores? the pittance of a day;  
 New plans for wealth your fancies would invent,  
 Yet shells, to nourish pearls, must be content.  
 The man whose robe love's purple arrows rend,  
 Bids av'rice rest, and toils tumultuous end.  
 Hail, heavenly Love! true source of endless gains,  
 Thy balm restores me, and thy skill sustains.  
 Oh, more than Galen learn'd, than Plato wise,  
 My guide, my law, my joy supreme, arise;  
 Love warms this frigid clay with mystic fire,  
 And dancing mountains leap with young desire.  
 Blest is the soul that swims in seas of love,  
 And long the life attain'd by food above.  
 With forms imperfect can perfection dwell?  
 Here pause, my song;—and thou, vain world, farewell!

*Sonnet on the death of Robert Riddell, esq. of Glenriddell.*

N<sup>O</sup> more, ye warblers of the wood, no more;  
 Nor pour your descant grating on my soul:  
 Thou, young-ey'd Spring, gay in thy verdant stole,  
 More welcome were to me grim Winter's wildest roar.

How can ye charm, ye flowers, with all your dyes?  
 Ye blow upon the soil that wraps my friend!  
 How can I to the tuneful strain attend?  
 That strain flows round th' untimely tomb where Riddell lies.

Yes, pour, ye warblers, pour the notes of woe,  
 And soothe the virtues weeping o'er his bier:  
 The man of worth, who hath not left his peer,  
 Is in his narrow house for ever darkly low.

Thce, Spring, again with joys shall others greet;  
 Me, mem'ry of my loss will only meet.

ROBERT BURN.

## Account of Books for 1794.

*or the Laws of Organic*  
ol. I. By *Eraſmus Dar-*  
*D. F. R. S. author of the*  
*Garden.* 4to. 1794.

it our purpose rather to  
use cursory readers than  
connected and scientific  
whole of this perform-  
should have found it an  
to fill our pages with  
ous matter, relative to  
ral, and medical, history,  
l through many of its  
All who have read the  
us notes of our author's  
arden, will be sufficiently  
with his happy art of  
philosophical reasonings  
ations with entertaining  
ly narratives. The style  
in many parts of this  
erfectly similar, and can-  
giving pleasure to those  
been delighted with the  
he former.

ceive we shall but per-  
uty to the ingenious au-  
e public, by proceeding  
y to an analytical view  
le performance, leaving  
afterwards to judge how  
s and reasonings in the  
be worthy of their at-

short preface, in which

we are acquainted that the work  
has lain by the writer during twenty  
years, he commences with

SECT. 1. OF MOTION. The  
motions of matter are arranged un-  
der three classes: those belonging  
to gravitation, to chymistry, and to  
life. The latter, comprehending  
all animal and vegetable motions,  
are the subject of this work.

S. 2. EXPLANATIONS and DE-  
FINITIONS. This section begins  
with a general view of the animal  
economy; of which the most re-  
markable opinion is, that the imme-  
diate organs of sense probably con-  
sist of moving fibrils, having a power  
of contraction like that of muscles.  
*Sensorium* is used to signify not only  
all sentient parts, but the living  
principle residing throughout the  
body. By *idea* is meant those no-  
tions of external things with which  
the organs of sense bring us ac-  
quainted, and it is defined to be a  
contraction, or motion, or configu-  
ration, of the fibres of those organs.  
*Sensual motion* is used as synonymous  
with it. *Perception* includes both  
the action of the organ, and our  
attention to it. *Sensation* is used to  
express pleasure or pain in its active  
state alone. Ideas of *recollection* are  
those voluntarily recalled—those of  
*suggestion* come from habit. *Affec-  
tion* is a society of things in some  
respect

respect similar, and does not include the connection of cause and effect. All the definitions of this section are afterward more particularly explained.

The business of the 3d section is to shew, by experiment, that the organs of sense possess a power of motion, and that these motions constitute our ideas; also that ideas of the imagination consist in a renewal of these motions. The first experiments adduced to this purpose relate to optical spectra. One of the assertions most worthy of accurate investigation in this section is, that, when an organ of sense is totally destroyed, the ideas which were received by that organ perish with it. This, indeed, ought to follow from the writer's hypothesis, and he gives some instances of the fact: but we are scarcely prepared to receive it as a general truth.

S. 4. lays down the *laws of animal causation*, afterward to be exemplified.

S. 5. enumerates the *four faculties or motions of the sensorium*, irritation, sensation, volition, and association. They are thus defined: *Irritation* is an exertion or change of some extreme part of the sensorium residing in the muscles or organs of sense, in consequence of the appulses of external bodies. *Sensation* is an exertion or change of the central parts of the sensorium, or of the whole of it, beginning at some of the extreme parts. *Volition* is an exertion or change of the central parts, terminating in the extreme parts. *Association* is an exertion or change of some extreme part of the sensorium, in consequence of some antecedent or attendant fibrous contractions. The above faculties are also called *sensorial motions*.

S. 6. describes *four classes of fibrous motions*, which are contractions of the fibrous parts, correspondent with and caused by the four sensorial motions above-mentioned. They are in consequence denominated *irritative, sensitive, voluntary, and associate*, fibrous motions.

S. 7. treats of *irritative motions*, noticing the different modes in which they are excited, the modifications that they undergo, and the association of other motions with those brought on by the primary irritation. It is also observed that irritative ideas often exist without our attention to them; as when, though lost in thought, we avoid a tree or bench that stands in the way of our walk.

S. 8. concerning *sensitive motions*, observes that they were originally excited by irritation, are occasionally obedient to volition, and have other motions associated with them.

S. 9. on *voluntary motions*, states them to have been originally excited by irritations. Ideas of recollection are a class of these voluntary motions, on which reason, or the act of comparing different ideas, depends. Voluntary motions are occasionally causable by sensations, made obedient to irritations, and associated with other motions.

S. 10. is on *associate motions*. Muscular, sensitive, and voluntary, motions and ideas, excited in trains or tribes, become associated, and have ever after a tendency to arise simultaneously, or in succession.

Some additional observations on the *sensorial powers*, in sect. 11. relate to the various kinds of stimulation, as adapted to different parts; to sensation and volition, desire and aversion, voluntary actions and associations. It is asserted that the activity

of the power of volition  
 es the great difference be-  
 men and brutes.

2. treats of *stimulus*, *sensorial*  
 7, and *fibrous contraction*.  
 utter is first considered. In  
 to bring the particles of a  
 ar fibre to that nearer ap-  
 ration in which its contraction  
 s, some other agent is neces-  
 which is the spirit of anima-  
 sensorial power. After ani-  
 res have for some time been  
 d into contraction, a relaxa-  
 ceeds, even though the ex-  
 cause continues to act. This  
 is to be owing to an expendi-  
 or diminution of the spirit of  
 tion previously resident in the

It is succeeded, after a  
 interval, by a new contrac-  
 nd this interval is less in weak  
 n strong subjects; which ac-  
 for the quick pulse in fevers  
 lebility; yet the contraction  
 s performed with more velo-  
 strong than in weak subjects.  
 a fibre has been excited to  
 ction, and the sensorial power  
 to act, the last situation or  
 uration of it continues, unless  
 ed by some extraneous cause.  
 ntraction somewhat greater  
 sual produces pleasure; one  
 eater produces pain. As, in  
 contraction of a fibre, there  
 expenditure of the spirit of  
 tion, increased action dimi-  
 the propensity to activity; on  
 ntrary, less fibrous contraction  
 sual causes an accumulation  
 spirit of animation, and in-  
 d propensity to activity.  
 : the capability of being  
 d to action is perpetually  
 ating. When much and per-  
 tly above or below the na-  
 tandard, it becomes a disease.

In sensorial exertion, three things  
 are to be observed; the stimulus,  
 the sensorial power, and the con-  
 tractile fibre. An external stimulus  
 first brings into action the faculty  
 called irritation, which causes con-  
 traction of the fibres, and this, if  
 perceived, produces pleasure or  
 pain; this is another stimulus, ca-  
 pable of causing contraction by the  
 sensorial faculty, termed sensation;  
 or it introduces desire or aversion,  
 which excites another faculty term-  
 ed volition, which may act as ano-  
 ther stimulus; and, in conjunction  
 with all these, the other sensorial  
 faculty, termed association, may be  
 called into action. The word *sti-  
 mulus* may therefore be properly  
 applied to any of the above four  
 causes exciting the four sensorial  
 powers into exertion; and the  
 quantity of motion produced in any  
 part of the system will be as the  
 quantity of stimulus and the quan-  
 tity of sensorial power residing in the  
 fibres. Where these are great,  
*strength* is produced; where defi-  
 cient, *weakness*. If, the quantity  
 of sensorial power remaining the  
 same, that of stimulus be less-  
 ened, a weakness of contractions  
 ensues, which may be termed *debi-  
 lity from defect of stimulus*; if, the  
 quantity of stimulus remaining the  
 same, that of sensorial power be  
 lessened, *debility from defect of sen-  
 sorial power* is the consequence. The  
 former is the *direct* debility of Dr.  
 Brown; the latter, the *indirect*.  
 On these principles, with that of  
 the exhaustion of the spirit of ani-  
 mation by fibrous contractions, and  
 its renovation and accumulation on  
 quiescence, the phenomena of fe-  
 vers, and various other corporeal  
 affections, are developed. Some  
 remarks relative to medical practice

close



close this section, which are either derived from the above theory, or, at least, are made happily to coincide with it. From these, we shall copy what the writer terms two *golden rules* respecting the application of stimuli. In fevers with debility, when wine or beer are exhibited, if the pulse becomes slower, the stimulus is of a proper quantity, and should be repeated every two or three hours, or when the pulse has again become quicker. In chronic debility, brought on by hard drinking, the patient should be directed to omit a fourth part of his accustomed quantity of vinous spirit. If, in a fortnight's time, his appetite increases, he should omit another fourth part: but, if this farther diminution impairs the appetite, he should remain where he is. At the same time, flesh-meat is recommended, with Peruvian bark and steel in small quantities between meals, and opium with rhubarb at night.

S. 13. relates to *vegetable animation*. Some of the well-known facts respecting the irritability of plants are here mentioned. Their vegetations are compared to those of animals: and the individuality of every bud on a tree is asserted. Next, the marks of sensibility shown by the sexual parts of plants are recited, and the writer does not scruple to ascribe the *passion of love* to pistils and anthers; thus seriously maintaining, as a philosopher, opinions which we conceived to be the sport of a poetic imagination in his beautiful work, entitled *The Loves of the Plants*. He touches on the curious enquiry, whether vegetables have *ideas* of external things? which, from arguments that seem to prove them possessed of a common sensu-

rium, he is inclined to answer in the affirmative.

S. 14. on the *production of ideas*, goes over the several organs of the senses, and the manner in which objects affect them: but, in so very concise a discussion, we cannot expect much new elucidation of points which, singly, have cost much labour to many philosophers. Besides the usual enumeration of senses, he adds the senses or appetites of hunger, thirst, heat, extension, the want of fresh air, animal love, and the suckling of children.

The 15th section, on the *classes of ideas*, is purely metaphysical, and offers nothing new to the informed reader.

S. 16. on *instinct*, is very curious and entertaining, but will probably by many be thought fanciful and inconclusive. Its general purpose is to shew that the blind impulse in animals, to actions and reason and consequences of which are not seen, (which we usually call instinct), does not in reality exist,—but that early unmarked associations or previous experience have been the true causes of those actions. He traces these associations and acquirements in the early motions, sensations, and tastes, of animals. Thus, our sense of beauty he derives from the various pleasurable sensations originally experienced by the infant from the mother's breast, whence all forms analogous to it become afterward sources of a kind of recollected delight. Even the natural expressions of the passions, according to him, spring from original associations. Thus, a disagreeable irritation of the lachrymal ducts in the nose from cold dry air being one of the first pains in infants, and occasioning

ing a discharge of tears and emotion of countenance, emotions which are ever after accompanied by the bodily changes. On the other hand, the first lively pleasure of an infant arising from the fragrance of the mother's milk, titillates the same ducts and causes a flux of tears, this sensation likewise accompanied by motion to the mother, *tender pleases* afterward expressed by a motion of tears. These examples, and others of a like nature, will probably appear fanciful enough to those who admit the force of association in more decisive instances. Those actions of brute animals, directed with their preservation and multiplication, which are generally called *instinctive*, Dr. D. adduces numerous facts to prove that reason and experience mingle with those of them, and that brutes are capable of processes like reasoning: we think that he has by no means shewn either that *all*, or almost necessary of them, have an origin. Some of the most striking examples of instinct, which are totally inexplicable on other principles, he passes over in a very partial and unsatisfactory manner. That extraordinary and extensive web of the webs spun by many of caterpillars before they are into the aurelia state, which is not possibly be owing to exercise or instruction, since they are creatures of a season which renew a parent, is very lamely handled, by saying, that 'our ignorance of their manner of life, and of the number of their senses, precludes us from understanding the means by which they receive this knowledge.' We pretend that the manner of life of no

animal is better known than that of a silk-worm.

The *catenation of motions* is the subject of *sect.* 17th. These are produced by irritations, sensations, or volitions. Their cause, probably, is the property of animal motions to proceed some time after they are excited, though the exciting object be removed. The laws of these catenations are laid down and exemplified in this section with much ingenuity. One of the principal exemplifications is drawn from the process of learning music.

*S.* 18. describes *sleep* and all its phenomena; and much acuteness is displayed by the author, in shewing how the suspension of the power of volition, and the increase of energy in the other sensorial powers, owing to the consequent accumulation of the spirit of animation, operate in producing all the varied and wonderful circumstances which occur during that state of the body.

*Reverie* is the subject of *sect.* 19. It is made to include somnambulism, and to partake of epilepsy or catalepsy. Complete reverie is characterized by the continuance of all the motions but those which are excited by the stimuli of external objects.

*S.* 20. treats of *vertigo*. It is first observed that, as we determine our perpendicularity of position by the apparent motions of objects, whatever prevents or disorders our judgement in this respect makes us liable to fall, or induces vertigo. Also, when irritative motions or sounds, which usually are unnoticed by the mind, become, from any cause, the objects of sensation or attention, the confusion thus made in the ordinary catenations or circles of ideas

excites vertiginous affections. In vertigo, the sensitive and voluntary motions continue undisturbed.

*Drunkenness* is the subject of sect. 21. It increases the irritative motions by internal stimulation, and thus gives a great additional quantity of pleasurable sensation, producing many sensitive motions. By these effects, the associated trains are disturbed and confused, volition is gradually impaired, and is at length totally suspended, with temporary apoplexy.

S. 22. treats of *propensity to motion, repetition, and imitation*. Propensity to action is produced by accumulation of sensorial power in cases in which its expenditure is less than usual. Repetition of motions gives pleasure on account of the superior ease with which they are performed by combining habit with stimulus. The propensity to imitation is derived from the greater ease with which we perform that action which is already imitated by the fibres of the retina, than a new one. Imitation is therefore a repetition by one set of fibres of motions already begun by another set. The doctor extends this principle to account for certain morbid phenomena, in which, disease is propagated from one part of the body to another, apparently without any direct communication of morbid matter. This section seems to us to abound beyond most with fine-spun speculation.

S. 23. Of the *circulatory system*. The author now proceeds to illustrate some of the phenomena of diseases, and to trace out their methods of cure. In his account of the circulatory system, he asserts that heat is given out by all glandular secretions in consequence of the

chymical changes which the fluids undergo; and he instances the heat felt in the cheeks on blushing, as of that kind. He supposes the red veins to be absorbing vessels, like the lymphatics, and to receive the blood from the arteries in that mode. He conceives that the motions of the fluids are carried on by means of two stimuli; one a pleasurable sensation exciting the mouth of the vessel to seize what is presented, which he calls *glandular appetency*; the other a kind of aversion, urging the heart and arteries to push forward the blood which they have received; and he thinks that both these sensations were originally felt in the embryo, though by habit they have been lost, and the irritation alone remains.

S. 24. Of the *secretions of saliva, and of tears, and of the lachrymal sac*. These secretions are well known to afford examples of the influence of sensation over corporeal actions, and therefore are ready exemplifications of our author's theories. We cannot, however, agree with him in his assertion, that the lachrymal sac, with its puncta and nasal duct, is a complete gland; since, though the tears be absorbed at one end and discharged at the other, they undergo no change in the passage. The tears are *separated* from the blood by a real gland, the lachrymal; and the other organs are only a contrivance for their conveyance.

S. 25. on the *stomach and intestines*, gives a general account of the principles of their ordinary motions, and also of their inverted motions, occasioned by stronger stimuli than usual, by disgusting ideas, or by volition. Various other cases of inverted motion are mentioned, as likewise the sympathy of motions

motions between the stomach and heart.

S. 26. *of the capillary glands and membranes*, supports the opinion that the capillary vessels are in effect glands, and that the minuter membranes are inorganic.

S. 27. *on hæmorrhages*, begins by proving the veins to be properly absorbent vessels, which take up blood from the glands and capillaries, after it has undergone the proper secretions. On this foundation, hæmorrhages are divided into two kinds; one, in which the glandular or capillary action is too powerfully exerted; the other, in which the absorbent power of the veins is diminished, or a branch of them is become paralytic.

S. 28. *Of the paralysis of the absorbent system*. A paralysis of the absorbents of the stomach and intestines is supposed to be the cause of the atrophy of hard drinkers; and this, not only from the defect of nutriment taken into the system, but from the increased action of the remainder of the absorbent system, consequent on the less expenditure of sensorial power on the lacteal part. The immediate cause of the dropsy is a paralysis of some other branches of the absorbent system. As a lymphatic vessel usually consists of a long neck and a glandular belly, the author conceives that each of these parts may be separately palsied; and to the paralysis of the glandular part, while the mouth continues to absorb, he imputes serofula. Surely, hypothesis can scarcely proceed to a more fanciful conclusion than this!

S. 29. concerning *the retrograde motions of the absorbent system*, is a translation of part of a Latin thesis, written by the late Mr. Charles

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Darwin, and published in 1780. Its purpose is to account for various phenomena of disease, on the supposition that, in a vitiated state of the system, some irritations, either direct or sympathetic, produce a regurgitation of the fluids in the lymphatics, and an effusion of them in certain cavities. On this hypothesis, he accounts for diabetes, dropcies, diarrhœas, and other diseases; and various cases are adduced, supposed to illustrate the point. However ingenious this theory may be, we are to observe, that the retrograde motion in the lymphatics is no more than a mere hypothesis, no experiment having yet proved that such a thing at all takes place; and it surely is difficult to conceive how a greater stimulus applied to the lacteals, for instance, and inciting them to stronger direct action, should by sympathy occasion an inverted action of the lymphatics of the bladder.

S. 30. relates to *paralysis of the liver and kidneys*. Too great stimulation of the bile-ducts, from the use of spirituous liquors, is a cause of their succeeding diminished irritability; whence the bile ceases to be found in the intestines, and by its regurgitation causes a species of jaundice. A case is given, in which an indolent jaundice, possibly of this species, was removed by smart shocks of electricity passed through the region of the liver. This affection of the bile-ducts also occasions those accumulations of the bile which produce gall-stones. Another disease of the liver proceeds from a paralysis of its secretory vessels, in which little or no bile is secreted; and a simplicity of the organ is an operation of the same cause. Similar diseases to all these ex-

F 1

12

ist in the kidneys, from similar causes.

S. 31. treats of *temperaments*; by which term the author means a permanent predisposition to certain classes of diseases. They are divided into, 1. The temperament of decreased irritability; 2. The temperament of sensibility; 3. That of increased voluntariness; 4. That of increased association. It is evident that the notion of these temperaments is deduced from the preceding theory of the source of our ideas; and it would be very difficult to exemplify them in individuals with any precision.

S. 32. on *diseases of irritation*, being fundamental in the pathology of fevers, and designed to set entirely aside the doctrine of spasm, ought to be well understood by an enquirer into the systems of our author; yet such is its intricacy and subtilty, that we despair of giving our readers clear ideas of it in an abstract.

The points chiefly laboured are, to shew how temporary quiescence from the want of accustomed stimuli may cause the accumulation of sensorial power; and to deduce, from the changes of action and sensation in the arterial and glandular systems, the phenomena attending the hot and cold fits of fever. The fevers mentioned in this section are called the *irritative*, and are divided into those with a strong, and those with a weak, pulse, answering to the synocha and the typhus mitior of nosologists. The practical conclusion from the whole is, that fever-fits are *not* an effort of nature to relieve herself, and therefore should always be prevented or diminished as much as possible.

S. 33. relates to the *diseases of sen-*

*sation*. When to the febrile motions from irritation are added others from sensation, what the author calls *sensitive fever* is produced; which is likewise of two classes, according to the arterial strength or debility accompanying them; those with a strong pulse give the synocha or inflammatory fever; those with a weak pulse, the typhus gravior, or putrid fever. A variety of curious hypotheses relative to the nature of inflammation, the generation of matter, and the nature of contagion, are given in this section; which, as connected with the general theory, cannot be stated to any advantage apart. We shall only mention, as a specimen, that it is maintained that the variolous matter in natural contagion does not enter the blood, but acts by means of sensitive association between the stomach and the skin, which excites particular motions of the cuticular capillaries, producing the eruption.

*Diseases of volition* are the subject of sect. 34. The author uses the term *volition* in a sense different from the common acceptation. When desire or aversion produces any action of the muscular fibres, or of the organs of sense, they are termed *volition*, and the consequent actions *voluntary*, though they may be such as it is out of our power to prevent, and therefore such as in common language are called *involuntary*. Various examples are adduced in this section to prove how voluntary motions are at first employed for the purpose of relieving pain; how, by association, they afterward become independent of the will: and how, in some cases, they arise to epilepsy and convulsion. In certain constitutions, violent

lent exertions of the ideas of the mind are employed for the same purpose, which constitutes madness. The principle, on which relief in all these cases is obtained, is by expending a portion of the sensorial power on such motions and exertions.

S. 35. relates to *diseases of association*. In explaining sympathy, or consent of parts, the doctor considers a tribe or train of actions as divided into two parts, one of which consists of the primary or original motions, the other of the secondary or sympathetic. The different and even opposite modes, in which one of these trains may affect the other, are considered in this section; and supposed exemplifications of each are adduced. It may be easily imagined that the speculations, in which the author indulges on this subject, are not among the least abstruse and subtle.

S. 36. On *the periods of diseases*. Intermission and recurrence in muscular actions naturally proceed from the exhaustion and accumulation of sensorial power. These changes, combined with the periods of our diurnal habits, or of heat and cold, or with the solar and lunar periods, are the causes of the periods of fever-fits. A variety of instances are given of the solar and lunar periods of diseases; and the doctrine of critical days is, by hypothesis, connected with this influence.

S. 37. treats of *digestion, secretion, and nutrition*. The chymical laws of accretion and increase seem to our author inapplicable to animal bodies, whence he looks for them in the laws of animation. The lacteals absorb the chyle, and the glands and pores the nutritious particles belonging to them, by animal

selection or appetency, put into action by stimulus. The whole animal solids, having been originally formed of the extremities of nerves, require an apposition of particles of a similar kind for their nutrition, which are probably applied during the elongation of the filaments. Old age and decay proceed from the want of irritability.

S. 38. treats of *the oxygenation of the blood in the lungs, and in the placenta*. The author adopts the opinion of those who suppose that the blood in the lungs receives oxygene from the air; and also that the placenta is a sort of respiratory organ, furnishing oxygene to the blood of the fœtus. The arguments for this latter opinion are derived from the thesis of Dr. James Jeffray and Dr. Forester French.

*Generation* is the subject of *sect.* 39. So many ingenious men have already lost themselves and bewildered their readers in their conjectures respecting this mysterious function, that it would be extraordinary if a new guess should solve its difficulties. A very slight sketch of Dr. D.'s notions on the subject will probably satisfy most of our readers. He imagines that the embryo is the produce of the male alone, and that the female only gives it lodgment and nutrition. He does not, however, suppose its first rudiments to be a miniature of the future animal, but merely a simple living filament, which receives all its parts by accretion. This fibril, dropping among the nutritive particles prepared by the female, is stimulated to action; and, bending into the form of a ring, embraces one of these particles, and coalesces with it. This new organization acquires new irritabilities. chooses

or rejects other particles offered to it, has sensation superadded to it, and, in process of time, the powers of association and volition. The living filament, being a part of the father, has certain propensities belonging to him, which give the basis of a similarity of structure; and this is altered or modified by the nutritive particles derived from the mother. Other alterations proceed from the imagination of the father at the instant of generation,—the extremities of the feminal glands imitating the motions of the organs of sense; and thus the sex of the embryo is produced, which is male or female, according as the image of the one or the other of these organs predominated in the father's imagination at the critical period. All augmentations are in consequence of an irritation or sensation of a peculiar kind, which may be termed *animal appetency*, which seeks the particles that it wants; and this operates even after birth, and, in the innumerable series of ages, has produced all the diversities of forms in animals, accommodated to their different modes of life:—for the author supposes a perpetual progress toward perfection in all animated beings, and imagines that none of them are at present as they originally existed, but have gradually arrived at the state in which we now see them, from that of a simple and uniform living filament.

We shall make no remarks on this system: referring to the work itself such of our readers as are disposed to take pleasure in viewing the progress of an ingenious fancy in working up a little fact with abundance of conjecture, into that product of mental generation called an *hypo-*

*thesis*. What an acquisition would such a system have been to Mr. Shandy!

§. 40. contains an essay on the *ocular spectra* of light and colours, by Dr. R. W. Darwin, of Shrewsbury, reprinted from the *Philosophical Transactions*, vol. lxxvi. p. 313.

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*The history of the origin, progress, and termination of the American war.* By Charles Stedman, esq. who served under sir William Hec. sir Henry Clinton, and the marquis Cornwallis. In two vols. quarto. 1794.

WE have had not a few histories relating to the American war; but not one that is in any degree comparable with that before us, in respect either of candour, comprehension, or justness and elegant simplicity of composition. The grand design, outline, or plan, of the work is announced, according to the laws of sound criticism and legitimate history, in the outset or introduction; and to the same point our historian brings his narrative, after a vast variety of events, incidents, circumstances, anecdotes, and some few episodes, in the conclusion of this well-arranged composition. Even from the dedication, to the earl of Moira, the general spirit, scope, and result of the book dedicated may be inferred, or rather anticipated. This address, written with a delicacy of sentiment equally nice and ingenious, is as follows:

“ My lord, the pain of recording that spirit of faction, that weakness, indecision, indolence, luxury, and corruption, which disgraced our public conduct during the course of the American

American war, is relieved by the contemplation of those talents and virtues that were eminently displayed on the side of Great Britain in various important though subordinate stations.

“ Although the issue of that war was unfortunate, our national character was not impaired, nor the contest, while it was maintained, on the whole inglorious. Neither martial ardour was wanting among our countrymen, nor military enterprise, nor patriotic zeal. In that rank, and those circumstances of life which are at once a temptation and an apology for dissipation and a love of pleasure, the military spirit of Britain shone with undiminished lustre; and the noblest families exhibited bright examples of true courage, exalted genius, and consummate wisdom. Whilst I indulge, with exultation, this general reflection, permit me to acknowledge that my attention is irresistibly drawn towards the earl of Moira. Accept then, my lord, this humble effort to transmit to posterity the glorious actions of our countrymen, as a mark of personal respect for your lordship; for that happy union of enthusiasm in the cause of virtue, of invention, intrepidity, and decision of character, with cool reflection, and patient perseverance, which directs the public eye to your lordship as the hope and the pride of your country. That your lordship may long live still to sustain, in a frivolous age, the dignity of true nobility, the virtue of chivalry without its spirit of romance, is the ardent wish and hope of,” &c.

But the general scope or result of the historical composition before us is more clearly unfolded in the introduction, which discovers sound judgement, extensive knowledge, and a ca-

pacify for political and philosophical reflection.—“ So natural is the love of liberty, and such the aversion of mankind to restraint, that it seems to be in the very nature of colonies, and all subordinate governments, to seize every favourable opportunity of asserting their independence; and the external aspect of nature, variegated and broken by mountains, savannahs, rivers, lakes, and seas, conspires with that noble passion to check the progress of empire, and to maintain an interesting diversity among tribes and nations.

“ But when the British colonies, now the Thirteen United States of North America, took up arms, and declared themselves free and independent, they were not encouraged by any conjuncture that could justify that measure in point of policy, or by any circumstances that could yield any reasonable hope of success in the arduous struggle that was to ensue. On the contrary, if we take a view of the strength and resources of Great Britain at the commencement of hostilities, and contrast these with the weakness, and almost total inability of the revolting colonies, we shall have reason to conclude, that the termination of the war in favour of the latter, with their final separation from the British empire, was one of those extraordinary and unexpected events which, in the course of human affairs, rarely occur, and which bid defiance to all human foresight and calculation. A people, not exceeding two millions of souls, widely scattered over half the hemisphere; in the peaceable occupations of fishing, agriculture, and commerce; divided into many distinct governments, differing from each other in manners, religion, and interest, nor entirely united in po-



litical sentiments; this people, with very little money, proverbially called the sinews of war, was yet enabled to effect a final separation from Great Britain, proud from successful and glorious war, flourishing in arts and arms beyond the example of any former period, capable of raising an annual revenue of sixteen millions of pounds, and, on the whole, the most formidable nation in the world; and all this, although the continent of North America, deeply indented and penetrated by navigable rivers and lakes, presented a fit theatre for the display of naval power, in which chiefly the strength of Great Britain consisted. It is the object of the present work to describe with fidelity the war that involved this great event—a wonder to the present, an example to all future ages. But I shall first run over the train of circumstances by which that war was produced.”

Mr. Stedman having given a clear, full, and satisfactory account of the origin of the American war, on which part of his subject he gives a very curious and pleasing account of the different characters of the inhabitants of the different provinces, proceeds to relate the war-like operations on both sides, from the destruction of the British military-stores at Concord and the battle of Bunker's Hill, to the surrender of our army under Burgoyne, at Saratoga; a memorable era, as cap. Stedman justly observes, in the American war: for although the success of the British arms had not been so brilliant, nor the progress made in repressing the spirit of revolt so considerable, as the magnitude of the force employed under sir William Howe gave reason to expect; still, upon the whole, until the unfortunate

expedition from Canada under general Burgoyne, the advantages that had been gained were on the side of Great Britain. So uncommon an event as the capture of a whole army of their enemies, animated the Americans with fresh ardour, invigorated the exertions of the congress, lessened in the mind of the American soldier the high opinion which he had entertained of British valour and discipline, and inspired him with a juster confidence in himself. The consequences, however, which this event produced in Europe were of still greater moment. Bills were brought into Parliament for reconciliation and peace with America. In order to defeat the effect of these conciliatory measures, two treaties were entered into between the thirteen revolted colonies and the French king—one of commerce, and another of defensive alliance. Sir William Howe resigned his command of the army, and returned to England.

“The friends of sir William Howe, the members of parliament in opposition to administration, with his concurrence, insisted on a public enquiry into the conduct of the American war, that our national disgraces and misfortunes might be traced to their real source. Lord Howe, in a speech in the house of commons, April the 29th, 1779, demanded an enquiry into his own and brother's conduct, for the following reasons:—they had been arraigned in pamphlets and in newspapers, written by persons in high credit and confidence with ministers, by several members of that house in that house, in the face of the nation, by some of great credit and respect in their public characters, known to be countenanced by administration; and

and that one of them in particular, governor Johnstone, had made the most direct and specific charges. Their characters, therefore, so publicly attacked, and in such a place, were to be vindicated in the great councils of the state, and no where else.

“ In vain did the ministers of the crown, who had employed him, declare, that, they had no accusations against either the general or admiral. They with their friends insisted on a public examination, which was obtained, and in which they, for some time, took the lead. But at length it plainly appeared that, under pretence of vindicating the general, their real design was to condemn the conduct of administration. The parliamentary enquiry that had been instituted, the ministry and their adherents considered as a factious intrigue. It was perhaps imagined that his majesty, alarmed at the danger that began by this time to threaten Great Britain, not only in America but in other quarters, would change his confidential servants, and commit the conduct of government to those very hands that had hitherto been employed in various attempts to baffle its designs, and frustrate all the measures that had been taken for carrying them into execution. But the king, amidst multiplying distresses, with proper firmness, withstood their machinations, determined to continue his countenance to those who wished not to frustrate nor procrastinate the war,\* but to bring it, as soon as possible, to a safe and honourable conclusion. The opposition, there-

fore, disappointed in their expectations, from the highest quarters in the state, seriously intended, what they loudly threatened, to impeach the servants of the crown, and by that means to drive them from their places by a kind of violence.

“ Administration, easily perceiving this design, resolved no longer to permit their opponents to run in the race of examination alone, but to vindicate the measures they had taken. Many gentlemen, of undoubted reputation, perfectly acquainted with the conduct of the war, and the state of America, were summoned to give evidence respecting those subjects. Of this the movers of the enquiry were apprised, and they soon began to lose courage. Only two witnesses were examined on, what may be called in the language of judicial trials, the side of administration:—major general Robertson, who had served twenty-five years in America, as quarter-master-general, brigadier, and major-general; and Mr. Galloway, a gentleman, of Pennsylvania, of fortune and consequence, as well as good abilities, who was bred to the law, and had been a member of congress, but who had come over to the royal army in December, 1776. But such was the circumstantiality, credibility, and weight of their evidence, that the movers or managers shrunk from the enquiry; as the more it was carried on, the more parliament, as well as the nation at large, seemed to be convinced that the conduct of administration in respect to the American war was on the whole justified. The friends of the general

\* “ It is believed that the king, on some occasions, went so far as to suggest his ideas of the proper plan for carrying on the war, which were very judicious, and which, had they been adopted by the general, might probably have been productive of good effects.”

and admiral, therefore, moved to dissolve the committee which they had been so studious to obtain, and it was dissolved accordingly.

"But although sir William Howe, as well as his friends, was disappointed in his hopes of something even more than exculpation, from an indulgent house of commons, he neither wanted a sufficient number of partisans to keep him in countenance amidst all that censure that was poured on his conduct, nor political friends of sufficient consequence to compensate for that censure by an honourable and lucrative station, which he now holds under government: nor is this the only instance in the history of Britain, at this period, of great inequality in the public retribution of rewards and punishments. When we reflect on the different and even opposite reception given to successful genius actuated by the purest patriotism on the one hand, and to monotonous mediocrity not only unsuccessful, if success is to be measured by effects conducive to the public good, but even of ambiguous intentions, what are we to think of the spirit which influences and directs the public councils?

"In the decline of free governments we ever observe the influence of faction to predominate over ideas of patriotism, justice, and duty, on which alone liberty is founded, and a propensity in the citizens to range themselves under the banners of a Marius or a Sylla, a Pompey or a Cæsar. Hence the servants of the state are apt to become less and less sensible to honour and the voice of fame, the great incentives to glorious actions, well knowing that their conduct, however meritorious, may still be condemned, or however excep-

tionable, still be palliated, and even applauded, to advance the views of faction and ambition; while the great body of the people, distracted and confounded by the opposite opinions and declarations of their superiors, who are supposed to have the best means of information, know not where to place their hopes, their confidence, or their fears. It is the province of the historian to correct these, and to animate the patriot, the sage, and the hero, under temporary neglect or detraction, by carrying an appeal in their behalf to a tribunal more candid than their misguided contemporaries, and that raised on a theatre more extended than their native country."—Here our historian, by a very natural division, concludes his first, and enters on his second, volume.

The surrender of Saratoga was followed by the most important events. Commissioners of peace were sent out to America from the mother country; and first France, then Spain, and afterwards the Seven United Provinces, joined the Americans in one great confederacy against Great Britain. The theatre of war is enlarged; and navies are brought into action at sea, and more numerous armies oppose each other by land. A vast variety of scenes go on at the same time in different quarters of the world: numberless events, actions, and transactions, are recorded; anecdotes related, circumstances marked, and characters described. Our author traverses the whole, on ground that commands extensive views, with a dignity and ease that shew how well acquainted he is with general knowledge and how much he is master of his subject. He who attempts to describe every thing, describes no-  
thing;

thing; but is lost in the mazes of endless minutiae. The intelligent and learned author of the history before us is attached only to what is interesting and great; and while he keeps his subject steadily in view, the origin, progress, and termination, of the American war, he occasionally instructs and amuses his readers by curious anecdotes, though not necessarily, yet naturally, connected with his design, and reflections, not formally dictated, but beautifully interwoven with his narrative. For example, having mentioned the disappointment of Lord Cornwallis in not being joined by the inhabitants of North Carolina, he relates the following anecdote, connected with this subject, and in itself not a little curious: "The commissary, who considered it as his duty not only to furnish provisions for the army but also to learn the dispositions of the inhabitants, fell in about this time with a very sensible man, a Quaker, who being interrogated as to the state of the country, replied, that it was the general wish of the people to be reunited to Britain; but that they had been so often deceived in promises of support, and the British had so frequently relinquished posts, that the people were now afraid to join the British army, lest they should leave the province, in which case the resentment of the revolutioners would be exercised with more cruelty; that although the men might escape, or go with the army, yet such was the diabolical conduct of those people, that they would inflict the severest punishment upon their families. 'Perhaps,' said the Quaker, 'thou art not acquainted with the conduct of thy enemies towards those who with well to the cause thou art engaged in. There

are some who have lived for two, and even three, years in the woods, without daring to go to their houses, but have been secretly supported by their families. Others having walked out of their houses, under a promise of being safe, have proceeded but a few yards before they have been shot. Others have been tied to a tree and severely whipped. I will tell thee of one instance of cruelty: a party surrounded the house of a loyalist; a few entered; the man and his wife were in bed; the husband was shot dead by the side of his wife.' The writer of this replied, that those circumstances were horrid; but under what government could they be so happy as when enjoying the privileges of Englishmen? 'true,' said the Quaker, 'but the people have experienced such distresses, that I believe they would submit to any government in the world to obtain peace.' The commissary, finding the gentleman to be a very sensible and intelligent man, took great pains to find out his character. Upon enquiry, he proved to be a man of the most irreproachable manners, and well known to some gentlemen of North Carolina, then in our army, and whose veracity was undoubted. But a few days after this, the army had a strong proof of the truth of what Mr. —, who still resides in North Carolina, and for that reason must not be mentioned by name, had said. The day before the British army reached Cross Creek, a man bent with age joined it: he had scarcely the appearance of being human; he wore the skin of a racoon for a hat, his beard was some inches long, and he was so thin, that he looked as if he had made his escape from Surgeon's Hall.

Hall. He wore no shirt, his whole dress being skins of different animals. On the morning after, when this distressed man came to draw his provisions, Mr. Brice, the deputy-muster-master-general of the provincial forces, and the commissary, asked him several questions. He said that he had lived for three years in the woods, under ground; that he had been frequently fought after by the Americans, and was certain of instant death whenever he should be taken; that he supported himself by what he got in the woods: that acorns served him as bread; that they had, from long use, become agreeable to him; that he had a family, some of whom, once or twice a year, came to him in the woods; that his only crime was being a loyalist, and having given offence to one of the republican leaders in that part of the country where he used to live."

Again, having observed in his conclusion, which we have been informed is generally, and we think justly, admired, that the American revolution is the grandest effect of combination that has been yet exhibited to the world, he quotes in a note what follows: "Captain Newte, in his philosophical and very interesting tour in England and Scotland,\* having delineated Scotland and the North of England as shaped by the hand of nature, is led, from the names of places, to speak of the geographical knowledge, and the natural quickness, in general, of mankind in a savage state. On this subject he says, "In the country of the Illinciois, a chief of the Calcaiskias conceived the sublime idea of

uniting all Indian nations and tribes into one grand alliance, offensive and defensive. If this had been realized, Dr. Franklin's confederation of the Thirteen States would have cut but a poor figure on the American continent, and the natural man would have outdone the philosopher."

It is not consistent with the concise form of our Review, to enter more minutely into the character of captain Stedman's excellent History, (which is undoubtedly the most satisfactory and comprehensive, as well as the most candid, and the best arranged and composed, that has yet been published of the American war) than just to take notice of some important particulars in which he differs (we doubt not on good grounds), or is otherwise distinguished, from other historians. The Americans are not represented by this writer as enthusiastic and ardent in the cause of liberty, but rather as steady, phlegmatic, and patient of hardships. They were excellent instruments in the hands of a few able men, whose genius and perseverance moved the mass, and finally effected the revolution. On the other hand, captain Stedman ascribes to the Americans a greater portion of genius and invention than is commonly allowed to them. To the contrivance of necessity and inventive genius, which he exemplifies on a variety of occasions in the course of his history; he attributes, in a great measure, the success of their struggle for independence. General Washington has commonly been considered as a *Fabius*; but captain Stedman repre-

\* This English gentleman's observations on Scotland have drawn great attention in that country. He has lately been made a fellow of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, and doctor of laws, by two universities.

sents him as still more distinguished by courage than by prudence; and, on certain occasions, as daring even to temerity. He vindicates general Lee, who was disgraced by the pique of Washington, after the attack on the British near Monmouth; although it was the prompt decision of general Lee, on that occasion, that saved the American army from destruction. Mr. Steelman speaks with greater freedom than any other author on the same subject, of the blunders of British commanders-in-chief, both at sea and land; and of the faults and follies of politicians both in and out of administration. Finally, our learned and accomplished historian, whose mind, it is evident, has been formed on the purest models of composition, both ancient and modern, is the only historian of the American war who has written on a regular plan, been directed by general views worthy the attention of all ages and countries, and observed the most perfect unity of design. To the point from which he starts, he winds back his narrative, after a course the most various and pleasing; as will be seen by comparing the introduction with the conclusion; and the great outlines or highways, if we may be allowed the expression, of his description and narration with both.

The excellence of this learned and elegant writer's composition is somewhat tarnished by the disgusting egotism with which he speaks of himself, as of a very important agent, and even a kind of counsellor, on some occasions, though only in the humble station of a commissary.

This work is beautifully illustrated and adorned with fifteen engravings on a very large scale.

*A view of the evidences of Christianity, in three parts.—Part I. of the direct historical evidence of Christianity, and wherein it is distinguished from the evidence alleged for other miracles—Part II. of the auxiliary evidences of Christianity.—Part III. a brief consideration of some popular objections, by William Paley, M. A. archdeacon of Carlisle, 3 vol. 12mo, 1794.*

THE uncommonly rapid sale of this work proves at once the opinion entertained by the public of the author, and the interest still happily felt by them on sacred subjects. We have remarked before, and we shall always remark with peculiar satisfaction this strong diagnostic of the sound state of our country, that well-written books on religious topics, if not too abstruse for popular comprehension, infallibly obtain an extensive and a permanent sale. While this continues to be the case, we will not be persuaded by those who wish to have it so, that religion is on the decline among us. Our private belief is that truth continues to gain ground, and certain we are, that such a book as we are now to describe cannot fail to be a powerful instrument towards producing to desirable an effect. If the public expectation has been raised by the promise of a work on this subject from the pen of Mr. Paley, it will by no means be disappointed by the execution of it. The tables of contents, as they will serve us a clue to the plan of the work, we shall transcribe. Vol. I. *Preparatory considerations.*—Of the antecedent credibility of miracles, p. 1.—Part I. Of the direct historical Evidence of Christianity; and

and wherein it is distinguished from the evidence alleged for other miracles. *Propositions stated*, p. 18, 19. Prop. I. That there is satisfactory evidence that many, professing to be original witnesses of the Christian miracles, passed their lives in labours, dangers, and sufferings, voluntarily undergone in attestation of the accounts which they delivered, and solely in consequence of their belief of those accounts; and that they also submitted, from the same motives, to new rules of conduct, p. 18. Chap. I. Evidence of the sufferings of the first propagators of Christianity, from the nature of the case, p. 20. Chap. II. Evidence of the sufferings of the first propagators of Christianity, from profane testimony, p. 47. Chap. III. Indirect evidence of the sufferings of the first propagators of Christianity, from the Scriptures, and other ancient Christian writings, p. 62. Chap. IV. Direct evidence of the same, p. 75. Chap. V. Observations upon the preceding evidence, p. 110. Chap. VI. That the story for which the first propagators of Christianity suffered was miraculous, p. 123. Chap. VII. That it was in the main the story which we have now proved by indirect considerations, p. 133. Chap. VIII. The same proved from the authority of our historical Scriptures, p. 167. Chap. IX. Of the authenticity of the historical Scriptures, in eleven \* sections, p. 198.—§ 1. Quotations of the historical Scriptures, by ancient Christian writers, p. 216. § 2. Of the peculiar respect with which they were quoted, p. 273. § 3. The Scriptures were in very early times collected into a distinct

volume, p. 283. § 4. And distinguished by appropriate names, and titles of respect, p. 293. § 5. They were publicly read and expounded in the religious assemblies of the early Christians, p. 299. § 6. Commentaries, &c. were anciently written upon them, p. 306. § 7. They were received by ancient Christians, of different sects and persuasions, p. 319. § 8. The four Gospels, the Acts of the Apostles, thirteen Epistles of St. Paul, the First Epistle of John, and the First of Peter, were received without doubt by those who doubted concerning the other books of our present canon, p. 336. § 9. Our present Gospels were considered, by the early adversaries of Christianity, as containing the accounts upon which the religion was founded, p. 347. § 10. Formal catalogues of authentic Scriptures were published, in all which our present sacred histories were included, p. 362. § 11. These propositions cannot be predicated of any of those books which are commonly called Apocryphal Books of the New Testament.—Chap. X. Recapitulation, p. 380.

Here concludes the first volume, but not the first part, which, as we shall see, is pursued through some pages of the second. In order to keep the argument together, we shall proceed to give the contents here, to the end of part I.

Vol. II. Prop. 2. That there is not satisfactory evidence that persons pretending to be original witnesses of any other similar miracles, have acted in the same manner, in attestation of the accounts which they delivered, and solely in consequence of their belief of the truth

\* Erroneously printed *nine*.

accounts, p. 1. Chap. II. of some specific in-  
p. 49.

reader who casts an attentive  
these contents, will easily  
much matter for conclusive  
t they comprehend, and in  
d an order the arguments  
sted. They are all treated  
t clearness and acuteness of  
on for which Mr. Paley is  
nt. In treating these sub-  
find much that if not alto-  
ew, is made so by the ad-  
of a new situation; and  
guments of an original na-  
which kind the following  
, afford a favourable speci-

treating of the written evi-  
f Christianity, next to their  
, we are to consider their  
te authority. Now there is  
evangelic history a cumula-  
testimony which belongs  
o any other, but which our  
l mode of reading the Scrip-  
metimes causes us to over-  
When a passage, in any wise  
to the history of Christ, is  
us out of the epistle of Cle-  
omanus, the epistles of Ig-  
of Polycarp, or from any  
riting of that age, we are  
ately sensible of the confirma-  
ich it affords to the Scripture  
t. Here is a new witness.  
we had been accustomed to  
e gospel of Matthew alone,  
known that of Luke only  
generality of Christians know  
itings of the apostolical fa-  
that is, had known that such  
ng was extant and acknow-  
; when we came, for the  
ie, to look into what it con-  
and found many of the facts  
Matthew recorded, recorded

also there, many other facts of a  
similar nature added, and through-  
out the whole work, the same ge-  
neral series of transactions stated,  
and the same general character of  
the person who was the subject of  
the history preserved, I apprehend  
that we should feel our minds strong-  
ly impressed by this discovery of  
fresh evidence. We should feel a  
renewal of the same sentiment in  
first reading the gospel of St. John.  
That of St. Mark perhaps would  
strike us as an abridgement of the  
history with which we were already  
acquainted, but we should naturally  
reflect, that, if that history was a-  
bridged by such a person as Mark,  
or by any person of so early an age,  
it afforded one of the highest possible  
attestations to the value of the work.  
This successive disclosure of proof  
would leave us assured, that there  
must have been at least some reality  
in a story which, not one, but many,  
had taken in hand to commit to  
writing. The very existence of four  
separate histories would satisfy us  
that the subject had a foundation;  
and when, amidst the variety which  
the different information of the dif-  
ferent writers had supplied to their  
accounts, or which their different  
choice and judgement in selecting  
their materials had produced, we  
observed many facts to stand the  
same in all; of these facts, at least,  
we should conclude, that they were  
fixed in their credit and publicity.  
If, after this, we should come to the  
knowledge of a distinct history, and  
that also of the same age with the  
rest, taking up the subject where the  
others had left it, and carrying on a  
narrative of the effects produced in  
the world by the extraordinary  
causes of which we had already been  
informed, and which effects continu-



at this day, we should think the reality of the original story in no little degree established by this supplement. If subsequent enquiries should bring us to our knowledge, one after another, letters written by some of the principal agents in the business, upon the business, and during the time of their activity and concern in it, assuming all along and recognizing the original story, agitating the questions that arose out of it, pressing the obligations which resulted from it, giving advice and directions to those who acted upon it, I conceive that we should find, in every one of these, a still farther support to the conclusion we had formed. At present the weight of this successive confirmation is, in a great measure, unperceived by us. The evidence does not appear to us what it is; for, being from our infancy accustomed to regard the New Testament as one book, we see in it only one testimony. The whole occurs to us as a single evidence; and its different parts, not as distinct attestations, but as different portions only of the same. Yet in this conception of the subject we are certainly mistaken; for the very discrepancies amongst the several documents which form our volume prove, if all other proof was wanting, that in their original composition they were separate, and most of them independent productions." P. 183.

This way of stating the nature of the evangelical testimony is certainly fair, and to us at least appears novel. The first section of Chap. IX. p. 216. contains professedly an abstract of the most striking matter in Dr. Lardner's admirable volumes on the credibility of the Gospel. "To pursue the detail of proofs

throughout," says the author, "would be to transcribe a great part of Dr. Lardner's eleven octavo volumes; to leave the argument without proofs, is to leave it without effect, for the persuasion produced by this species of evidence depends upon a view and induction of the particulars which compose it." This Mr. Paley has performed with judgement and ability; and we shall say without scruple, that in so doing, he has performed a very essential service to Christianity; by giving to the indolent those proofs within a small compass, which, in their whole extent, they would never take the trouble to examine. The nature of this species of evidence is explained with great clearness in the opening of this section.

"The medium of proof stated in this proposition is, of all others, the most unquestionable, the least liable to any practices of fraud, and is not diminished by the lapse of ages. Bishop Burnet, in the history of his own times, inserts various extracts from lord Clarendon's history. One such insertion is a proof that lord Clarendon's history was extant at the time when bishop Burnet wrote, that it had been read by bishop Burnet, that it was received by bishop Burnet as a work of lord Clarendon's, and also regarded by him as an authentic account of the transactions which it relates; and it will be a proof of these points a thousand years hence, or as long as the books exist. Juvenal having quoted, as Cicero's, that memorable line,

"O fortunatam natam me consule Romanam."

the quotation would be strong evidence, were there any doubt, that  
the

the oration, in which that line is found, actually came from Cicero's pen. These instances, however simple, may serve to point out to a reader, who is little accustomed to such researches, the nature and value of the argument." P. 216.

We shall now proceed to give the contents of the second part.

Part II. Of the auxiliary evidences of Christianity.—Chap. I. Prophecy, p. 67. Chap. II. The morality of the Gospel, p. 94. Chap. III. The candour of the writers of the New Testament, p. 166. Chap. IV. Identity of Christ's character, p. 189. Chap. V. Originality of Christ's character, p. 217. Chap. VI. Conformity of the facts occasionally mentioned or referred to in Scripture, with the state of things in those times, as represented by foreign and independent accounts, p. 221. Chap. VII. Undesigned coincidences, p. 295. Chap. VIII. Of the history of the resurrection, p. 302. Vol. III. Chap. IX. The propagation of Christianity, p. 1. § 2. Reflections upon the preceding account, p. 45. § 3. Of the success of Mahometanism, p. 63.

In treating of the morality of the Gospel in chap. 4. of this part, Mr. Paley skilfully abstracts a very material part of S. Jenyn's *internal evidences of Christianity*, (see p. 100.)—where that author remarks the difference between the morality of Christ and that of mankind in general. In doing this he has wisely shunned the exaggerations which render some passages of his author exceptionable. On the apparently accidental coincidences between the account of St. John and the other Evangelists, and concerning the identity of our Saviour's character, Mr. P. has made some very

acute remarks, very much in the style of his *Horæ Paulinæ*; among which the following is very striking.

"The three first evangelists record, what is called our Saviour's agony, *i. e.* his devotion in the garden, immediately before he was apprehended; in which narrative they all make him pray, 'that the cup might pass from him.' This is the particular metaphor which they all ascribe to him. St. Matthew adds, 'O my Father, if this cup may not pass away from me, except I drink it, thy will be done.' Now St. John does not give the scene in the garden; but when Jesus was seized, and some resistance was attempted to be made by Peter, Jesus, according to his account, checked the attempt with this reply: 'Put up thy sword into the sheath; the cup, which my Father hath given me, shall I not drink it?' This is something more than bare consistency: it is coincidence: because it is extremely natural, that Jesus, who, before he was apprehended, had been praying his Father, that 'that cup might pass away from him,' yet with such a pious retraction of his request, as to have added, 'if this cup may not pass from me, thy will be done;' it was natural, I say, for the same person, when he actually was apprehended, to express the resignation to which he had already made up his thoughts, and to express it in the form of speech which he had before used, 'the cup which my Father hath given me, shall I not drink it?' This is a coincidence between writers, in whose narratives there is no imitation, but great diversity." Vol. II. p. 212.

This is the observation of a master. His sixth chapter, of this part,

is taken from the first volume of the first part of Lardner's credibility, in the same manner as a former chapter was taken from another part; with an equal openness and equal success. He states in it forty-one instances, in which the sacred historians display a minute knowledge of the manners and customs of their times, in such a way as seems utterly impossible to be displayed by any forger. In the topic of *undesigned coincidences*, chap. 7. he very properly refers to his own *Hours Pauline*: some of the general arguments of which he had occasionally touched before. In chap. IX. § 2. the subject of missions is most judiciously introduced: and from the very small success of modern missions, in comparison with those of the apostles, under which more advantageous circumstances, the following sound conclusion is deduced: that the apostles "possessed means of conviction which we have not; that they had proofs to appeal to, which we want."

Part III. A brief consideration of some popular objections. Chap. I. The discrepancies between the several Gospels, vol. 3. p. 98. Chap. II. Erroneous opinions imputed to the apostles, p. 206. The connection of Christianity with the Jewish history, p. 117. Chap. IV. Rejection of Christianity, p. 124. Chap. V.\* That the Christian miracles are not recited, or appealed to by Christian writers themselves, so fully or so frequently as might have been expected, p. 160. Chap. VI. Want of universality in the knowledge and reception of Christianity, and of greater clearness in the evi-

dence, p. 182. Chap. VII. The supposed effects of Christianity, p. 201. Chap. VIII. Conclusion, p. 220.

Among these topics, which are all handled with skill and luminous distinctness, it is difficult to select a passage for an example. The following, on the effects of Christianity, is perhaps as original as any.

"The influence of religion is not to be sought for, in the councils of princes, in the debates or resolutions of popular assemblies, in the conduct of governments towards their subjects, or of states and sovereigns towards one another, of conquerors at the head of their armies, or of parties intriguing for power at home, (topics which alone almost occupy the attention, and fill the pages of history,) but must be perceived, if perceived at all, in the silent course of private and domestic life. Nay more, even *there* its influence may not be very obvious to observation. If it check, in some degree, personal dissoluteness, if it beget a general probity in the transaction of business, if it produce soft and humane manners, in the mass of the community, and occasional exertions of laborious or expensive benevolence in a few individuals, it is all the effect which can offer itself to external notice. The kingdom of Heaven is within us. That which is the substance of the religion, its hopes and consolations, its intermixture with the thoughts by day and by night, the devotion of the heart, the control of appetite, the steady direction of the will to the commands of God, is necessarily invisible. Yet upon these depends the virtue and the

\* This and the remaining chapters are erroneously numbered in the first edition. chap. 4 being put twice.

happiness of millions. This cause renders the representations of history, with respect to religion, defective and fallacious, in a greater degree than they are upon any other subject. Religion operates most upon those of whom history knows the least: upon fathers and mothers in their families, upon men servants and maid servants, upon the orderly tradesman, the quiet villager, the manufacturer at his loom, the husbandman in his fields. Amongst such, its influence collectively may be of inestimable value, yet its effects in the mean time of little, upon those who figure upon the stage of the world. They may know nothing of it: they may believe nothing of it; they may be actuated by motives more impetuous than those which religion is able to excite. It cannot, therefore, be thought strange, that this influence should elude the grasp and touch of public history; for what is public history, but a register of the successes and disappointments, the vices, the follies, and the quarrels, of those who engage in contentions for power?"

The conclusion contains, as it ought, a clear and able summary of the preceding arguments. We should be glad for the sake of public utility, to extract the whole, but on account of its extent must content ourselves with selecting the most material part:

"The truth of Christianity depends upon its leading facts, and upon them alone. Now of these we have evidence which ought to satisfy us, at least until it appear that mankind have ever been deceived by the same. We have some uncontested and incontestible points, to which the history of the human

species hath nothing similar to offer. A Jewish peasant changed the religion of the world, and that, without force, without power, without support; without one natural source or circumstance of attraction, influence, or success. Such a thing hath not happened in any other instance. The companions of this person, after he himself had been put to death for his attempt, asserted his supernatural character, founded upon his supernatural operations; and, in testimony of the truth of their assertions, *i. e.* in consequence of their own belief of that truth, and, in order to communicate the knowledge of it to others, voluntarily entered upon lives of toil and hardship, and, with a full experience of their danger, committed themselves to the last extremities of persecution. This hath not a parallel. More particularly, a very few days after this person had been publicly executed, and in the very city in which he was buried, these his companions declared with one voice that his body was restored to life; that they had seen him, handled him, eat with him, conversed with him; and, in pursuance of their persuasion of the truth of what they told, preached his religion. with this strange fact as the foundation of it, in the face of those who had killed him, who were armed with the power of the country, and necessarily and naturally disposed to treat his followers as they had treated himself; and having done this upon the spot where the event took place, carried the intelligence of it abroad, in despite of difficulties and opposition, and where the nature of their errand gave them nothing to expect but derision, insult, and outrage. This is without example. These three facts, I think, are cer-

tain, and would have been nearly so, if the Gospels had never been written. The Christian story, as to these points, hath never varied. No other hath been set up against it. Every letter, every discourse, every controversy, amongst the followers of the religion; every book written by them, from the age of its commencement to the present time, in every part of the world in which it hath been professed, and with every sect into which it hath been divided, (and we have letters and discourses written by contemporaries, by witnesses of the transaction, by persons themselves bearing a share in it, and other writings following that age in regular succession) *concur* in representing these facts in this manner. A religion, which now possesses the greatest part of the civilized world, unquestionably sprang up at Jerusalem at this time. Some account must be given of its origin, some cause assigned for its rise. All the accounts of this origin, all the explanations of this cause, whether taken from the writings of the early followers of the religion, in which, and in which perhaps alone, it could be expected that they should be distinctly unfolded, or from occasional notices in other writing of that or the adjoining age, either expressly allege the facts above stated as the means by which the religion was set up, or advert to its commencement in a manner which agrees with the supposition of these facts being true, which renders them probable, according to the then state of the world, and which testifies their operation and effects.

“ These propositions alone lay a foundation for our faith, for they prove the existence of a transaction,

which cannot even in its most *general* parts be accounted for upon any reasonable supposition, except that of the truth of the mission. But the particulars, the *detail* of the miracles or miraculous pretences (for such there necessarily must have been) upon which this unexampled transaction rested, and *for* which these men acted and suffered as they did act and suffer, it is undoubtedly of great importance to us to know. We *have* this detail from the fountain head, from the persons themselves; in accounts written by eye-witnesses of the scene, by contemporaries and companions of those who were so; not in one book, but four, each containing enough for the verification of the religion, all agreeing in the fundamental parts of the history. We have the authenticity of these books established by more and stronger proofs than belong to almost any other ancient book whatever, and by proofs which widely distinguish them from any others, claiming a similar authority to theirs. If there were any good reason for doubt concerning the names to which these books are ascribed, (which there is not, for they were never ascribed to any other, and we have evidence not long after their publication of their bearing the names which they now bear, their antiquity, of which there is no question, their reputation and authority amongst the early disciples of the religion, of which there is as little, form a valid proof that they must, in the main at least, have agreed with what the first teachers of the religion delivered.

“ When we open these ancient volumes, we discover in them marks of truth, whether we consider each in itself, or collate them with one another.

her. The writers certainly w something of what they were ing about, for they manifest an aintance with local circum- ces, with the history and usages he times, which could only be; to an inhabitant of that coun- living in that age. In every ative we perceive simplicity and esignedness; the air and the uage of reality. When we ipare the different narratives to- er, we find them so varying as pel all suspicion of confederacy; greening under this variety, as hew that the accounts had one ranfaction for their common idation: often attributing diffe- : actions and discourses to the on whole history, or rather mers of whose history, they profess elate; yet actions and discourses milar, as very much to bespeak same character; which is a co- dence, that, in such writers as r were, could only be the con- sence of their writing from fact, not from imagination."

After the account we have given, hardly necessary to say, that we

strongly recommend this work to general perusal. We think the au- thor has very happily executed what he professes to have been his design.

"To preserve the separation be- tween evidences and doctrines as in- violable as he could: to remove from the primary question all con- siderations which have been unne- cessarily joined with it; and to offer a defence of Christianity, which *every Christian* might read, without seeing the tenets in which he had been brought up attacked or de- cried:" he adds, "It always afford- ed a satisfaction to my mind, to ob- serve that this was practicable; that few or none of our many controver- sies with one another affect or relate to the proofs of our religion; that the rent never descends to the foun- dation." To this book then let the doubter or the deist have recourse; and when he has satisfied himself, as here abundantly he may, of the irre- fragable evidence of the whole, let him carefully consider the sacred books themselves, and adopt as doctrines whatever he finds there delivered.

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#### ERRATUM.

P. 419, l. 12 from the bottom—for *cares read acres.*

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# ERRATA IN THE HISTORY OF EUROPE.

Page	12,	Col. 2,	line 11	from bottom, <i>for</i> injudicially <i>read</i> injudiciously
—	13,	—	1,	— 20, <i>for</i> procuring <i>read</i> pecuniary
—	33,	—	2,	— 3, <i>for</i> after <i>read</i> often
—	45,	—	1,	— 28, <i>for</i> they <i>read</i> these
—	51,	—	1,	— 29, <i>for</i> Lisle <i>read</i> Quesnoy
—	56,	—	1,	— 3, & <i>passim</i> , <i>for</i> Crevelæur <i>read</i> Crevecœur
—	78,	—	2,	— 6 from bottom, <i>for</i> they <i>read</i> the old governments
—	80,	—	1	— 18 <i>for</i> unacceptable <i>read</i> inapplicable
—	82,	—	2,	— 3 from bottom, <i>for</i> this <i>read</i> his
—	95,	—	2,	— <i>for</i> Mons <i>read</i> Mans
—	108,	—	1,	— 3 from bottom, <i>for</i> probable <i>read</i> possible
—	113,	—	1,	— 20 from bottom, <i>for</i> country <i>read</i> countrymen, <i>and add</i> , and with the resources of their country.
—	135,	—	2,	— 11, <i>for</i> effect <i>read</i> affect
—	140,	—	2,	— 15, <i>for</i> war <i>read</i> woe
—	177,	—	1,	— 31, <i>for</i> militia <i>read</i> military
—	198,	—	2,	— 22, <i>for</i> Austrians <i>read</i> Hessians

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